AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

VOL. XVI.

Ιστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλαινόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἑυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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Robot

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AN

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FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Roman Hiſtory, from the death of Julian, to the death of Valens, continued.

THE following year, while Valens was paſſing the winter at Antioch, many of all ranks and conditions were accuſed of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the perſon who was to ſucceed Valens in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that Theodorus, the emperor's ſecond ſecretary, was the man whom the ſtars ſeemed to have deſtined to the empire. Theodorus was deſcended of an illuſtrious family in Gaul, or, as others will have it, in Sicily, endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments, and in every reſpect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aſpiring at it, and endeavouring to raiſe himſelf, by unlawful means, to that high ſtation [c]; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practiſes of the magicians. Ammianus, who, it ſeems, was then at Antioch, or at leaſt in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and diſtinct account of what paſſed on that occaſion, which it would be too tedious to tranſcribe. Theodorus was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conſpired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in Ammianus [d], whoſe authority

The conſpiracy of Theodorus.

Who is beheaded.

[c] Ammian. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. c. 35. p. 229. [d] Ammian. p. 389.

authority is of more weight with us than that of Sozomen, who writes, that he was burnt alive [e]. As Theodorus, and the others concerned in this conſpiracy, were pagans, Libanius endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, he is not aſhamed to tell us, that Theodorus was condemned unjuſtly [f], though both Zoſimus [g] and Ammianus [h] own, that he aſpired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treaſon; and that the emperor narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated. No one would have complained, if only Theodorus and his accomplices had ſuffered; but innumerable innocent perſons were, on that occaſion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or ſent into baniſhment: a diligent ſearch was made, not only after thoſe who had been privy to the conſpiracy, but after ſuch as was only ſuſpected of practiſing magic, or uſing magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accuſed and ſeized, that the public priſons could no longer contain them, and few of thoſe who were apprehended, had the good luck to eſcape death or baniſhment. Diogenes, formerly governor of Bithynia, was publicly executed; and Salia, treaſurer of Thrace, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was ſuppoſed, by an apprehenſion of the torture he was to undergo [i]. Baſſianus, whom ſome writers ſuppoſe to have been the ſon of Baſianus Cæſar, brother-in-law to Conſtantine the Great [k], was ſaved by the powerful interceſſion of his relations, who were all perſons of great diſtinction; but ſtript of his eſtate, and all his effects. The two brothers Euſebius and Hypatius, brothers-in-law to Conſtantius, who had been conſuls in 359, were accuſed of having aſpired at the empire; and tho' the charge could not be proved, yet they were baniſhed, and condemned to pay a great fine, but ſoon after recalled with great honour [l]. Eutropius, proconſul of Aſia, was accuſed of having been privy to the conſpiracy of Theodorus; but the philoſopher Paſiphilus, who was brought as an evidence againſt him, having ſuffered all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was diſmiſſed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to Feſtus the hiſtorian, who diſcharged it for the ſpace of five years with the utmoſt cruelty. Alypius, formerly vicar of Britain, and employed by Julian in rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem, was accuſed

Many innocent perſons put to death.

[e] Sozom. p. 694. [f] Liban. vit. p. 69. [g] Zos. p. 743.
[h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idem. p. 390. [k] Cange Byz. fam.
[l] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392.

accuſed with his ſon Hierocles, the diſciple of Libanius, as a poiſoner; the father was ſtript of his eſtate, and baniſhed; and the ſon condemned to death, but ſaved, as Ammianus writes, without explaining himſelf any farther, by a favourable accident [m]. But the moſt rigorous enquiries were made after the pagan philoſophers, who were, generally ſpeaking, addicted to the ſtudy of magic. The moſt conſiderable among them were publickly executed, viz. Hilarius, who was burnt alive, Patricius, Andronicus, and Cœranius: Maximus, the famous maſter of Julian, was carried to Antioch to be examined there, and afterwards ſent back to Epheſus, where Feſtus ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he was then ſo ill, that he muſt have ended his life in a few days, without the intervention of the executioner [n]. Zonaras writes, that the philoſopher Iamblichus, by a draught of poiſon, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands [o]. Valens expected and greatly deſired, to find Libanius in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alledged againſt him, though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himſelf owns, not free from all guilt; but as to the conſpiracy of Theodorus, he ſolemnly proteſts, that he was altogether a ſtranger to it [p]. A diligent ſearch was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever diſcovered, were committed to the flames, with thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they were found. Theſe enquiries extended to all the provinces ſubject to Valens; and from the moſt remote parts were daily brought to Antioch numbers of people to be tried as magicians, becauſe books of magic had been found in their cuſtody. Ammianus tells us, that the officers themſelves, out of ſpite or malice, often conveyed privately among the other writings, ſome charm or inchantment; upon which the perſons, to whom they were ſuppoſed to belong, were immediately ſeized and condemned, and their eſtates confiſcated. Hereupon perſons of all ranks were ſeized with ſuch dread and terror, that they burnt their libraries, leſt, among their other books, any ſhould be found unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occaſion Feſtus, proconſul of Aſia, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the other miniſters of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmoſt inhumanity, and putting to death, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, ſuch as were convicted or only ſuſpected of having uſed any kind of charms or inchantments:

Maximus and other philoſophers put to death

Feſtus practiſes great cruelties in Aſia.

[m] Idem, p. 390. [n] Idem ibid. Eunap. c. 5. p. 88, 89.
[o] Zonar. p. 23. [p] Lib. vit. p. 56, 57.

chantments: he tortured the philoſopher Cœranius till he expired, for no other crime but becauſe in a private letter to his wife he had uſed a proverbial expreſſion, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' ſhe had before been ſent for, with his knowledge and conſent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with ſucceſs: a young man being obſerved in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breaſt, to repeat the ſeven vowels, which he fancied was a preſent remedy againſt a pain in the ſtomach, Feſtus cauſed him to be immediately ſeized, tortured, and executed [q]. At Antioch, a perſon being accuſed of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not ſave him; for though the book could not be produced againſt him, yet he was, after a ſhort hearing, condemned and publicly executed. A few days after, St. Chryſoſtom, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to viſit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the ſtrand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curioſity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the ſame time obſerved, not without dread and horror, a ſoldier at a ſmall diſtance, ſo that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had deſigned at firſt, into the river, leſt the ſoldier ſhould ſuſpect and ſeize them. However, Chryſoſtom's companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to eſcape without being ſearched, tho' every ſoldier was impowered to ſearch all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been diſcovered, they muſt both have inevitably periſhed; but they found means of throwing it again into the river, without being obſerved [r]. Socrates writes, that an oracle having anſwered thoſe, who came to enquire who ſhould ſucceed Valens, that the firſt part of his name was Theod, the emperor, acquainted with that anſwer, cauſed not only Theodorus to be put to death, but all thoſe whoſe names began with thoſe letters, ſuch as Theodulus, Theodotus, Theodoſius, &c. among theſe was, according to that writer, one Theodoſiolus or Theodoſius, a Spaniſh lord of great diſtinction [s]. Ammianus and Zoſimus give us

St. Chryſoſtom in danger.

[q] Ammian. ibid. [r] Chryſ. in Act. hom. xxxviii. p. 340.
[s] Socr. l. iv. c. 14. p. 229.

us a very minute account of the other cruelties of Valens, without taking the leaſt notice of this, which makes us queſtion the truth of what Socrates writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary ſeverity which Valens exerted on this occaſion againſt magicians, aruſpices, aſtrologers, and diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the chriſtian writers [t]. If Valens looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſtrive to prevent their being accompliſhed: and truly, in ſpite of all his cruelties, he was ſucceeded by Theodoſius, whoſe name began with the letters, which, if Socrates is to be credited, he ſo much dreaded. This fire, to uſe the expreſſion of Libanius [u], continued raging till the emperor was diverted by another, which the Goths kindled three years after in Thrace. This year is likewiſe remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherouſly murdered by the Romans, viz. of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, in the weſt; and of Paras, king of Armenia, in the eaſt. Of the former we have ſpoken in the reign of Valentinian: as to the latter, he had in ſome degree ſubmitted to the king of Perſia, as we have obſerved above, but afterwards renewed, it ſeems, his alliance with the Romans, and was by them acknowledged king, ſince Ammianus gives him that title; but ſeveral perſons, at the head of whom was count Terentius, having tranſmitted to court diſadvantageous accounts of his conduct and adminiſtration, the emperor ſent for him, as if he deſigned to adviſe with him about the proſecution of the Perſian war. Upon his arrival at Tarſus in Cilicia, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but being in the mean time informed, that the emperor's deſign was to arreſt him, and ſend another to be king of Armenia in his ſtead, he reſolved to make his eſcape, with the aſſiſtance of three hundred of his own ſubjects, who perſuaded him to it, and privately provided horſes for that purpoſe. They ſet out in the duſk of the evening; but were ſoon purſued and overtaken by a whole legion, ſent on purpoſe to prevent their eſcape. At their approach, Paras faced about, and charged them with ſuch reſolution, that they made more haſte to fly from him, than they had done to overtake him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the Euphrates, which he paſſed upon barrels joined toge-

Paras, king of Armenia, detained at Tarſus.

He makes his eſcape.

[t] Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694 Socr. l. iv. c. 15. p. 229. [u] Lib. vit. p. 58.

ther, and purſued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his eſcape, diſpatched a thouſand archers, under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. Theſe being well acquainted with the country, to which Paras was altogether a ſtranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces, and ſeized on two paſſes, three miles diſtant from each other, through one of which they took for granted he would paſs. But being informed of his danger by a traveller, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he eſcaped the ambuſcade, and got ſafe to his dominions, where he was received with inexpreſſible joy, while the Roman officers, who had long waited for him, were by all derided and ridiculed upon their diſappointment. This incenſed them to ſuch a degree againſt Paras, that, in order to haſten his ruin, they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to conſume and waſte by degrees a man's body, though at never ſo great a diſtance. This ſo alarmed the emperor, that though Paras, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the Romans, yet his death was reſolved on, and orders ſent to Trajan, who commanded the Roman forces in Armenia, to diſpatch him by private treachery, if he could not by open force. The manner which Trajan choſe to put this baſe and inhuman command in execution, was no leſs baſe and inhuman, than the command itſelf; for he having gained the young prince's confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from Valens, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of kindneſs, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at his houſe, during which he cauſed him to be barbarouſly murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpoſe [w]. The death of Paras gave great uneaſineſs to Sapor, who had hoped to gain him over in the end to his intereſt. He was therefore no ſooner informed of his misfortune, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to Valens with propoſals for an accomodation. The remaining part of this year was ſpent in negotiations, but without ſucceſs, the emperor who was then at the head of a numerous and well diſciplined army, being deſirous of retrieving the glory of the Roman arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with Jovian. But in the mean time, Thrace being threatened with a general invaſion of the Gothiſh nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Perſians, but upon what terms we know not. The following

Is treacherouſly murdered.

[w] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 412.—415.

following year, 375, Valens was alarmed by an embaſſy from the Goths, who, being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, deſired leave to ſettle in Thrace. But before we ſpeak of that embaſſy, and the memorable events attending it, we muſt take a curſory view of what happened in the weſt after the death of Valentinian, who, as we have related already, died at Bregetio on the ſeventeenth of November of this year. He left two ſons, viz. Gratian, born in 359, and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 367, and Valentinian born in 371. As Gratian was at a great diſtance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have obſerved above, at Treves, the great officers of the court, uncertain what ſuch an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, eſpecially among the Gauls, who ſerved in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the Quadi beyond the Danube, diſpatched a meſſenger with private intelligence of the emperor's death to Merobaudes their leader, who, thereupon ſent immediately out of the way, purſuant to his inſtructions, count Sebaſtian, an officer greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, and then marched back to the camp at Bregetio. Upon his arrival, it was reſolved in a general council of all the chief officers both civil and military, that Valentinian, the ſecond ſon of the deceaſed emperor, then a child but four or five years old, ſhould be declared emperor. He was therefore ſent for without delay from a village, named Murocincta, about an hundred miles diſtant[w] from Bregetio, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the uſual ſolemnity the ſixth day after the death of his father. This ſtep they took to prevent any ſudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that Gratian, who was then but ſeventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper, and an uncommon underſtanding, would acquieſce to the motives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or conſent. Gratian at firſt complained of their taking ſuch an extraordinary ſtep before they had made him privy to it, but immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young Valentinian more like his child than his brother[x]. Victor[y] and Zoſimus[z] will have Equitius and Merobaudes to have been the chief authors of this election, which by Rufinus is aſcribed to Probus[a]. Merobaudes

Gratian ſucceeds his father Valentinian

Valentinian II. proclaimed emperor by the officers of the army.

Gratian confirms their election.

[w] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. p. 746. Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [y] Vict. epit. [z] Zos. ibid. [a] Ruf. l. ii. c. 11 c. 12. p. 184.

robaudes was, according to Victor, related to young Valentinian, probably by marriage; for he seems, so far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by Gratian, and soon after by Valens, the western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young Valentinian had for his share Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and Gratian, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The division was made, not by Gratian, who was yet too young, as Zosimus pretends [b], but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein consult Valens, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephew [c]. Notwithstanding this partition, Gratian alone governed the western provinces to his death, Valentinian not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as Gratian lived. The first thing Gratian did, after the death of his father and the promotion of his brother, was to recal to court his mother Severa, who had been divorced and banished by Valentinian, and restored her to her former honours [d].

Maximinus and his accomplices put to death.

The following year, 376, Valers was consul the fifth time, and young Valentinian the first. This year Gratian, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practised by the famous Maximinus both in Italy and Gaul, caused him to be publicly executed; and named one Antonius, prefect of Gaul, in his room. Simplicius, who had been vicar of Rome in 374, and Doryphorianus, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in Illyricum, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of Severa, says Ammianus, in Gaul, whither he was conveyed from the Tullian prison in Rome [e]. As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a great number of senators to death, Gratian, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators [f], which was read by Symmachus in the senate on the thirteenth of August [g]. To the above-mentioned execution St. Jerom no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year several persons of distinction were executed [h]. Maximinus, Simplicius, and Doryphorianus, had long deserved the doom which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but

He celebrated count Theodosius justly put to death.

the

[b] Zos. ibid. [c] Eunap. legat. p. 19. [d] Chron. Alex. p. 704. Ammian l. xxviii. p. 366. [e] Ammian. l. xxviii. p 357. [f] Cod. Theodos p. 96. [g] Symm. l x. ep. 2. p. 390, 391. [h] Hier. in chron.

the death of the renowned count Theodoſius, one of the greateſt officers and beſt men of his age, is a ſtain on the character of Gratian never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in Britain and Africa, we have ſpoken at length in the reign of Valentinian; but notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at Carthage, after he had triumphed over Firmus, and with his prudence and induſtry reſtored Africa to its former tranquillity. His death was owing, if St. Jerom [i], Oroſius [k], and St. Ambroſe [l], are to be credited, to the malicious ſuggeſtions of certain perſons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deſervedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and by that means compaſſed the ruin of a perſon worthy, both for his valour and unblemiſhed conduct, of the greateſt honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earneſt requeſt, baptized juſt before he died; ſo that his death was no leſs exemplary, than his life had been glorious [m]. Socrates writes, as we have obſerved above, that, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of Theodorus, all thoſe were by Valens put to death, whoſe names began with Theod; and among the reſt of the names one Theodoſiolus, who was, ſays he, a man of great courage, and deſcended from an illuſtrious family in Spain, meaning perhaps count Theodoſius; at leaſt Baronius [n], Jornandes [o], who, for the moſt part follows Socrates, and Flechier, in his life of the emperor Theodoſius, are of that opinion. But Theodoſius was put to death at Carthage, and not in the eaſt, where Valens reigned. Beſides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of Socrates as a fable, to which he too eaſily gave credit, ſince neither Ammianus nor Zoſimus, who ſeem to take particular pleaſure in diſplaying the cruelties of Valens, make any mention of ſuch a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to death merely for the ſake of their names. Sozomen indeed ſpeaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps becauſe he had read it in Socrates [p]. Be that as it will, ſtatues, and other extraordinary honours, were decreed to Theodoſius ſome years after his death by the

[i] Hier. chron. [k] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [l] Ambroſ div. 3. p. 125. [m] Oroſ. ibid. [n] Baron ad ann 370. [o] Jor. de reg. ſucc. c. 40. p. 652. [p] Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694.

the ſenate of Rome; and ſeveral inſcriptions, ſetting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times [q]. His ſon, named likewiſe Theodoſius, who being duke of Mæſia in 374, had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the ſtorm, and retire to Spain, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by Gratian, and raiſed to the empire. As Ammianus takes no notice of theſe remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chaſm in this part of his hiſtory, the more becauſe he had promiſed elſewhere [r] to ſpeak in a more proper place of the death of Maximinus and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in ſuch of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the weſtern provinces, from the death of Valentinian I. that is, from the year 375, to 378. This year Valens ſent the celebrated philoſopher Themiſtius, with the character of embaſſador, to Gratian, then in Gaul; but what was the ſubject of his embaſſy, we know not. The philoſopher, on his return to the eaſt, came to Rome, complying therein with the requeſt of Gratian, deſiring the Romans might have the pleaſure and honour of ſeeing ſo great a man [s]. It was at Rome, and before the ſenate of that great metropolis, that Themiſtius pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philoſopher, nay, of any perſon who pretended to the leaſt gravity [t]. However he beſtows great encomiums upon Gratian; extols his liberality and generous temper; and obſerves, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmoſt confuſion, becauſe the inſtruments of their malice and cruelty had by the prince's order being conſumed in the flames [u], alluding, no doubt, to what we read in Auſonius, viz. that Gratian remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father's death, and cauſed all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were ſubject to him [w]. Themiſtius writes, that he found Gratian not far from the ocean [x], that is, in Gaul; for he was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, during the

Young Theodoſius retires to his native country.

An inſtance of Gratian's generoſity.

[q] Vide Rein. p 326. Gruter. p 412. [r] Ammian l. xxviii. p 366. [s] Themiſt or. xiii. p. 163—163 [t] Idem ibid. p. 178. [u] Idem ibid p. 175. [w] Auſon. ad Grat. proconſ. p. 406, 407. [x] Themiſt. orat. xiii. p. 163.

the months of March, April, May, and September, at Treves; and we have no proof of his being elſewhere this year. By a law dated from Treves the twenty-third of May, he raiſes the ſalaries of all public profeſſors in the metropolitan cities of Gaul, eſpecially in the moſt illuſtrious city of Treves, as it is ſtyled [y]. From this law ſome pretend to infer, that Spain and Britain were at this time governed, not by vicars, but proconſuls, independent of the prefect of Gaul. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed in both provinces. By another law dated the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, which was an anſwer to Artemius vicar of Spain and ſeveral biſhops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the ſpot by a ſynod of the dioceſe. By a dioceſe is meant the diſtrict within the juriſdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addreſſed to Nitentius, Gratian forbids all heretics, eſpecially the Donatiſts, to hold aſſemblies; and commands the places where they ſhall aſſemble to be confiſcated, except the churches, which he orders to be reſtored to the catholics [z]. From ſeveral monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to the pagans, than to the Donatiſts, Arians, and other heretics.

He enacts laws againſt heretics.

WHILST theſe things paſſed in the weſt, a dreadful ſtorm was raiſed in the eaſt by the Hunns, a nation till this time quite unknown to the Romans. They dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the Palus Mæotis, now the ſea of Zabache, and were near neighbours to the Goths, as Sozomen ſtyles them [a], or rather to the Alans, who inhabited the country bordering on the oppoſite ſide of that marſh, which both nations looked upon as a deep ſea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, purſued by ſome hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox ſtung by a gad-fly, having paſſed the marſh, ſome Hunns followed their guide to the oppoſite ſide, where they diſcovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own [b]. What we find concerning the Hunns in Ammianus Marcellinus, the moſt antient author that ſpeaks of them, and moſt worthy of credit, is, that they firſt broke into the country of the Alans, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Aſia; and having obliged that nation to enter into

[y] Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p 39, 43. [z] Idem, tit. 6. p. 224, 225. [a] Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 696. [b] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 644.

into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-inforced,
upon the Goths, called by Ammianus, Greuthongi, and
by Jornandes, Oſtrogoths, and ſpread every-where ſuch
terror among them, that Ermenric, or, as Jornandes calls
him, Ermanaric, their king, tho' a martial prince, laid vio-
lent hands on himſelf, to avoid by that means the dreadful
calamities that threatened him. The Hunns were headed,
according to Jornandes, by one Balamir, by him ſtyled king,
probably becauſe he was the moſt powerful man of their na-
tion; for, according to Ammianus, they had no kings, but
ſeveral chiefs, whoſe authority was very precarious [c]. Vithi-
mir, created king of the Greuthongi or Oſtrogoths, in the
room of Ermenric, attempted to make head againſt the
Hunns; but was killed in a battle. Alatheus and Saphrax,
governors to his ſon Vitheric, apprehending all their efforts
would prove unſucceſsful againſt the numerous and formida-
ble forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and with-
drew into the plains between the Boryſthenes and the
Danube; that is into the preſent Podolia. Athanaric, king
or chief of the Thervingi, who had aſſiſted Procopius in his
late uſurpation, reſolved to ſtand upon his guard, and pre-
pared for a vigorous defence; but the Hunns, falling upon
him before he had the leaſt notice of their approach, obliged
him to retire in diſorder, after he had loſt great numbers of
his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, purſued
him but ſlowly, he improved the ſhort reſpite they allowed
him, in fortifying himſelf by a wall, which he carried through
the country of the Taifali from the Geraſus, or the Pruth,
to the Danube [d]. The other Goths, who had the good
luck to eſcape the dreadful havock which the Hunns
made of their nation, found no other recourſe, but to
abandon their country, and ſave themſelves within the
Roman dominions. They therefore approached the banks
of the Danube, to the number of two hundred thouſand
men, moſt of them the ſubjects of king Athanaric, and thoſe
whom Jornandes calls Viſigoths. From thence they diſ-
patched embaſſadors to Valens, who was then at Antioch,
begging, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to be admitted into
Thrace, where they promiſed to live peaceably, and to ſerve,
whenever called upon, in the Roman armies [e]. At the head
of this embaſſy was their biſhop Ulphilas, who, on this oc-
caſion

he Goths iven out their untry by e Hunns.

They de-nand to be dmitted into Thrace.

[c] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 435—440. Jorn. ibid. p. 645. [d] Am-mian. p. 440, 441. [e] Idem ibid. Jorn. c. 25. p. 646.

caſion, out of complaiſance to Valens, became a proſelyte to the doctrine of Arius, and infected with the tenets of that hereſiarch, not only ſuch of his nation as already profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but thoſe two who promiſed to embrace it, provided proper perſons were ſent to inſtruct them [f]. The demand of the Goths occaſioned great debates in a grand council held at court ſoon after the arrival of their embaſſadors; but Valens in the end reſolved to grant them their requeſt, ſeveral ſycophants about him flattering him, and extolling his good fortune, which had unexpectedly brought him a perpetual ſupply of excellent ſoldiers, with which he could be furniſhed at his pleaſure, and by that means ſave the expence of new levies, to the great benefit of his treaſury; nay, their demand was thought ſo advantageous to the empire, that ſome Roman officers having cut off a party of Goths, who attempted to paſs the Danube before the return of the embaſſadors, whom both their nation and the governor of Thrace had ſent to Antioch, they were caſhiered as good officers, but bad politicians [g]. Valens, upon the imaginary proſpect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from ſuch an encreaſe of people, ordered them to be immediately tranſported, to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and lands to be aſſigned them to cultivate. He took, however, therein ſuch precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the diſturbances which ſoon followed, had they been duly obſerved; for, according to the inſtructions which he ſent to his officers and miniſters, the children were to paſs the firſt, and be ſent into Aſia, where they were to be kept as hoſtages; and as for the reſt, they were not to be ſuffered to land on the Roman ſide, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by preſenting the Roman officers with ſums of money, with beautiful women, and robuſt ſlaves, prevailed upon them to neglect both theſe orders [h]. Thus the Goths, in this year 376, abandoned to the Hunns the country, in which they had dwelt for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned in their paſſage, the river happening to be greatly ſwelled at that time [i]. Ammianus writes, that the Roman officers deſigned to have counted them as they paſſed, but could not by reaſon of their numbers, which that writer compares to the ſparks which at that very time iſſued out

Valens complies with their requeſt.

They enter Thrace.

[f] Soz. l. vi. c, 37. p. 679, [g] Ammian. ibid. Eunap. legat. p. 19. Socr. l. iv. c. 34. p. 252. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idat. faſt.

out of mount Ætna, and to the ſands of the Lybian ſhore. They were under the conduct of Ablavivus and Fritigern, who are ſtyled kings [k]. Vitheric, king of the Greuthongi, with his governors Saphrax and Alatheus, and another chief named Farnobius, being likewiſe driven out of their country by the Hunns and the Alans, flocked in ſwarms to the banks of the Danube, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from Valens, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the Roman dominions; but the emperor not thinking it conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate to comply with their requeſt, they continued for ſome time on the banks of the Danube, which they paſſed in the end, in ſpite of the Romans, as we ſhall relate hereafter. As for Athanaric, he retired with his people to a place defended by inacceſſible rocks, named Caucalanda, having driven from thence the Sarmatians and the Taifali. The latter people followed and joined the Greuthongi. A numerous body of Goths had been admitted ſome time before, on what occaſion we are no-where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, under the command of their two chiefs Suerid and Colias: perhaps Valens had ſent for them on occaſion of his intended expedition into Perſia; for Ammianus aſſures us, that he hired troops of the Goths [l]. The following year 377, when Gratian was conſul the fourth time, with Merobaudes, Valens was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, at Antioch on the fourth of April; at Hierapolis on the fourth of July and the ninth of Auguſt; and again at Antioch on the twenty-fourth of September. The Romans ought in policy to have immediately led the Goths away from the Danube; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining maſters of the river, prevented their receiving any aſſiſtance from their countrymen, encamped in great numbers on the oppoſite bank; but, inſtead of that, Lupicinus and Maximus, who commanded in Thrace, the former with the title of count, and the latter with that of duke, ſuffered them to continue long in that neighbourhood, pretending ſcarcity of proviſions, in order to impoſe upon them, and oblige them to buy neceſſaries at extravagant rates. The Goths, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which Lupicinus perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, and remove from the neighbourhood of the Danube, charging

he Goths, ovoked by e Romans, utiny.

[k] Ammian. p. 443. [l] Idem. l. xxx. p. 416.

ing the ſoldiers who guarded the banks of the Danube, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no diſorders in the countries through which they paſſed. The Greuthongi, finding the banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to paſs it, following at ſome diſtance Fritigern and Ablavivus, who were advancing at the head of the Thervingi to Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Mœſia. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, Lupicinus, who reſided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the ſame time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they deſired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the neceſſary proviſions, of which they ſtood in great need. Hereupon the Thervingi, who were in a ſtarving condition, falling upon the guards, cut moſt of them in pieces; which Lupicinus no ſooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be aſſaſſinated in the height of their mirth. The Thervingi without the walls, provoked at the treachery and cruelty of the governor, vowed revenge; but nevertheleſs wiſely forbore for the preſent all hoſtilities, and diſſembled their juſt reſentment, leſt the Romans ſhould offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hoſtages. This Fritigern himſelf apprehended, and therefore begged leave of Lupicinus to go with Ablavivus, and ſhew himſelf to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a falſe report, that they had both been killed with the reſt. Lupicinus, who by this time was ſo intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his requeſt; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horſes, declared themſelves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. Lupicinus marched out againſt them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the Goths, falling upon him with great reſolution and intrepidity, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have obſerved above, that a conſiderable body of Goths was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. Theſe, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by Fritigern, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the leaſt inclination to join him; but when they received orders to paſs without delay over into the Helleſpont, and the chief magiſtrate of Adrianople, incenſed againſt them for ſome damage they had done at his country-ſeat, inſtead of ſupplying them with the neceſſary proviſions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewiſe began to mutiny, put to flight the diſorderly

Declare themſelves enemies, and plunder the country.

They are joined by a body of their countrymen encamped at Adrianople.

multitude that offered to attack them, and joining Fritigern, laid ſiege to Adrianople; but not being able to reduce it, they left a ſufficient force to block it up, and ravaged all Thrace, growing daily ſtronger by the acceſſion of incredible numbers of Gothiſh ſlaves, flocking to them from all quarters; nay, many Romans, not able to pay the exorbitant taxes with which they were loaded and oppreſſed, took part with them, and it is not to be doubted, but Vitheric with his Greuthongi joined them ſoon after; for they too fought againſt the Romans in the memorable battle of Adrianople, of which hereafter. Valens, who was then at Antioch, watching the deſigns of the king of Perſia, upon the firſt notice of theſe dangerous commotions, diſpatched Victor to the Perſian court, with the character of embaſſador, charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the beſt terms he could obtain; and at the ſame time ordered the two generals, Trajan and Profuturus, to march with the utmoſt expedition againſt the Goths, at the head of the legions that were quartered in Armenia. Gratian, alarmed at the danger that threatened his uncle's dominions, ſent to his aſſiſtance Richomeres, with a conſiderable reinforcement out of Gaul; but the ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers, on their march, ſolicited to it, as was reported, by Merobaudes, who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of their abſence to break into Gaul. As Profuturus and Trajan were commanders of more courage than conduct, inſtead of ſecuring the paſſes, and ſhutting up ſuch multitudes in the province of Thrace, where they muſt inevitably have ſoon periſhed with famine, they ventured to engage them at Salices, a city of Leſſer Scythia. The battle laſted from morning to night, both armies fighting with ſuch obſtinacy and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed. Victory continued doubtful to the laſt; but the Romans, having loſt more men in proportion to the ſmall number of their forces, thought it adviſeable to retire to Marcianopolis. Thus Ammianus, whom we have all along followed [m]. But Theodoret [n], St. Jerom [o], and Oroſius [p], write, that the Romans were defeated, and put to flight. This battle was fought in the latter end of the ſummer of this year 377. Trajan and Profuturus being afterwards reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops ſent by Valens, under the command of Saturninus general of the horſe, they attempted to ſhut up the enemy

The battle of Salices.

[m] Ammian. p. 447—449. [n] Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.
[o] Hier. chron. [p] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.

enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their provisions; but the Alans and Hunns themselves hastening in great numbers to their relief, the Romans were obliged to retire, and suffer them to ravage and lay waste all Thrace, without daring to oppose or molest them. At a place called Dibaltum, they fell upon a tribune, who was stationed there with his own legion and some other forces. As the tribune, by name Barzimeres, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men up in a close body, and, endeavouring to make his way through the enemy's squadrons, cut great numbers of them in pieces; but was at length overpowered, and put to the sword, with all his men [q]. Animated with this success, they went in quest of Frigerid, who commanded in Illyricum, and had been ordered by Gratian to march from thence to the assistance of Valens. The Goths, under the command of Farnobius, met him near Berea, a city in Thrace properly so called, and attacked him with great resolution. But Frigerid, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps over-cautious, and thence by some reproached with timorousness, stood his ground, and, after a long and obstinate dispute, killed their leader on the spot, and put the rest to the sword, excepting a very small number, who throwing down their arms, were spared, and sent captives into Italy, where they were employed in tilling the ground about Mutina, Rhegium, and Parma. With this battle, which was fought in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this year 377 [r].

The Romans retire, and abandon Thrace to the Goths:

They cut off a Roman legion.

But are defeated with great slaughter by Frigerid.

As for Gratian, he was on the twenty-seventh of February at Treves, where he had passed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of July at Mayence, perhaps on some expedition against the Germans not mentioned in history; for Ausonius tells us, that he took some Germans prisoners, and brought them with him into Gaul [s]. He was returned to Treves on the seventeenth of September [t]. By a law dated the fifth of March, and addressed to Cataphronus vicar of Italy, he grants several exemptions to the clergy, comprising under that name, not only bishops, priests, and deacons, but likewise sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and janitors or door-keepers [u]. A dreadful plague raged this year in most of the western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers of

Gratian grants several exemptions to the clergy.

[q] Ammian. p. 452. [r] Idem, p. 443—453. [s] Auson. consul. p. 378. [t] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98. [u] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2, leg 24 p. 56.

of people [w]. The following year 378, when Valens was conſul the ſixth time, and young Valentinian the ſecond, the Goths, from Thrace, advanced into Macedon and Theſſaly, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached Conſtantinople itſelf, plundered the ſuburbs, and kept the city for ſome time blocked up. Valens therefore, having firſt ſent a body of Saracens to drive them from the neighbourhood of that metropolis, ſet out from Antioch, in order to head his army in perſon, and arrived at Conſtantinople on the thirtieth of May, where he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the Goths into Thrace, and by that means giving riſe to the preſent war. Soon after his arrival, he diſcharged Trajan general of the foot, and put count Sebaſtian, a brave and experienced commander, in his room [x]. Theodoret tells us, that Trajan, who was a profeſſed enemy to the Arians, and a zealous defender of the Nicene faith, hearing himſelf reproached by the emperor with cowardice, as if the loſs of the late battle had been owing to want of courage in him, anſwered boldly, that heaven juſtly provoked at his driving out the orthodox biſhops, and putting the infamous followers of Arius in their room, had declared for the Goths; and conſequently that he ought to blame not his generals, but himſelf, for the loſſes he had hitherto ſuſtained, and for the far greater calamities that would ſoon overtake him, unleſs he altered his conduct. The generals Arintheus and Victor declared, adds Theodoret, that they were of the ſame opinion, and begged the emperor not to reſent their ſpeaking, as his true friends, their ſentiments without diſguiſe [y]. The piety of Trajan is greatly commended by the eccleſiaſtic writers, eſpecially by Theodoret and St. Baſil, with whom he lived in great intimacy. But it is no eaſy task to reconcile with his extraordinary piety the death of Paras king of Armenia, whom, if the account of Ammianus be true, he cauſed to be murdered with the utmoſt treachery and barbarity, as we have related above. Valens continued but a very ſhort time at Conſtantinople; for he left that city on the eleventh of June, highly exaſperated againſt the inhabitants, who had inſulted him as the author of the preſent war, and threatening, if he came back ſafe, to turn their city into a deſert [z]. From Conſtantinople

The Goths block up Conſtantinople.

Valens ſets out for that city.

Trajan reproaches the emperor with great freedom.

[w] Ambr in Luc. xxi. p 203, Biblioth. patr. tom 8. p. 579.
[x] Ammian. p. 458. [y] Theodor. l iv. c. 30. p. 703. [z] Ammian. l. iii. p. 456. Socr. l iv. c. 38, p. 255.

nople he marched to Melanthias, an imperial caſtle, about eighteen miles diſtant from the city; and thence detached Sebaſtian with a body of choſen troops againſt Fritigern, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. Sebaſtian, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off ſeveral of their parties, who were roving about the country, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon Fritigern, having ſent orders to all the parties that were diſperſed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of Catyle, of which geographers can give no account [a]. Zoſimus tells us, that Sebaſtian engaged to force the Goths either to quit the Roman territories, or to ſubmit to Valens, with two thouſand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their proviſions; but that Valens, deſirous to equal, by ſome memorable action, the glory acquired this year by Gratian in the famous battle of Argentaria, rejected his propoſal, and leaving Melanthias, advanced to the neighbourhood of Adrianople, with a deſign to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army, commanded by officers of great renown, and among the reſt by Trajan, whom he had reſtored to his former poſt. While he lay at Adrianople, Richomeres arrived there with letters from Gratian, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him, and earneſtly entreating him, not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which the conjunction of their forces would render certain and indiſputable. Hereupon a council of war being immediately ſummoned, Victor, who commanded the horſe, and was both a brave and prudent officer, adviſed him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew, and the reinforcement of the Gauliſh troops; but Sebaſtian was for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of Victor, and almoſt all the other officers, being induced thereunto by his flatterers, telling him, that he ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of his nephew, and therefore ought not to allow him any ſhare in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the ſame time Fritigern ſent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a chriſtian prieſt, offering to conclude a peace upon very reaſonable terms, which moſt of his officers adviſed him by all means to embrace, remonſtrating, that an honourable and

Valens marches againſt the Goths.

Gratian marches to the aſſiſtance of Valens.

[a] Vide Baud. p. 142.

certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, deaf to all their remonſtrances, and obſtinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great officers of the court, with his treaſures, in Adrianople, and all the baggage of the army near that city, with a ſtrong detachment to guard it, ſet out with the reſt in queſt of the enemy, whom he diſcovered about noon in the neighbourhood of Nice, about fifteen miles from Adrianople. The Goths, commanded by Alethus and Saphrax, were encamped at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt. Meſſengers were therefore immediately diſpatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuſe the emperor till they arrived, embaſſadors were ſent to him, with propoſals of peace, to which the emperor gave ear; but inſiſted upon their delivering up to him ſome of their chief men as hoſtages. At the ſame time, Fritigern, further to amuſe the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, provided ſome perſons of diſtinction were ſent to him as hoſtages. Valens, overjoyed at this propoſal, named firſt Equico his kinſman for one of the hoſtages; but he, as he had been taken priſoner by the Goths the preceding year, and had made his eſcape, begging to be excuſed, Richomeres offered himſelf of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, Bacurius, prince of the Iberians, and one Caſſio, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the Goths, gave beginning to the battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy and reſolution on both ſides. Ammianus gives us a long, but confuſed, account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the Romans, having advanced too far, and ſeparated themſelves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to ſupport them, were ſurrounded by the enemy, which inſpired the barbarians with great courage [b]. St. Jerom [c] and Socrates [d] write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and Sozomen [e], that Valens, being in too great haſte to engage, did not allow himſelf time to draw up his men as he ought. Libanius ſays, that he fought with more courage than prudence or conduct [f]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Romans were utterly defeated;

But Valens reſolves to give battle before his arrival.

The battle of Adrianople.

The Romans utterly defeated.

[b] Ammian. p. 460—462. [c] Hier. in chron. [d] Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [e] Soz. l. vi. c. 40 p. 703. [f] Lib. vit. p. 58.

defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The Roman writers themſelves own this to have been the greateſt overthrow their ſtate had ever received ſince the battle of Cannæ. Their foot did all that men, whoſe native courage was emboldened by deſpair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, to yield to an enemy, who was not only infinitely ſuperior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent perſons, fell in this action the brave generals Trajan and Victor, with Valerian the tribunus ſtabuli, or maſter of the horſe; Equico the emperor's kinſman, and magiſter palatii, or great ſteward of the houſhold; and Patentius, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly reſpected, in regard of his father Urſicinus, ſo famous in the reign of Conſtantius [g]. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in hiſtory, than the unhappy end of Valens himſelf, who periſhed on this occaſion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for ſome write, that he was killed upon the ſpot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's houſe, which his attendants made good againſt the barbarians, till they, not ſuſpecting the emperor to be there, ſet fire to it, which conſumed the houſe, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his eſcape, firſt out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him priſoner, gave the Romans an account of the emperor's unhappy end [h]. Both theſe opinions are related by Ammianus; and the former was adopted by Libanius, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the moſt probable, by Victor [i], St. Jerom [k], Ruſinus [l], Oroſius [m], Zoſimus [n], and Socrates [o]. Sozomen [p] and Philoſtorgius [q] follow the ſame opinion; but add ſome circumſtances, which ſeem quite improbable. St. Chryſoſtom ſpeaks of the death of Valens periſhing in the flames, as a memorable inſtance of the vanity of all human grandeur [r]. Theodoret follows the ſame opinion; but was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing

The death of Valens variouſly related.

[g] Ammian. p. 463. [h] Idem, p. 462. [i] Vict. epit. [k] Hier. chron. [l] Ruf. l. ii. c. 13. p. 184. [m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [n] Zoſ. p. 750. [o] Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [p] Soſ l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. [q] Philoſt. l. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132. [q] Chryſ. ad vid. p. 464.

Valens not to have been preſent at the battle [s]. Ammianus obſerves, that before Valens left Antioch, it was become a common curſe or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, May Valens be burnt alive. The ſame writer pretends that unhappy end to have been protended by ſeveral prodigies, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven, for having cauſed Paras king of Armenia to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent perſons to death, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of Theodorus [t]. The reader will find in Zoſimus the deſcription of a ſpectre, which, ſays he, was ſeen by Valens and all his court, when he marched out of Conſtantinople againſt the Goths [u]. To this perhaps Ammianus alludes in a paſſage, which ſeems to us very obſcure [w]. Theophanes takes notice of ſome other prodigies, and aſſures us, that ſome of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had ſuffered the aruſpices to be conſulted concerning the iſſue of this war [x]. Ammianus, and other writers, tell us, that *near* the place where the emperor died, was diſcovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an antient Macedonian captain, by name Mimantus [y]. All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the leaſt remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obſequies. Eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his perſecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the hereſy of Arius, which flouriſhed and encreaſed in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predeceſſors. With him periſhed in the flames, according to the modern Greeks, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers [z]. Such was the end of Valens, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and ſome days [a]. He was quite a ſtranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art, than with the liberal ſciences. He did not ſo much as underſtand the Greek tongue, tho' he had reigned ſo many years in the eaſt among the Greeks. He found out no expedients of himſelf; but, when they were propoſed by others, he had diſcernment enough to

Said to have been portended by ſeveral prodigies.

His character.

[s] Theod. l. iv. p 704. [t] Ammian. p. 435. [u] Zoſ. l. iv. p 748. [w] Ammian p. 435. [x] Theoph. p 55. [y] Ammian p. 465 Zonar p. 27. Cedrem. p. 314. [z] Menæa magn. Græc. p. 229. [a] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 463, 464.

to know which was the beſt and moſt proper [b]. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averſe to buſineſs; which was owing to the eaſy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expoſe himſelf to any danger. To this diſpoſition moſt authors aſcribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother Valentinian [c]. Themiſtius commends his chaſtity [d]; and Ammianus, a writer no-ways biaſſed in his favour, does not reproach him with any kind of lewdneſs or debauchery. He was conſtant and faithful in his friendſhip, whereof ſeveral inſtances are related by Ammianus [e]. He raiſed ſuch only of his relations as were perſons of merit, and, generally ſpeaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the diſpoſal of employments [f]. He kept a watchful eye over his miniſters, exacted the military diſcipline with great rigour, not ſufferng his ſoldiers to do the leaſt injury to thoſe through whoſe countries they marched, and ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured ſubjects [g]. He ſeems to have diſcharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the miniſters of their cruelty [h]. He was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of his finances, and therefore did not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, as moſt of his predeceſſors had done, by thoſe who managed them [i]. Tho' he was quite unacquainted with the liberal ſciences, yet he is ſaid to have compoſed ſome ſpeeches, with the aſſiſtance of one Heliodorus, a man of a mean deſcent, and infamous character, as we read in Ammianus, who complains of the emperor, for obliging perſons of the firſt rank to attend his funeral [k]. Themiſtius ſtyles him the father of the provinces, by reaſon of the great care he took in eaſing them, by all poſſible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors [l]. Ammianus owns, that he could not with more care conſult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his ſubjects; and that the eaſtern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him [m]. However, all authors agree, that he had a ſtrange biaſs to avarice and

[b] Idem, g. 464. Themiſt. orat. vi. p. 11. & orat ix. p. 71. [c] Idem ibid. & Vict. epit. Theodor. vit patr. p. 815. [d] Themiſt. orat. viii. p. 119, 120. [e] Ammian. p. 464. [f] Idem. p. 463. [g] Themiſt. orat. x. p 158. [h] Idem, orat. xii. p. 155. [i] Idem, orat. viii. p. 114. [k] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392, 393. [l] Themiſt. orat x. p. 129. [m] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 464.

cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and ſuſpicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent perſons, and ſeize on their eſtates. The leaſt ſuſpicion of treaſon rendered him inexorable, ſays Ammianus, and his ears were open to all manner of accuſations [n]. All the eccleſiaſtic writers agree, that he allowed to the many ſects that then prevailed, nay, even to the Jewiſh and pagans, the free exerciſe of their religion; but perſecuted the catholics with the utmoſt cruelty, of which we have ſeen one remarkable inſtance in the hiſtory of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, Caroſa and Anaſtatia; but all we know of them is, that Procopius, who become famous in the latter end of the reign of Theodoſius, married one of them, he being ſtyled by Zoſimus [o] and Sozomen [p], the ſon-in-law of Valens. What become of the empreſs Albia Dominica, after the death of her huſband, we are no-where told. St. Chryſoſtom, writing about the year 381, obſerves, that the widow of an emperor, who had been baniſhed by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many perſons of diſtinction, who with much ado obtained that favour [q]. Moſt writers take the empreſs, of whom he ſpeaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor Valens. But as to the cauſe of her diſgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus ends his hiſtory; but of him, and Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment of the Roman hiſtory in the reign of Valens, and by that prince's command, we ſhall ſpeak in note (K).

[n] Idem, p. 465. [o] Zoſ l. v. p. 786. [p] Zoſ. l. iv. c. 9. p. 469. [q] Chryſ. ad vid. Jun. p. 463.

(K) Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch, where his family made ſome figure (1). He ſerved ſeveral years in the army, from the year 350 to 359, under count Urſicinus, partly in Meſopotamia, and partly in Gaul, in quality of domeſticus, which was then an honourable poſt. He attended Julian in his Perſian expedition, and was at Antioch, or in that neighbourhood, when the conſpiracy of Theodorus was diſcovered in the reign of Valens (2). Afterwards he renounced the profeſſion of arms, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his hiſtory, as appears both from the hiſtory itſelf (3), and from a letter which Libanius wrote to him from Antioch (4), while

(1) Ammian l. xix. p. 144. (2) Idem, l. xxix. p. 387. (3) Idem, l. xxxi. p 469. (4) Ammian. vit. p. 4—8.

while he was compoſing it. His twenty-ſixth book was not ended before the year 390, and the twenty-ſecond was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty one books, and compriſed the reigns of all the emperors, from Domitian, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens; but of his thirty-one books, only the laſt eighteen, beginning after the death of Magnentius in 353, have reached our times. Tho' he was a Greek, he choſe to write in Latin; but his Latin, in the opinion of Voſſius, ſpeaks him both a Greek and a ſoldier (6). But his other good qualities make ſufficient amends, ſays the ſame writer, for theſe faults; for he writes with great judgment, and ſeems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the antient Romans, and no ſmall partiality for thoſe who countenanced it, eſpecially for his hero Julian. In his hiſtory he frequently makes long and tedious digreſſions on the comets, and other things, which fall not within the province of an hiſtorian. In his accounts he is now-and-then ſomewhat confuſed, and often leaves out the moſt material circumſtances of the facts he relates; which has induced ſome to believe, that his hiſtory is in ſeveral places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his hiſtory, we ſhould have been quite in the dark with reſpect to the moſt remarkable tranſactions of thoſe times. Some epigrams by one Ammianus have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the hiſtorian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find ſeveral things relating to Ammianus have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the hiſtorian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find ſeveral things relating to Ammianus, and his hiſtory, in the prolegomena, which Mr. Valois has prefixed to the laſt edition of the works of that hiſtorian at Paris in 1681. Eutropius wrote his abridgment of the Roman hiſtory in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, and inſcribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his requeſt. He gives that prince the title of Gothicus, a plain proof that he publiſhed his work after the year 369, in which Valens defeated Athanaric, one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths. Mr. Valois ſtyles him a polite and elegant writer; but Vinetus, who publiſhed his works in 1553, concludes from his ſtyle, that he was not a Roman, but a Greek (8). Voſſius too finds fault with his ſtyle; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the Roman hiſtory done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. Jerom in his chronicle, and quoted by other Latin writers His work ſeems to have been in great requeſt among the Greeks; for two tranſlations of it were done into that language,

(5) Idem. p. 8, 9. (6) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 9. p. 201. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Eutrop. p. 557. (9) Voſſ. hiſt Lat. c. 8. p. 198.

guage, the one by Pæanius, and the other by Capito. The latter, who was by birth a Lycian, not only tranſlated into Greek the abridgment of Livy, ſays Suidas, done by Eutropius, but wrote beſides the hiſtory of Iſauria in eight books, and likewiſe that of Lycia and Pamphylia. The tranſlation of Eutropius by Pæanius, was publiſhed among the other Auguſtian writers by Sylburgius at Francfort in 1590. Sylburgius is of opinion, that Pæanius was contemporary with Eutropius. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of hiſtory (10). As for Eutropius himſelf, Suidas ſtyles him an Italian ſophiſt; and adds, that he publiſhed ſeveral other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he profeſſed the chriſtian religion, or no. He was preſent, according to Codin, at the laying the foundations of Conſtantinople, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, Eutropius muſt have been very young at that time. He attended Julian in his expedition into Perſia (13). He ſeems to have been of the ſenatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is diſtinguiſhed with the title of clariſſimus, which was peculiar to ſenators In the reign of Valentinian, and before the year 376, died, according to St. Jerom, Aquilius, or Acilius Severus, a native of Spain, who wrote the hiſtory of his own life in proſe and verſe, under the title of cataſtrophe. He was deſcended from another Severus, to whom Lactantius inſcribed two books of his letters. St. Jerom places him among the eccleſiaſtic writers (14); but his work has been long ſince loſt.

(10) Eutrop. Græc. p. 63. (11) Suid. p. 1099. (12) Codin, antiq. Conſtantinop. p. 17. (13) Eutrop. p. 589. (14) Hier. vir. illuſtr. c. 111.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Roman hiſtory, from the death of Valens to the diviſion of the empire.

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eaſtern provinces, overrun by the barbarians, reſolved to march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his uncle, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of the forces he had with him in Gaul to haſten into Illyricum, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter Thrace, and reinforce the army which Valens had ſent thither. This the Germans, called Lentienſes, whoſe country bordered upon Rhætia, no ſooner underſtood, than by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but lately concluded with Gratian, they paſſed the Rhine upon the ice, to the number of forty thouſand men, and upwards; and entering Gaul, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into Illyricum, and ſent them reinforced with thoſe that were left in Gaul under the conduct of count Nannianus, and Mallobaudes, king of the Franks, who ſerved in the Roman army in quality of comes domeſticorum, to drive back the Lentienſes, whoſe numbers encreaſed daily, the Romans, who guarded the banks of the Rhine, having through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their ſtations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of Argentaria, which moſt geographers take to have ſtood where the preſent city of Colmar ſtands. The Romans at firſt gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of ſuch a prodigious multitude, ſcarce five thouſand had the good luck to make their eſcape, thirty thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either ſlain in the purſuit, or taken priſoners. Their king Triarius, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the ſlain [r]. Oroſius writes, that Gratian was preſent at the battle; and that, depending

The Lentienſes paſs the Rhine, and break into Gaul.

They are utterly defeated by the Romans.

[r] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. Vict. epit. Hier. in chron.

ing

ing upon the aſſiſtance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, tho' greatly ſuperior to him in number [s]. But Ammianus only writes, that Gratian advanced to ſupport his generals [t]. This battle was not fought before the month of May; for on the twenty-ſecond of April the emperor was ſtill at Treves, as appears from a law bearing that date [u]. After this victory, Gratian paſsed the Rhine at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, ſhut them up on all ſides among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to ſubmit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to preſcribe; one of which was, that they ſhould deliver up their youth to ſerve in the Roman army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the Romans greatly reinforced by this new acceſſion of ſtrength, and at the ſame time that inconſtant and faithleſs nation put out of a condition of raiſing new diſturbances in the emperor's abſence. In this expedition Gratian gave ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generoſity; which gained him the eſteem and affection of all who ſerved under him [w]. He immediately wrote to Valens, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he aſſured him would be very ſoon. But Valens, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipſed his own, and deſirous of equalling his exploits againſt the Germans, reſolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, Gratian having ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of Gaul, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to Arbor Felix, now Arbon, on the lake of Conſtance, and from thence to Lauriacum, now Lork, in Auſtria, on the Danube, between the Traun and the Ens. There he embarqued part of his troops on the Danube, and marched by land with the reſt to Bononia in Lower Dacia, and from thence to Sirmium, where he ſtaid but four days, tho' he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From Sirmium he purſued his march along the Danube to a fort in the ſame province, called Caſtra Martis. In his march, ſome of his men, who had ſtraggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the Alans. From Caſtra Martis he diſpatched Richomeres, his comes domeſ-

They ſubmit to Gratian.

Gratian marches to the aſſiſtance of his uncle.

[s] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [t] Ammian. ibid Cod. Theod. chron. p. 98. [w] Ammian. ibid. p. 455.

domeſticorum, to acquaint Valens, that he was at hand, and earneſtly entreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But Valens, haſtening the battle, that his nephew might have no ſhare in the victory, was utterly defeated and periſhed, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the Goths, informed by a deſerter, that Valens had left many perſons of great diſtinction in Adrianople, and that the imperial treaſure was lodged there, laid ſiege to the place; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, as quite ſtrangers to the art of beſieging towns, they dropped the enterprize; and marching towards Perinthus or Heraclea, laid waſte that fertile country, and then advanced to Conſtantinople, hoping to make themſelves maſters of that ſtately metropolis, and of the immenſe wealth lodged in it. But the Saracens, whom Mavia their queen had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, and who were more dextrous at ſudden onſets, than regular engagements, having in ſeveral ſallies cut off great numbers of the Goths, the reſt thought it adviſeable to break up the ſiege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they ſpent in ravaging, without oppoſition, Thrace, Scythia, Mœſia, and even Illyricum, as far as the Julian Alps, which part that province from Italy [x]. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the Quadi and Sarmatians, entered the Roman territories at the ſame time, putting all to fire and ſword, and ſurpaſſing the Goths themſelves in the un-heard-of cruelties they practiſed [y]. St. Jerom gives us a pathetic account of the calamities ſuffered at that time by the ſubjects of the empire. The whole country, ſays he, from Conſtantinople to the Julian Alps, have been ſwimming theſe twenty years in Roman blood: Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Theſſalonica, (or rather Theſſaly) Achaia, both Epirus's, Dalmatia, both Pannonia's, are filled with Goths, Sarmatians, Quadians, Alans, Hunns, Vandals, Marcomans, &c. whoſe avarice nothing has eſcaped, whoſe cruelty has been felt by perſons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent perſons of both ſexes, how many ſacred virgins, have been outrageouſly inſulted, and hurried into captivity? Biſhops have been inhumanly maſſacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the

Valens gives battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival.

The Goths beſiege in vain Adrianople and Conſtantinople.

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, and other barbarians.

[x] Idem, p. 456---458. & l. xx. p. 160. [y] Idem, l xxxi. p. 469. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 751.

the ſacred altars turned into mangers. The downfal of the Roman empire is at hand [z]. The ſame ſaint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the preſent time, tells us, that Illyricum, Thrace, and Dalmatia, his native country, looked ſtill like deſerts, and that nothing was to be ſeen in them but briars and thick foreſts [a]. The cities of Illyricum, which ſuffered moſt on this occaſion, were Petavio and Murſia; the former is ſaid to have been betrayed to the barbarians by Valens, whom the Arians had attempted to raiſe to that ſee [b]. As there were great numbers of Goths, who ſerved in the Roman armies, quartered in the forts and cities of Aſia, Julius, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would riſe and join their countrymen, if they ſhould move that way, by private letters ſent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be maſſacred at the ſame time. This ſevere, but perhaps neceſſary, order was put in execution without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance, and Aſia delivered from the danger it had juſt reaſon to apprehend; for Zoſimus aſſures us, that the Goths only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the Romans as they were treated by them [c].

All the Goths put to the ſword in the eaſt.

We left Gratian on the frontiers of Thrace, ready to enter that province, and join Valens; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loſs the Romans had ſuſtained in the fatal battle of Adrianople, which was brought to him by Victor, who had had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, than he marched back to Sirmium, to deliberate there on the moſt proper meaſures to be taken in ſo critical a conjuncture. After a ſhort ſtay at Sirmium, he marched at the head of all the forces he could aſſemble, to Conſtantinople, to ſecure that metropolis; and in the mean time conſidering with himſelf how many brave officers had periſhed in the preſent war, and how much he ſtood in need of an able and faithful general, he ſent for young Theodoſius, who, after having given ſignal proofs of his courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to Spain, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the ſtorm that threatened him. Theodoſius complied with the emperor's command; and quitting his retirement, haſtened into Illyricum, where he was received by Gratian with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after ſent at the head of a conſiderable

Gratian ſends for Theodoſius.

[z] Hier. epiſt. 3. p. 26.
[a] Idem in Soph. 1. p. 209.
[b] Ambroſ. epiſt. 1. p. 167
[c] Zoſ. p. 752. Ammian. p. 459.

conſiderable army againſt the Sarmatians, who were in full march to join the Goths: but Theodoſius, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the Danube. The victory he gained on this occaſion was ſo complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which Theodoſius himſelf gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by perſons ſent on purpoſe to view the field of battle [d]. To this victory, and the other which Gratian had gained this year over the Germans before he left Gaul, Auſonius no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the ſame year appeaſed the troubles on the Rhine and the Danube [e]. From Conſtantinople the emperor returned to Sirmium, and paſſed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf by the death of Valens, maſter of the eaſt, than he recalled and reſtored to their ſees, the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by Valens; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conſcience to chriſtians of all denominations, except the Manichees, the Photinians, and the Eunomians, whom he would not ſuffer to have any churches [f]. This edict put a ſtop to the perſecution, which the Arians had raiſed, and carried on with great cruelty againſt the catholics, during the whole reign of Valens. Gratian, notwithſtanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviſeable for the preſent to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raiſing new diſturbances, which, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous conſequences. This law, granting liberty of conſcience to all chriſtians, ſeems to have taken place only in the eaſt, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this very year, and addreſſed to Flavianus, vicar of Africa, he abſolutely condemns the Donatiſts, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will ſuffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the goſpel, to the faith of the apoſtles, and to the tradition of the church [g]. While he reſided at Sirmium, ſurrounded on all ſides by the barbarians, he named Auſonius and Olybrius conſuls for the enſuing year. He wrote to Auſonius, who had been his preceptor, a moſt obliging letter,

Who gains a complete victory over the Sarmatians.

Gratian recalls the baniſhed biſhops.

He condemns the Donatiſts.

He raiſes the poet Auſonius to the conſulſhip.

[d] Theodoret. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [e] Auſon. conſ. p. 378.
[f] Cod. Theod l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5 p. 116. [g] Idem. tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194.

ter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the ſame time ſent him the conſular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed [h]. As Valens died without iſſue male, Gratian by his death, became ſole maſter of the empire; but not thinking himſelf, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to ſo great a burden, eſpecially at ſo critical a conjuncture, when the Goths, Hunns, Alans, Sarmatians and Quadians had broken into the empire on one ſide, and the Alemans and other German nations were ready to invade it on the other, he reſolved to take a collegue capable of eaſing him of part of his burden, and extricating the ſtate out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young Valentinian ſhared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being but ſeven or at the moſt eight years old. Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon thoſe, to uſe the expreſſion of Themiſtius, as his neareſt relations, who were beſt qualified for ſo great a truſt, he determined to aſſume Theodoſius for his partner in the ſupreme power; a perſon of moſt extraordinary accompliſhments, and no leſs admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experienc in war, and the mighty exploits he had already performed [i]. Purſuant to this reſolution, he declared him emperor at Sirmium on the nineteenth of January of the enſuing year 379, whilſt Auſonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius were conſuls. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that Gratian prevailed upon him to accept, ſays Pacatus, what others ſought with ſo much ambition, and employed the moſt unlawful means to attain. He refuſed, continues the ſame author, what others looked upon as the greateſt happineſs, in ſuch manner as evidently ſhewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere conſtraint [k]. After Gratian had to the general ſatisfaction both of the people and ſoldiery, declared him emperor with the uſual ſolemnity, he committed to his care the eaſt, Thrace, and the reſt of the provinces, which had been governed by Valens, reſerving for himſelf only Gaul, Spain, and Britain; for Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, were held by his brother Valentinian [l]. Sozomen writes, that to the eaſt Gratian added Illyricum [m]; which, if true, muſt be

He reſolves to take a collegue.

He raiſes Theodoſius to the empire.

And commits the eaſtern provinces to his care.

[h] Auſon. ibid. p. 381. [i] Themiſt. or. xiv. p. 182. [k] Pacat. p. 253, 254. [l] Theod. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zoſ. p. 746. [m] Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707.

be underſtood of the eaſt part of Illyricum; for the weſt part was always held by the princes of the weſtern empire, who till this time had been maſters of both. Weſt Illyricum compriſed both Pannonia's, the one and the other Noricum, Dalmatia, and Savia, which we take to be the province that was for ſome time known by the name of Valeria. That Gratian kept theſe provinces is paſt diſpute [n]. Eaſt Illyricum conſiſted of Macedon, the one and the other Epirus, Theſſaly, Achaia, Crete, both Dacia's, Upper Mœſia, Dardania, and Prævalitana [o].

Birth, education, employments, &c. of Theodoſius.

THEODOSIUS, whom Gratian raiſed to the empire, was, according to moſt authors, a native of Cauca in Galicia, which city ſtill retains the ſame name; but Marcellinus in his chronicle ſuppoſes him to have been born in Italica near Seville, the birth place of the emperor Trajan; and both that writer and Claudian reckon him among the great men of the Ulpian family, from which Trajan was ſprung [p]. Theodoſius reſembled that prince according to Victor, both in the features of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a ſtranger to the vices of Trajan, ſuch as drunkenneſs, incontinence, and ambition [q]. He was the ſon of Theſmantia and the celebrated Theodoſius, who conquered a new province in Britain, overcome Firmus in Africa, and was deſervedly accounted the greateſt commander of his age [r]. But his triumphs and great reputation having raiſed him many enemies at court, he was executed at Carthage in the year 376, the ſecond of Gratian's reign, as we have related above. Victor tells us, that the name of the emperor Theodoſius's father was Honorius [s]; but he is therein contradicted by Ammianus Marcellinus, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in moſt antient coins bear the prænomen of Flavius, which, after Conſtantine's time, became common to thoſe who had none of their own: whence ſome authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of Theodoſius made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that Claudian and Victor only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from Trajan. Pacatus obſerves, that he was a native of Spain, as well as Trajan and Adrian; but takes not the leaſt notice of

[n] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13 p. 100. & l. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14. [o] Notit. c. 3. p. 6. [p] Marcell. chron. p 78. Claud. p. 40. [q] Vict. p. 546, 547. [r] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. [s] Vict. p. 546.

of his being of the ſame family, which we can ſcarce believe he would have omitted, had Theodoſius been allied to thoſe two great princes. He had, according to Victor, only one brother and a ſiſter, whoſe children he brought up with the ſame care as he did his own [t]. St. Ambroſe and Symmachus ſuppoſe him to have had ſeveral brothers [u]. One of his brothers, by name Honorius, had by his wife Maria, whom Claudian ſtyles one of the moſt illuſtrious women Spain ever produced, two daughters, Thermantia and Serena, of whom the latter was married to the famous Stilicho, and the former to another general, whoſe name is not mentioned [w]. Eucherius, whom we ſhall ſee conſul in 381, is ſuppoſed to have been another of the emperor's brothers [x]. The emperor himſelf was born in the year 346, ſo that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age [y]. We are told that he was called Theodoſius, not only becauſe his father had been ſo named, but becauſe both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him that name, ſignifying according to the import of the Greek word Theodoſius, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God [z]. He ſerved under his father in Britain, when he was yet very young [a]; and being ſoon after created duke of Mœſia, he gained a memorable victory over the Samaritans in 374, being then only eighteen years old [b]. After the death of his father he withdrew to Spain, to avoid the ſtorm which threatened him too; and there led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by Gratian in 373, and declared emperor [c]. He was then married to Flaccilla, called by moſt of the Greek writers Placilla, and by ſome Placidia. She is thought to have been the daughter of Antonius, who, after having been prefect of Italy and Gaul in 376, and the two following years, was raiſed to the conſulſhip in 382 [d]. She was a native of Spain [e], and ſiſter to the mother of Nebridius, who married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo a Mooriſh prince, and count of Africa [f]. Nebridius, was proconſul of Aſia in 396, but died ſoon after; for Salvina was a widow, when St. Jerom, who had lived in great intimacy

[t] Idem, p. 547. [u] Ambroſ. epiſt. 17. p. 214. Sym. l. x. epiſt. 57 p. 459. [w] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 194. Cange Byz. fam. p 75. [x] Themiſt. or. xvi. p 203. [y] Theodor. l v. c. 5 p. 710. [z] Vict. p. 46. [a] Zoſ. p. 760. [b] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 410. [c] Ambroſ. ſermo de diverſ. p. 125. Vict. p. 546. [d] Cod. Theod. tit. 6 p. 350. [e] Claud. ibid. p. 193. Hier ep 9. p 73.

timacy with the father of Nebridius, wrote to her in 400 [g]. Theodosius had at least three children by Flaccilla, viz. Arcadius, born about the year 377, during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the first of May 408. Honorius, born in 384, and a daughter, named Pulcheria, born before the year 379, since Theodosius had then according to Claudian [h], several children. To these some add, and among the rest St. Ambrose [i], and Themistius [k], a third son, named Gratian. They do not tell us whether he was the son of Flaccilla, or Galla, the emperor's second wife, of whom hereafter; but Gregory of Nyssa writes in express terms, that the emperor had by Flaccilla only three children, viz. two sons and one daughter [l]. Besides Gratian, who died before his father, the emperor had by Galla the celebrated Placidia, mother to Valentinian III. and another son; but the mother died in child-bed, and the child with her [m].

The joy which the news of Theodosius's promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with Claudian, that the empire, without the assistance of Theodosius, would never have recovered its former lustre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians [n]. But to return to Gratian, he seems to have continued some months at Sirmium, after the promotion of Theodosius [o]; nay, Socrates, tho' in this place somewhat confused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians, who surrounded him on all sides; and soon after set out for Gaul, upon intelligence, that the Germans were up in arms, and ready to break into that province [p]. He was at Aquileia in the beginning of July, and in the latter end of the same month at Milan [q], where he contracted great intimacy with St. Ambrose, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deserves no less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Claud. ibid. p. 194. [i] Ambros. ibid. p. 122. [k] Themist p. 477. [l] Greg. Nyss. in funere Flaccillæ, p. 533. [m] Zos. l iv. p. 777. [n] Claud. consul Hon. c. 4. p. 40, 41. [o] Auson. ep. 2. p. 5, 6. [p] Socr. l. v. c. 6. p. 260. [q] Cod. Theodos. chron p. 100.

pious and truly chriſtian ſentiments it contains [r]. It was at his requeſt that St. Ambroſe wrote, tho' unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatiſe on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt [s]. The pious emperor was ſo well pleaſed with theſe two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had ſequeſtered at Milan in 380, with a deſign, as was thought, to give it to the Arians, out of complaiſance to his mother-in-law Juſtina. At the ſame time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conſcience to all ſects, he publiſhed another, forbidding all heretics, eſpecially the rebaptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold aſſemblies in any part of the empire. This law is dated from Milan the third of Auguſt of the preſent year 379 [t], and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of St. Ambroſe. Gratian left Milan ſoon after; and paſſing thro' Rhætia, the province of the Sequani, and Germania Prima, repaired to Treves, where he was on the fourteenth of September [u], and perhaps before; for he is ſaid to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have ſurprized the people of Gaul with his unexpected arrival [w]. He paſſed the winter at Treves, and conſequently was in that city, when Auſonius, upon the expiring of his conſulſhip, pronounced the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him [x]. This year we find the Lombards, whom we ſhall ſee two hundred years hence maſters of Italy, firſt mentioned in hiſtory. Proſper, who after having copied the chronicle of St. Jerom to this time, begins now one of his own, tells us, that the Lombards, abandoning the moſt diſtant coaſts of the ocean, and their native country Scandinavia, and ſeeking new ſettlements, as they were over ſtocked with people at home, attacked firſt, and overcame about this time the Vandals, a German nation. They were headed by two chiefs named Iboreus and Aionus, who dying about ten years after, they created Agelmond, ſon to the latter, their firſt king, who reigned thirty-three years [y]. We are told, that the Lombards, and the Gepidæ, were for many years one and the ſame nation; and that they paſſed

A law againſt heretics.

Gratian returns to Gaul.

The Lombards.

[r] Ambroſ de fide, p. 109—112. [s] Idem ibid. & de Spir. S. i. c. 1. p. 213. [t] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 117. [u] Cod. Theod chron. p. 100. [w] Auſon. conſ. p. 411. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Proſp. chron. Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p. 53.

paſſed the Danube together about the year 400, in the reign of Honorius, who allowed them ſettlement about Sirmium and Singidunum. This is what Grotius writes upon the authority of Paulus Diaconus, who flouriſhed in the ninth century [z]. Grotius adds, that the Gepidæ, and conſequently the Lombards, held the tenets of Arius, and that they were originally Vandals [a]. Tho' we have ſaid after Grotius, that Proſper is the firſt author who mentions the Lombards, yet we muſt own, that their name is to be met with in Ptolemy, Tacitus and Strabo. But to this Grotius anſwers, that by the name of Lombards in thoſe authors are meant, not the people we are here ſpeaking of, but other German nations, who from their long beards were called Longobarbi and Longobardi.

We left Theodoſius at Sirmium, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of January of this year 379. He was ſurrounded on all ſides by numberleſs multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, ſcoured the neighbouring countries without reſtraint, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Dacia, Thrace and Illyricum were already loſt. The Goths, the Taifali, the Alans and the Hunns, were maſters of the greateſt part of theſe provinces, and had ravaged and laid waſte the reſt: the Armenians, Iberians and Perſians, were likewiſe up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the empire [b]. What evils, ſays Gregory Nazianzen, have we not ſeen or heard of? whole countries have been deſtroyed with fire and ſword; many thouſand perſons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly maſſacred; the rivers are ſtill dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps of dead bodies. Let us not aſcribe the calamities we ſuffer to the cowardice of our ſoldiers, who have conquered the world; our ſins, and the Arian impiety, which has ſo long prevailed, are the only cauſe of our misfortunes [c]. The few ſoldiers who had ſurvived the late defeat, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, kept within the cities and ſtrong-holds of Thrace, without daring ſo much as to look abroad, much leſs to make head againſt the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies [d]. Gratian, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor ſome troops; 'tis at leaſt certain, that he left with him two officers of great diſtinction, viz. count

The deplorable ſtate of the eaſtern provinces.

[z] Idem, ibid. p. 27. Paul. Diac. de geſt. Longobard. l. i. c. 2——16. p 746. [a] Grot. p. 27, 53. [b] Themiſt or. xvi. p. 207. [c] Greg. Naz. or. xiv. p. 214. [d] Themiſt. ibid. p. 180.

Ricomer, a Frank by nation, and Majorianus, who commanded the troops of Illyricum under Gratian, and was by Theodoſius raiſed to the poſt of general both of the horſe and foot. Both theſe officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves under Theodoſius in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the Goths [e]. Theodoſius, leaving Sirmium ſoon after the departure of Gratian, repaired to Theſſalonica, the capital of Eaſt Illyricum, which Gratian had yielded to him, as we have obſerved above [f], and was ſtill there on the ſeventeenth of June [g]. During his ſtay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the eaſt ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the ſovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from Conſtantinople was the celebrated orator Themiſtius, who, in a ſpeech which he pronounced on that occaſion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his anceſtors. The emperor received them all in a moſt obliging manner, promiſing to redreſs, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained [h]. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his ſtay at Theſſalonica, he took the field, probably about the end of June; for on the ſeventh of July he was at Scupi in Dardania, and on the tenth of Auguſt at a place called Vicus Auguſti [i], the ſituation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can ſcarce give any account; for our beſt guide, Ammianus Marcellinus, fails us here; and other authors are ſo obſcure in their accounts, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and often with themſelves, that we can ſcarce depend upon any thing they relate. Idatius [k], Proſper [l], and Oroſius [m], tell us, that many great battles were fought, and as many ſignal victories gained by Theodoſius. On the other hand, Zoſimus mentions but one battle, which he deſcribes at length; but as he ſtudies on all occaſions to detract as much as he can from the glory of Theodoſius, he aſcribes the ſignal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one Modares, a prince of royal extraction among the Goths, who had lately taken party with the Romans [n]. Zoſimus, prompted by his blind zeal for the worſhip

The chief cities in the eaſt, ſend deputies to Theodoſius.

He gains ſeveral victories over the Goths.

[e] Sidon, car. v. p. 312. [f] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 751, [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 99. [h] Themiſt. or. xiv. p. 180—183, Zoſ. l. iv. p. 751. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 100. [k] Idat. chron. faſt. [l] Proſper. chron. [m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 34 p 229. [n] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 751, 752.

worſhip of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom againſt a prince who completed, as we ſhall ſee, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had ſuffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, againſt whom he betrays on all occaſions an inveterate hatred, and unſurmountable prejudice. As to Modares, by whoſe conduct Thrace was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and deſtruction, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and experience in war. St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote ſome letters to him, wherein he extols his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquillity of the church [o]; whence we may conclude him to have been, not only a chriſtian, but a catholic. Proſper tells us, that Theodoſius not only overcame the Goths in ſeveral pitched battles, but forced them to repaſs the Danube, and by that means delivered Thrace from the inſupportable yoke under which it groaned [p]. Great numbers of them took part with the Romans, after having delivered up to the emperor ſome of the chief men among them as hoſtages. Thus Proſper, Zoſimus [q], and Sozomen [r]. However, it is no eaſy matter to determine, whither thoſe retired who repaſſed the Danube, ſince their own country was poſſeſſed by the Huns, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by ſome authors confuſedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any diſtinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the Goths ſubmitted to Theodoſius, and the reſt withdrew from Thrace. In this, at leaſt, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus reſtored Thrace to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter end of the autumn to Theſſalonica, and there took up his winter-quarters.

And delivers Thrace.

THE following year 380, the two emperors were conſuls, Gratian the fifth time, and Theodoſius the firſt. The former, after having paſſed the winter at Treves, from which place we find two laws dated the ſixth and fifteenth of February, ſet out early in the ſpring for Italy, and was on the fourteenth of March at Aquileia and at Milan on the twenty-fourth of April. From Milan he advanced to Sirmium, and continued till the end of the ſummer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in Pannonia [s]. Theo-

[o] Greg Naz. epiſt. 135, 136. p 864. [p] Proſp. chron. [q] Zoſ. p. 756. [r] Soſ. l. vii. c. 4 p. 707. [s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 102—104.

doſius was ſeized in the month of February of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged Gratian to quit Gaul, and haſten into Illyricum, leſt the neighbouring barbarians ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to break into Thrace [t]. As the Goths were ſtill in arms, and threatened to paſs the Danube, Gratian, during the malady of his collegue, propoſed, and concluded a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by Theodoſius upon his recovery [u]. One of the articles of this treaty was, if Zoſimus is to be credited, that the Goths, who ſerved in the Roman armies, ſhould be at liberty to quit the ſervice when they pleaſed, provided they found others to ſubſtitute in their room [w]. Gratian, by a law dated from Milan the twenty-fourth of April, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the ſtage ſuch women as had embraced the chriſtian religion, tho' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profeſſion [x]. He renewed the ſame law the following year, adding this clauſe to it, that if ſuch women behaved for the future more like players than chriſtians, they ſhould be condemned to ſerve the ſtage the remaining part of their lives, without remiſſion [y]. As for Theodoſius, being ſeized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earneſtneſs the ſacrament of baptiſm; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of Aſcolus biſhop of Theſſalonica, after having carefully informed himſelf of the faith that prelate profeſſed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameleſs in his manners, the pious emperor immediately ſent for him to court, was baptized by him, and from that inſtant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover [z]. Soon after, the emperor gave a ſignal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law dated from Theſſalonica the twenty-eighth of February of the preſent year 380. In that law Theodoſius declares, that he will have all his ſubjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of Rome had received of St. Peter, which was taught by Damaſcus biſhop of that city, and by Peter biſhop of Alexandria, a man of great ſanctity; that is, that they muſt all acknowledge and confeſs the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of

Gratian returns to Illyricum.

And concludes a treaty with the Goths.

Theodoſius being ſeized with a dangerous malady is baptized.

His zeal for the orthodox faith.

[t] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649. [u] Proſp. chron. [w] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 756. [x] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 365. [y] Idem, leg. 9. p. 371. & leg. viii. p. 370. [z] Ambroſ. ep. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26 p. 64.

of the Holy Ghoſt; that thoſe who held this doctrine, ſhould be deemed chriſtian catholics; but, on the contrary, ſuch as rejected it, ſhould be treated as heretics and infamous perſons; their conventicles ſhould not be called churches, and they themſelves ſhould undergo thoſe puniſhments, which were due to their wickedneſs, from the imperial authority and divine juſtice, it being a crime and a ſacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out of ignorance [a]. This is that memorable law, which was addreſſed to the people of Conſtantinople, and to the prefect Eutropius, with orders to ſend it into all the provinces, and cauſe it to be every-where obſerved by the ſubjects of the empire [b]. To this law St. Auſtin, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that Theodoſius, upon his acceſſion to the empire, by a law full of mercy and juſtice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppreſſed by the protection given by Valens to the Arians [c]. Beſides this, the emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners, viz. one dated the twenty-ſeventh of March forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding Eaſter; that is, during Lent; another of the eighteenth of December, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceaſed huſbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: ſeveral laws againſt informers, who were to be puniſhed with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the ſixteenth of November, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the eſtate of ſuch perſons as were condemned for treaſon; adding, whereas the importunity of ſuch petitioners often wreſts from the prince what he ought not to grant, his reſcript in their favour ſhall be of no force; and ſuch as ſhall by that means have obtained the confiſcated eſtates, ſhall be puniſhed as tranſgreſſors of the laws. Theſe eſtates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion [d]. Under other princes, the eſtates of perſons condemned for treaſon were frequently granted to thoſe who had accuſed them, which proved a great encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of Theodoſius, put a ſtop to their vile practices. By former laws, the eſtates of ſuch as had been baniſhed, or executed,

Several laws of this year.

[a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 25. p. 57. [b] Idem ibid. & Soſ. p. 708. [c] Auguſt. ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64. [d] Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 441.

cuted, fell to the exchequer; but Theodoſius, by two laws of this year, dated the ſeventeenth of June, orders the eſtates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children; and thoſe of the latter to be left entire to their children or grand children [c]. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent the children of thoſe who were executed, than to the children of ſuch as were only baniſhed. In caſes of treaſon, only one ſixth of the criminal's eſtate was to be left to his children, whether he was baniſhed or executed. The emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, which are ſo many inſtances of his good-nature, his application to buſineſs, and his care of the public welfare [f].

The Goths re-enter Thrace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the Goths had concluded with Gratian, during the malady of Theodoſius, that prince had no ſooner left Illyricum, to return to Gaul, than they paſſed the Danube, under the conduct of Fritigern, Alatheus, and Saphrax; and, breaking into Thrace and Pannonia, advanced as far as Macedon, deſtroying all with fire and ſword [g]. Zoſimus writes, that they laid waſte Theſſaly and Epirus, and penetrated as far as Achaia, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition [h]. Theodoſius, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of Macedon, thought it adviſeable not to venture an engagement with forces ſo much ſuperior to him in number; but to haraſs them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The Goths, appriſed of his deſign, attacked the Roman camp in the dead of the night, made themſelves maſters of it, cut moſt of Theodoſius's men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, had he not ſaved himſelf by a ſpeedy flight, while the Goths were buſied in plundering the tents [i]. Thus Zoſimus. But Idatius [k], Marcellinus [l], Gregory Nazianzen, who was then at Conſtantinople [m], and Philoſtorgius [n], an Arian writer, and conſequently no-ways partial to Theodoſius, aſſure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Goths; and that, upon his return to Conſtantinople, which happened according to ſome, on the ſeventeenth, according to others, on the twenty-fourth, of November, entered that metropolis in triumph.

Theodoſius defeats the Goths.

[c] Idem, l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 8. p. 335. [f] Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3 leg. 6. p. 31. tit. 2. leg. 6. p. 32, & l. x tit. 13 leg. 2. p. 486. [g] Jorn. ibid. p. 649. [h] Zoſ. p. 756. [i] Idem p. 757. [k] Idat. faſt. [l] Marcel. chron. [m] Greg. Naz car 1. p. 20. [n] Philoſt. l ix. c 19. p. 133.

umph. Jornandes, who omits no opportunity of ſetting forth the exploits of his Goths, takes no notice of their pretended victory over Theodoſius. Beſides, Gregory Nazianzen deſcribes his triumphal entry into Conſtantinople, of which he was an eye witneſs; and adds, that he well deſerved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceneſs, had ventured to engage him. °. The emperor, ſoon after his arrival in that metropolis, appointed Gregory Nazianzen biſhop of the place in the room of the Arian biſhop Demophilus, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the doctrine of the council of Nice. The emperor in perſon conducted the new biſhop to the great church, and put him in poſſeſſion, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the Arians, who had held them for the ſpace of forty years [p]. Thus was the orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the metropolis of the eaſt, about the latter end of this year 380. The next conſuls were Fl. Syagrius and Fl. Eucherius, uncle, as is ſuppoſed, to Theodoſius. Gratian was this year, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, at Milan on the twenty-ninth of March; at Aquileia on the twenty-ſecond of April and eighth of May; and at Treves on the fourteenth of October. He returned to Aquileia on the twenty-ſixth of December, and ſeems to have paſſed the winter in that city [q]. Valentinian had introduced the cuſtom of ſetting yearly at liberty ſome criminals, on occaſion of the feſtival of Eaſter. This cuſtom Gratian confirmed by a law addreſſed to Antidius, vicar of Rome; but excludes from ſuch indulgence all criminals guilty of treaſon, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, inceſt, magic, all falſe coiners, and ſuch as had been pardoned before. This law was read at Rome on the twenty-firſt of July of this year 381 [r]. As to the affairs in the eaſt, Theodoſius continued at Conſtantinople, at leaſt to the nineteenth of July. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he publiſhed a law dated the tenth of January, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold aſſemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to Sapor, one of the greateſt generals of his time, who was ſent into the ſeveral provinces,

The orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the eaſt.

All the churches delivered up to the catholics.

° Greg. Naz. car. i. p. 20, 21. [p] Socr. l. v. c. 7. p. 263, 264. Greg. Naz. ibid. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 104, 105. [r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 31. leg. 6. p. 275.

provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic paſtors in poſſeſſion of the churches the ſectaries had uſurped. Sapor met no-where with the leaſt difficulty in the execution of his commiſſion, except at Antioch, where the catholics were divided among themſelves [s]. Philoſtorgius writes, that the Arians were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of Conſtantinople [t]. This year Athanaric, the moſt powerful of all the Gothiſh princes, who had maintained a three years war with Valens, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the Roman territories, notwithſtanding his pretended oath never to tread on Roman ground; and coming to Conſtantinople, was there received with great marks of friendſhip by Theodoſius, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of January of the preſent year. But Athanaric died ſoon after, viz. on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and Theodoſius cauſed him to be buried after the Roman manner, with ſuch pomp and ſolemnity, that the Goths, who had attended him in his flight, aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, reſolved never to moleſt the Romans; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceaſed prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevented the Romans from being attacked on that ſide [u]. Oroſius writes, that the emperor's generous behaviour to Athanaric made ſuch a deep impreſſion on all theGothiſh nations, that, charmed with his virtue and ſingular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and ſubmitted to the laws of the empire [w]. The ſame thing is confirmed by Idatius and Marcellinus; but this did not happen till the third of October of the following year, as we ſhall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of Athanaric at Conſtantinople, and before his death, the philoſoper Themiſtius pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he obſerves, among other things, that Theodoſius, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but had not yet condemned one perſon to death [x]. The pious emperor, no leſs deſirous to heal the diviſions that rent the church, than to redreſs

Athanaric recurs to Theodoſius, dies, and is interred at Conſtantinople.

[s] Idem, l. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. Theodoret. l. v. c. 2. p. 706. [t] Philoſt. l. 9. c. 19. p. 522. [u] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 758, 759, Oroſ. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [w] Oroſ. ibid. [x] Themiſt. orat. xv. p. 185—190.

dreſs the abuſes which prevailed in the ſtate, ſummoned this year, in the month of May, the ſecond general of œcumenical council, which was held at Conſtantinople by all the biſhops of his dominions [y]. While the council was aſſembling, the emperor publiſhed a law dated the ſecond of May, depriving ſuch as had renounced the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, of the right of diſpoſing of any thing by will [z]. By a law dated the eighth of the ſame month, he extends that penalty to the Manichees, whoſe eſtates he declares confiſcated, unleſs their children ſhould embrace the true religion; in which caſe they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents [b]. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of June, Theodoſius declared, that the reſpect due to the prieſthood not ſuffering biſhops to be ſummoned to the public courts as witneſſes, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there [c]. By another law dated the nineteenth of July, he forbids the Eunomians and Arians to build churches, either in the cities, or in the country, and declares the places where they ſhall have preached, or performed any other function, confiſcated [d]. All theſe laws are dated from Conſtantinople; but two others, of the twenty-firſt of July, from Heraclea in Thrace [e], whither the emperor had advanced againſt ſuch of the barbarians as were ſtill in arms. Zoſimus tells us, that having demanded aſſiſtance of Gratian, that prince ſent him a conſiderable body of troops commanded by Baudo, or Bauto, and Arbogaſtes, who were both Franks, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius, and maintained a correſpondence by letters with Symmachus [f]. Of the latter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Upon the arrival of theſe two renowned commanders, the Goths, who were ravaging Macedon and Theſſaly retired with great precipitation into Thrace; but not being able to ſubſiſt in that province, which they themſelves had laid waſte the preceding year, they were forced to ſue for peace, and ſubmit to Theodoſius [g]. Thus Zoſimus, detracting, according to his cuſtom, as much as he can, from the glory of Theodoſius. However, he owns, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Scyri and Carpodacæ, who had, jointly with the Hunns, broken

The ſecond œcumenical council.

Several laws of Theodoſius againſt heretics.

The Scyri and Carpodacæ defeated by Theodoſius.

[y] Socr. l. v. c. 8. p 264. [z] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 203. [b] Idem, tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120. [c] Idem, l. xi. tit. 39. leg. 8 p. 327. [d] Idem, tit. 1. leg. 3 p. 9. [e] Cod. Theod. chron. p, 105. [f] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 757. Symm. l. iv. ep. 15, 16 p. 150. [g] Zoſ. ibid. p. 758.

broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repaſs the Danube [h]. We find the Scyri frequently mentioned amongſt the northern barbarians; but of the Carpodacæ no farther notice is taken in hiſtory. This campaign ended, it ſeems, in September; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at Adrianople, and on the twenty-eighth at Conſtantinople, where he continued the remaining part of the year [i].

THE following year 382, when Antonius, called alſo by ſome Antoninus, and ſuppoſed to have been father-in-law to Theodoſius, was conſul with Syagrius, the neighbouring barbarians broke into Italy; but were ſoon driven back by Gratian, who paſſed the greateſt part of this year at Milan, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions [k]. From ſome laws publiſhed in the month of September of this year, it appears, that the emperor was forced to raiſe new levies, and demand extraordinary ſubſidies, for the defence of Rhætia and Illyricum. A law dated the fifteenth of December informs us, that perſons of fortune were obliged to ſupply the army with horſes [l]. As Rome was infeſted by multitudes of beggars, Gratian by a law dated the twentieth of June, orders Severus, prefect of the city, to ſeize ſuch of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to beſtow them upon thoſe who ſhall have informed againſt them, either as ſlaves if they were ſuch by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture [m]. By another law dated the eighteenth of Auguſt, he ſuſpends, for the ſpace of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received ſentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of Victory, which ſtood in the place where the Roman ſenate aſſembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiſcated [n]. This altar had been removed by Conſtantius, when he came to Rome in 357, but re-eſtabliſhed by Julian in 361, and ſuffered to continue there by Valentinian, who allowed to all his ſubjects the free exerciſe of what religion they liked beſt. At the ſame time, Gratian declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the veſtal virgins, ordering the officers of

A law of Gratian againſt beggars.

He cauſes the altar of Victory to be removed out of the ſenate.

[h] Idem, p. 759. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105 [k] Idem, p. 106. [l] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 4 leg. 3. p. 149. [m] Idem. l. xvi. tit. 2 p. 256, 257. [n] Idem, l. x. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 259

of the revenue to ſeize on the lands, which, for the future, ſhould be bequeathed to them or their temples. The pagan ſenators ſent deputies, at the head of whom was Symmachus, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke theſe laws; but Gratian would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence °. The heretics met with no leſs ſevere treatment in the eaſt from Theodoſius, than the pagans in the weſt from Gratian; for by a law dated the laſt of March, he declared ſuch of the Manichees, as were then known by the names of Encratitæ, Saccofori, and Hydroparaſtatæ, that is, the continent, the ſack-bearers, the water-drinkers, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform againſt them, and likewiſe againſt ſuch as, in the celebration of Eaſter, differed as to the day from other chriſtians; theſe he likewiſe pronounced guilty of death [P]. All the laws enacted this year by Theodoſius are dated from Conſtantinople; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the Goths having, by their deputies, offered to ſubmit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of Macedon, and ſhut up in Thrace, where they could not ſubſiſt, Theodoſius, not caring to drive them to deſpair, received their deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the Hunns, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to ſettle in Thrace and Mœſia, which two provinces were almoſt quite diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other ſubjects of the empire [q]. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they ſubmitted. Great numbers of them entered into the Roman ſervice; but formed a ſeparate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the ſource of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injuſtice, and cruelty of the Roman officers, they refuſed to put themſelves into their power, and inſiſted upon their continuing united, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt ſuch inſults as they had reaſon to apprehend, when diſperſed among the Roman troops. Zoſimus does not forget to blame the conduct of Theodoſius, and his want of foreſight, in this particular [r]; but Themiſtius, in a ſpeech which he pronounced

Laws of Theodoſius againſt heretics.

The Goths ſubmit to Theodoſius.

° Ambr. ep 11. p. 195. Symm. l. x. ep. 54. p. 455, 456.
[P] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. i. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg 9. p. 124. [q] Themiſt. orat. xvi. p. 199. [r] Zos. p 758.

nounced before the emperor himſelf, tells him, that he gained by his indulgence and good-nature the barbarians, whom he was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms [s]. The Goths therefore were not yet ſo far weakened, as to ſubmit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impoſe upon them [t].

THE next conſuls were Fl. Merobaudes the ſecond time, and Flavius Saturninus. Gratian was, from the twenty-ninth of January of this year 383, to the ſecond of May, at Milan; at Padua on the twenty ſeventh and twenty-eighth of the ſame month; and at Verona on the ſeventeenth of June [u]. He publiſhed ſeveral excellent laws this year, and among the reſt one dated the nineteenth of January, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular perſons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged [w]; another dated the twenty-ſeventh of February, inflicting ſevere penalties on ſuch as ſhould conceal deſerters or robbers [x]; a third, condemning informers to ſuch puniſhments as were due to the crimes of which they accuſed others, when they could not make good the charge [y]; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to ſuch orders as tribunes, ſecretaries, counts, or any other perſons, however dignified and diſtinguiſhed, ſhould pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth [z]: the former of theſe two laws is dated the twenty-ſeventh of May, and the latter the ſeventeenth of June. By a law dated the twenty-ſecond of May, he declares thoſe incapable of diſpoſing of their eſtates by will, who ſhall renounce the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, Judaiſm, or the execrable tenets of the Manichees. Thoſe by whom they ſhall have been ſeduced, are ſubjected to the ſame penalty [a]. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine, that raged in Rome, but more on account of the diſturbances that were raiſed in the ſtate by Maximus, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor Gratian. That uſurper, named Magnus Clemens Maximus, was by birth a Briton, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from Socrates [b]; but, in our opinion, that author ſpeaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place

Several laws publiſhed by Gratian.

[s] Themiſt. ibid. p. 211. [t] Idem, p. 212. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 108, 109. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. [x] Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222. [y] Idem, tit. 1. leg. 14. p. 19. [z] Idem, l. i. tit. 3. leg. 1. p 27. [a] Idem, l. xv. tit, 7. leg. 3. p 205. [b] Uſſer. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 199.

place of his nativity [c], as does likewiſe Gildas [d]. Pacatus who flouriſhed in thoſe times, aſſures us, that he was a ſtranger in Britain, and had been baniſhed into this iſland [e]. Zoſimus writes, that he was a native of Spain [f], which is not improbable, ſince it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to Theodoſius. He was brought up, ſays Pacatus, in the family of Theodoſius as a ſervant, and employed in the meaneſt offices [g]. Zoſimus pretends, that he ſerved in Britain with Theodoſius, who, as we have obſerved above, attended his father into this iſland in the year 368. Be that as it will, ſeeing Theodoſius raiſed to the empire, ſays Zoſimus, while he could not attain to ány creditable employment, prompted by jealouſy and envy, he began to foment the averſion of the Roman ſoldiers to Gratian, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; inſomuch that in the end they revolted, declared Maximus emperor, and, with the uſual ſolemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied to Theodoſius, and that it was with his participation and conſent he had taken upon him the ſovereignty [h]. Thus Zoſimus. But Sulpicius Severus[i], and Oroſius [k], tell us, that the ſoldiers mutinying, forced him to accept the purple. The authority of theſe two authors, of whom the former flouriſhed at that very time, and the other ſoon after, is of great weight with us. Oroſius ſtyles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means [l]; and Sulpicius ſpeaks of him as one, who, abating this uſurpation, deſerved in every other reſpect to be eſteemed and commended [m]. Gregory of Tours writes, that, before his uſurpation, he had gained ſeveral ſignal victories in Britain [n]; and ſome modern authors, that he drove the Scots quite out of the iſland [o]. But neither is conſiſtent with what we have related above out of Zoſimus. Maximus at firſt was ſupported only by a ſmall number of the inhabitants of this iſland; but others flocking to him from all parts of Britain, he found himſelf in a very ſhort time at the head of a numerous army, which, without loſs of time, he tranſported into Gaul; and landing at the mouth of the Rhine, he prevailed

Maximus revolts in Britain.

His character.

He paſſes over into Gaul.

[c] Vid. Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. [d] Gild. de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 117. [e] Pacat. p. 263, 269. [f] Zoſ. p. 760. [g] Pacat. p. 264. [h] Zoſ. p. 760. [i] Sulp. Sev. vit. S. Martin. c. 23, p. 208. [k] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [l] Oroſ. ibid. [m] Sulp. Sev. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290. [n] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30. [o] Vide Uſſ. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p 592.

vailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from Gratian, and join him, not ſo much by force of arms, as by art and addreſs [p], extending, ſays Gildas, by lyes and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wickedneſs and rebellion [q]. Gratian was then making war upon the Germans, called Juthongi; but he no ſooner heard of the arrival of the uſurper in Gaul, than he haſtened to Treves, to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emiſſaries of Maximus, abandoned him, to take part with the uſurper. However, thinking himſelf ſtill a match for Maximus, he left Treves, went in queſt of his enemy, and offered him battle [r]. Baronius writes, that Gratian, finding himſelf abandoned by his own troops, had called the Hunns and Alans to his aſſiſtance, and that his army conſiſted chiefly of thoſe barbarians [s]. The learned Uſher was once of the ſame opinion [t]; but afterwards retracted it [u]; St. Ambroſe, on whoſe authority it was grounded, ſpeaking in the letter quoted by Baronius [w], not of Gratian, but of Valentinian II. Gratian's army was commanded by Merobaudes, and count Balio, an officer of known valour and fidelity [x]. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near Paris [y]. But Zoſimus tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the preſence of each other, without any action, except a few ſkirmiſhes, in which no great advantage was gained on either ſide; but that in the end the troops of Gratian, provoked at his ſhewing ſo much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, ſhamefully deſerted him, and went over to Maximus. Gratian, ſeeing himſelf thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the Alps, attended only by three hundred horſemen; and having got into Lions, after he had been refuſed admittance into other cities, he was there taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death [z]. That he was put to death at Lions, all authors agree, except Zoſimus, who miſtook, as is ſuppoſed, Singidunum in Mœſia for Lugdunum in Gaul. Socrates [a] and Sozomen [b] relate his death with ſeveral cir-

Gratian abandoned by his army.

And put to death at Lyons.

Andra-

[p] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 760. [q] Gild. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 117.
[r] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. Zoſ. p. 760.
[s] Baron ad ann. 383. [t] Uſſ Brit. eccleſ. antiq. p. 590.
[u] Idem ibid. p. 1058. [w] Ambroſ. ep. 56. p. 320. [x] Proſper. p. 267. Ambroſ. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. [y] Proſp. Tyro. chron. [z] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. Hier. chron. p. 26. Ambroſ. pſal. lxi. p. 746. [a] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270.
[b] Soz. l. vii. c. 13 p. 721.

cumſtances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that Andragathius, who was general of the horſe under Maximus, and ſent by him to purſue Gratian, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was croſſing the Rhone, put himſelf into a cloſe litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the empreſs Læta, whom Gratian had lately married, going to her huſband. The emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to ſee one whom he ſo tenderly loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was ſtanding with open arms ready to receive her, Andragathius, ſtarting out of the litter, ſeized him, and ſoon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. Ambroſe, a contemporary writer, viz. that Gratian was betrayed by a perſon whom he had truſted with entire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refuſed at firſt to comply with the invitation, ſuſpecting ſome treachery; but being in the end deceived by falſe oaths, and feigned proteſtations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew by thoſe who had feaſted with him [c]. Theſe circumſtances are not mentioned by hiſtorians; only Oroſius and Marcellinus write, that he was ſurpriſed by the craft and artifice of Maximus, and ſoon after put to death [d]. Thus died Gratian in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, ſixteen years, and one day, but from the death of his father, only ſeven years, and nine months [e]. He married in 374 or 375 Conſtantia, the poſthumous daughter of the emperor Conſtantius, and had by her a ſon, and other children [f]; but they all died, it ſeems, before him [g], as did likewiſe his wife Conſtantia, whoſe body was brought this very year to Conſtantinople, according to Idatius and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and interred on the ſecond of December. Gratian not long before his death married to his ſecond wife Læta [h], to whom, as well as to her mother, by name Piſſamine, Theodoſius allowed a yearly penſion, to ſupport them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of Rome, while that city was beſieged by Alaric in the year 408 [i]. The death of Gratian was no ſooner known at Milan, than St. Ambroſe, who had lived

[c] Ambroſ. pſal. lxi. p. 848. [d] Oros. p 220. Marcell. chron. [e] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Marcell. chron. [f] Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 25. Ambr de fid. l. i. c. 20. [g] Theodor. l. v. c. 12 p. 722. [h] Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721. [i] Idem ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 815.

in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loſs of ſuch an excellent and inimitable prince, as he ſtyles him, ſet out in great haſte from that city to demand his body of Maximus in the name of Valentinian. But the uſurper refuſed it to him, pretending, that the tranſporting of his aſhes would ſerve only to renew the grief of the ſoldiery [k]. However, they were afterwards brought to Milan, and interred there near the tomb of Valentinian II.

His character.

As for his character, all writers, whether chriſtians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality that can be deſired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modeſty, his juſtice, his moderation, and deſire of doing good to all, in which he ſeemed to place his chief happineſs. Ammianus Marcellinus, tho' a zealous pagan, writes, that he would have equalled the greateſt princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the ſame time blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diverſions [l], which may be juſtly imputed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying ſeriouſly to buſineſs in his riper years. St. Ambroſe, Theodoret, Rufinus, Auſonius, and even Zoſimus himſelf, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he ſurpaſſed all the princes who had reigned before him, Conſtantine himſelf not excepted. St. Ambroſe, in his anſwer to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the title of moſt chriſtian [m]. The many laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are ſo many inſtances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Tho' none of the chriſtian princes his predeceſſors had ſcrupled to aſſume the habit of the high pontiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to cuſtom, brought to him, he rejected it, ſaying, that it was not conſiſtent with the principles of the chriſtian religion to wear that habit. Thus Zoſimus [n]; but it will be no eaſy taſk to prove, that either Conſtantine after his converſion, or any other chriſtian prince, ever aſſumed the habit or title of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, though the latter was commonly given to them by the pagans, and even to Gratian himſelf [o].

Is ſaid to be the firſt who rejected the title of high pontiff.

The pagan prieſts, adds Zoſimus, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit or title of high-pontiff, the chief man among them uttered theſe memorable words; If the prince will not be ſtyled pontifex maximus, Maximus will

[k] Ambroſ. pſal. lxi. p. 849. [l] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 344
[m] Ambroſ. de fid p. 110. [n] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 761. [o] Grut. p 160. Baron. ann. 312.

will ſoon become pontifex [p], foretelling, that Maximus would be raiſed to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of Maximus. However that be, Maximus was no ſooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he took his ſoon Flavius Victor for his collegue in the power he had uſurped, and gave him, though then only an infant, the title of Auguſtus, as we read in Victor the hiſtorian †; which is confirmed by ſome antient inſcriptions [q], tho' Zoſimus gives him only the title of Cæſar [r]. The uſurper fixed the ſeat of his empire at Treves, and extended his wings, to uſe the expreſſion of Gildas [s], over Spain and Britain, being maſter, according to Zoſimus [t], of all the countries, which Gratian, in the diviſion of the weſtern provinces, had reſerved for his own ſhare. We do not find, that he put any of Gratian's favourites to death, except Merobaudes, the conſul of this year, and Balio, or, as ſome ſtyle him, Vallio, one of the beſt officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to Gratian, by whom they had been raiſed for their eminent ſervices to the greateſt offices in the ſtate [u]. Merobaudes received orders from the tyrant to diſpatch himſelf, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death [w]. Pacatus writes, that Balio was ſtrangled in his own houſe by the Britons, who ſerved under Maximus [x]; but from St. Ambroſe it appears, that the uſurper had commanded him to be conveyed to Challon on the Saone, to be there burnt alive; but that he, by a violent death, prevented the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence [y]. Proſper, in his chronicle, writes, that Gratian was betrayed by Merobaudes; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer ſufficiently clears him from ſo black an aſperſion: whence in the chronicle of Proſper, ſome, inſtead of Merobaudes, read Mellobaudes; for Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, ſerved under Gratian in quality of comes domeſticorum [z]; and treachery was in thoſe days the peculiar character of that nation. Maximus commanded count Narſes likewiſe, and Leucadius, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to Gratian; but was prevailed upon by the famous St. Martin to ſpare

Maximus declares his ſon Victor his collegue.

Puts Merobaudes and Balio to death.

[p] Zoſ. ibid. † Vict. p. 546. [q] Rein. p. 326. [r] Zoſ. p. 770. [s] Gild. excid. Brit c 10 p. 117. [t] Zoſ. p. 766. [u] Pacat. p. 267. Ambroſ. ep 56. p. 320. [w] Pacat. ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ambroſ. ep. 56. p. 321. [z] Vide Valeſ. rer. Fran. l. ii. p. 59.

them [a]. Paulinus Diaconus, in his life of St. Ambroſe, tells us, that that prelate was ſent into Gaul to propoſe an accommodation between Maximus and young Valentinian; on which occaſion he treated the uſurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to attone by a ſincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful ſovereign: the ſame author adds, that other biſhops, more complaiſant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and ſhameful flatteries, lulled him aſleep in his wickedneſs [b]. As Maximus had brought over with him into Gaul the flower of the Britiſh youth, and the Roman ſoldiers quartered in the iſland, the country remained by that means expoſed to the incurſions of the Scots and Picts, who meeting with little or no oppoſition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages. The Romans now-and-then ſent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they conſtantly returned, and continued thus harraſſing the Roman provinces till the arrival of the Angles and Saxons, who made themſelves maſters of that part of the iſland which is now known by the name of England, about the middle of the fifth century [c]. Thoſe Britons, who attended Maximus into Gaul, never returned to their native country; but are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in Armorica, which was allotted to them by Maximus, and from its new inhabitants called Britania, now Bretagne [d]. Colonies are ſaid to have been ſent from this iſland into Bretagne at three different times, viz. in the reign of Conſtantius Chlorus, the father of Conſtantine the Great, during the uſurpation of Maximus, and when the Angles made themſelves maſters of this iſland [e]. The antients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to queſtion the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. Conſtantius, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of St. Germain of Auxerre, calls Bretagne, Armorica [f]; but Sidonius of Clermont, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, ſpeaks of Britons inhabiting the country that borders on the Loire [g]; nay, amongſt his letters we find one to Riotham their king [h]. That the Britons,

The Britiſh, who attended Maximus into Gaul, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in Bretagne.

[a] Sulp. dialog. iii. c. 15. p. 321. [b] Paul Diac. vit Ambroſ. p. 82, 83. [c] Gild. c. 11 p. 117. [d] Idem ibid. Uſſer. ibid. p. 199, 200. [e] Uſſer. ibid. p. 421. [f] Surius, 31 Jul. p. 366. [g] Sidon. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [h] Idem, l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.

tons, who went over with Maximus, ſettled in Armorica among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any antient hiſtorian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the antient proprietors, made themſelves abſolute maſters of the country under the conduct of their leader Conon Meriodoc; and wanting women, had recourſe to Dionotus, or Diodochus, king of Cornwall, who ſent them his own daughter, by name Urſula, with eleven thouſand young women of quality, and ſixty thouſand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant fable, even by the Roman-catholic writers. Had the Britons wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept thoſe of the country, when they drove out the men. Beſides, it is altogether improbable, that Cornwall was ſo ſtocked with women as to ſpare ſeventy-one thouſand virgins. The fleet, fraught with theſe unhappy virgins, is ſuppoſed to have been driven by a ſtorm to the mouth of the Rhine, and to have ſailed up that river to Cologn, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for Gratian againſt Maximus, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. Urſula is ſtill revered in the church of Rome as a ſaint; but the number of eleven thouſand virgins, ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years ſince left out of the Roman breviary. Of Auſonius, who was preceptor to Gratian, we ſhall ſpeak in note (L).

(L) Decius, or rather Decimus Magnus Auſonius, was a native of Bourdeaux. He tells us, that he was deſcended of a noble family (15); however, his father, who was a native of Bazas, and lived at Bourdeaux, followed the profeſſion of phyſic, till his ſon procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of Illyricum. He practiſed gratis, and was generally eſteemed a man of learning; but, what may ſeem ſtrange, was better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue. He died in 377, at the age of eighty eight or ninety (16). Cæcilius Argicius Arborius, uncle to Auſonius by the mother, was born in Autun, and deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but his father and uncle being proſcribed in the reign of Gallienus and Aurelian, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to Bayonne, where he married Æmilia Corinthia Maura, deſcended of a good family, and had by her one ſon, named Æmilius Magnus Arborius, and three daughters, Hiluria, Dryadia and Æonia: Arborius

(15) Auſon. grat. act. pro conſul. p 389. (16) Idem, parent. i. idyl 30. p. 355---359.

But to reſume the thread of the hiſtory. Theodoſius, who had never ſtirred this year from Conſtantinople, or the neighbourhood

rius was a celebrated profeſſor of eloquence; Hilaria profeſſed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; Dryadia was betrothed, but died a little before the celebrations of her nuptials; Æonia was mother to Auſonius. Julia Cataphronia, the ſiſter of Julius Auſonius, our author's father, embraced the ſtate of virginity, and lived to a great age (17). As for Auſonius himſelf, he ſtudied rhetoric under his uncle Arborius at Tolouſe, where Arborius taught about the year 325, before he was invited to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine: he ſtudied likewiſe at Bourdeaux under Minervius, Nepotianus, and Staphylus, profeſſors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his ſtudies, he firſt pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profeſſion he followed for the ſpace of near thirty years, till he was by Valentinian I. appointed preceptor to his ſon Gratian in 367, whom he attended into Germany the following year 368 (19). He had ſoon after ſome employment at court with the title of comes or count, and was by degrees raiſed to the firſt offices in the ſtate. Valentinian made him quæſtor, and had even promiſed him the conſulſhip (20). After the death of Valentinian, Gratian raiſed him to the high ſtation of præfectus prætorio, firſt of Italy and Africa, and afterwards of Gaul. He was prefect of Gaul, and likewiſe conſul, in 379 (21). He was, it ſeems, at Treves when Gratian was killed (22); but ſoon after retired to Guienne (23). In a letter to Paulinus about the year 392, he deſcribes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is ſuppoſed to have been in Saintonge. He profeſſed, without all doubt, the chriſtian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of Scaliger, altogether unworthy of the chriſtian name, being filled with pagan expreſſions, and the moſt bare-faced obſcenities, in which he ſurpaſſes the moſt infamous among the pagan poets. As for his ſtyle, it is commended by ſome, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in Baillet (25). His works, which give ſome light to

(17) Idem, parent. iv. p 106---109. Profeſſ. Burdeg. car. 17. p. 160. (18) Voſſus in clar urb. p. 408. epiſt. p. 257. idyl, p. 367. profeſſ. Burdeg. car. 12. 25. p 156. 169. (19) Idyl. 32. p 367. epiſt. 4. p. 428. (20) Idem grat. act. pro. conſ. p. 378.. (21) Idem. ibid. p. 391. (22) idem, epiſt. 9. p. 443. (23) Idem. epiſt. 18. p. 463. idyl. 31. p. 485. (24) Idem, epiſt. 23. p. 485. (25) Baillet jugemens des ſovans. p. 456---472

neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no ſooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he drew together all his forces, with

to hiſtory, are the epigrams he wrote on the profeſſors of Bourdeaux, his verſes on the chief cities of the empire, and the ſpeech in which he returned thanks to Gratian for the honour he had done to him in raiſing him to the conſulſhip. He wrote verſes on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewiſe conſular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long ſince entirely loſt, and of the former only a ſmall part has reached us. His poem on the Moſelle was greatly eſteemed by Symmachus (27), and is ſtill looked upon by the beſt judges as his maſter-piece (28). Some aſcribe to him, but without ſufficient ground, the diſtichs that paſs under the name of Cato (29). The emperor Theodoſius, who had a particular eſteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). Auſonius and Symmachus lived in great great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). Gratian, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, but likewiſe raiſed moſt of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above with the title of prefect of Illyricum before the year 379, for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of his age (32). Sanctus, who married his wife's ſiſter, was made governor of Britain (33). Paulinus, ſon-in-law to his ſiſter Dryadia, was raiſed to the government of the province of Tarraca in Spain, and the huſband of his other niece by the ſame Dryadia to great employments (34). Arborius, prefect of Rome in 380, is ſuppoſed to have been his nephew by the ſame ſiſter (35). Auſonius married Attuſia Lucana Sabina, the daughter of Attuſius Lucanus Taliſius, one of the chief citizens of Bourdeaux, and had by her two ſons, viz. Auſonius and Heſperus, and one daughter, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory. Auſonius died in his infancy; but Heſperus was prefect in Africa in 376, of Italy in 378, and the ſame year prefect of Gaul with his father The daughter of Auſonius was married firſt to Vallatinus Euromius, who died when he was yet very young, tho' he had been already governor of a province in Illyricum, and afterwards to Thalaſſus, who was proconſul of Africa in 378. She had one ſon by Euromus or Euromius, and ſeveral children by Thalaſſus, of whom the eldeſt was

(26) Auſon p. 126, 199, 375. (27) Sym. l. i. epiſt. 8. 9. (28) Vide Baillet, p. 472. (29) Voſſ. poet Lat. c. 4. p. 65. (30) Auſon. p. 1. (31) Sym. l. i. ep. 8 p. 9. ep. 26. p. 22. ep. 31. p. 25, &c. (32) Auſon. ibid. 30. p. 358, 359. parent. i. p. 102. (33) Idem, parent, xviii. p. 123. (35) Idem ibid. p. 123, 129. idyl. 30. p. 358. (35) Idem, parent. p. 121.

with the deſign to march againſt the uſurper, and prevent him from ſeizing on Italy and Weſt-Illyricum, belonging to young Valentinian. But in the mean time, Maximus having aſſured him by his deputies, that he had no deſign upon the dominions of Valentinian, but that he would ſuffer him peaceably to reign in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, Theodoſius thought it adviſeable to put off his journey into to the weſt [a].

Maximus propoſes an alliance with Theodoſius.

Not long after, Maximus ſent his great chamberlain to Theodoſius, not to make an apology, ſays Zoſimus [b], for the murder of Gratian, but to propoſe an alliance with the emperor againſt the common enemies of the empire; and in caſe he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war againſt him. Theodoſius not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of Gratian a ſufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foreſaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all ſides, hearkened to the propoſals of Maximus; and acknowledging him in the end for his collegue, ſent Cynegius, then comes

[a] Themiſt. or. xviii. p. 220. [b] Zos. l. iv. p. 764.

was named Auſonius (36). Symmachus mentions a ſon of Thalaſſus, to whom the ſenate had at his requeſt granted ſome favours (37). Auſonius had taken care to inſtruct his daughter in the liberal ſciences (38). His wife Sabina died in the twenty eighth year of her age (39); and Auſonius compoſed her epitaph thirty-ſix years after (40). He wrote his conſular tables, and ſome other hiſtorical pieces, for the uſe and inſtruction of his ſon Heſperus, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and compoſed than himſelf (41). Heſperus married the daughter of Severus Cenſor Julianus, and Pomponia Urbica, who was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and had by her at leaſt three children, of whom the youngeſt, named Paſtor, died when he was but a youth: of Paulinus, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed the penitent, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and ſtyled Euchariſticon, it appears, that his father was firſt vicar of Macedon, where Paulinus was born in 376, and afterwards proconſul of Africa, which employment he held for the ſpace of twenty-eight months (42).

(36) Idem ibid. p. 119. idyl. 30. p. 358 Sym l i. ep 19 p. 17. (37) Sym. l. v. ep. 56. p. 208. (38) Auſon. idyl. 32. p. 364, 365. (39) Idem, parent. p. 114. (40) Idem ibid. p. 113. (41) Auſon. p. 79. idyl 32. p. 362. (42) Paulin. euch. p. 284 286.

comes largitionum, and afterwards prefect of the eaſt, into Egypt, with orders to proclaim Maximus there, and to cauſe his image to be ſet up in Alexandria [c]. Zoſimus in this place writes, that Theodoſius only pretended to be reconciled with Maximus, to divert him from ſurpriſing young Valentinian, who was not in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy; and elſewhere [d] blames him for obſerving the treaty he concluced with the uſurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. Pacatus tells us, that when Maximus revolted, Theodoſius was engaged in a war on the moſt diſtant confines of the eaſt [e], perhaps with the Saracens; for he is ſaid by Marcellinus [f] to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and Libanius writes, that the news of the victory gained this year by Richomer was received with great joy by the inhabitants of Antioch [g]. The Hunns, likewiſe called Euthalites or Nephalites, whoſe country bordered on Perſia, as appears from Procopius, are ſaid to have broken into Meſopotamia about this time, and to have even laid ſiege to Edeſſa, which obliged Theodoſius to ſend part of his forces to the relief of that city [h]. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this juncture choſe rather to receive Maximus for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his propoſals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himſelf, as we have obſerved above, continued the whole year at Conſtantinople, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the preſent year 383, that is, on the ſixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of January, he had declared his ſon Arcadius emperor [i], The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of Hebdoman, diſtant ſeven miles from Conſtantinople. Arcadius was then about ſix years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the firſt of May 408, he was, according to Socrates, in the thirty-firſt year of his age [k]. As for Valentinian II. who poſſeſſed the weſtern provinces of Illyricum, with Italy and Africa, while Maximus held Gaul, Spain, and Britain, he was at this time but twelve, or at moſt thirteen,

Who acknowledges him for his collegue.

Arcadius d clared emperor.

[c] Idem, p. 761. [d] Idem. p 768. [e] Pacat. p. 263.
[f] Marcell. chron. p. 342. [g] Liban, vit. p. 67. [h] Sur. 15 Novemb.
[i] Idat. Marcell. Proſp. chron. [k] Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332.

thirteen, years old; and the great diſturbances which his mother Juſtina raiſed, by eſpouſing with too much warmth the cauſe of the Arians, give us room to believe, that ſhe reigned in her ſon's name. Under her Probus, who had been conſul in 371, and prefect of Illyricum and Italy in 368, had the chief direction of affairs [l]; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourſe to Theodoſius [m]; nay, Oroſius looks upon Theodoſius as ſole emperor, after the death of Gratian, of the weſtern as well as the eaſtern provinces [n].

THE next conſuls were Richomer and Clearchus. The former was of the royal blood of the Franks, had been comes domeſticorum under Gratian, and was left by that prince with Theodoſius, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391, he is ſtyled general of the horſe and foot [o]. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the ſeveral letters which Symmachus wrote to him [p]. He is by ſome called Ricimer, and by others Richimer, and Ricomer. Gregory of Tours ſpeaks of one Richimer, the father of Theodomir king of the Franks [q], whom ſome authors, whoſe opinion is not ill grounded, take to be the conſul of this year 384. Clearchus, his collegue, had been proconſul of Aſia in 264, and afterwards prefect of Conſtantinople, in which employment he was ſucceeded this year by the philoſopher Themiſtius, who, on that occaſion, made a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of Theodoſius, who had raiſed him to that dignity [r]. This year Proculus, count of the eaſt, being accuſed of extortion, and ſeveral outrages committed by his orders at Daphne near Antioch, was ignominiouſly depoſed, and obliged to abſcond, till the rage of the multitude was appeaſed [s]. Icarius, the ſon of Theodorus, who had conſpired againſt Valens, was appointed count of the eaſt in his room, which office he diſcharged with great rigor and ſeverity, not ſparing even the public magiſtrates, whom he put to the rack, in deñance of the laws, ſays Libanius [t], which had been but lately publiſhed; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-

[l] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. [m] Ambroſ. ep. xi. p. 195. [n] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. [p] Symm. l. iii. ep. 59, 61. p. 129. et ep. 54, 56, 69, &c. [q] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [r] Themiſt. orat. xvii. p. 213. [s] Liban. vit. p. 68. & orat. xx. p. 471. [t] Idem, orat. xx. p. 464. [u] Cod. Theod. tit. iv. p. 435.

twenty-ſixth of April 380, and thirty-firſt of July, 381. This year a famine, attended as uſual with a dreadful plague, raged in Antioch, and moſt other cities of Syria. The plague ſoon ceaſed; but the famine continuing, Libanius, in the name of the people of Antioch, had recourſe to Icarius, entreating him to relieve, by ſome means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily periſhing in great numbers with hunger. But Icarius, without being in the leaſt affected with their calamity, returned no other anſwer, than that they were abhorred, and juſtly puniſhed, by the gods [w]. This occaſioned great diſturbances in Antioch, which, however, were appeaſed without bloodſhed. The ſame year, Theodoſius, reſolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods, enacted ſeveral laws, forbidding all his ſubjects, on pain of death or perpetual baniſhment. to offer ſacrifices to idols; to conſult aruſpices, or diviners of what denomination ſoever; or to practice any of thoſe ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his chriſtian predeceſſors [x]. Zoſimus, in his uſual ſtyle, better becoming a declaimer than an orator, tells us, that Theodoſius proclaimed war againſt the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with ſuch ſeverity againſt thoſe who worſhipped them, that no one dared own he believed there were gods, or could with ſafety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the ſtars that ſhine there [y]. Libanius writes, that on a certain occaſion, ſtanding in need of the aſſiſtance of the gods, he had recourſe to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or ſhed a tear before their ſtatues, he only bewailed within himſelf his unhappy condition [z]. It was on occaſion of the above-mentioned laws, that Libanius made his famous ſpeech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks; blames the conduct of Conſtantine the Great; extols Julian; and ends his ſpeech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their anceſtors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force [a]. The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the Latins pagani, to their idols and temples, gave riſe to the denomination of paganus or

A famine in Syria.

The cruelty of Icarius.

[w] Liban. vit. p. 60. & orat. xx. p. 468. [x] Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267. & al. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266. [y] Zoſ. p. 758. [z] Lib. vit. p. 63. [a] Idem, orat. pro temp. p. 10—63.

or pagan, which began about this time to be given to all who worſhipped idols. Libanius, in that ſpeech, often addreſſes himſelf to Theodoſius as preſent; but nevertheleſs we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that he had the boldneſs to pronounce it before ſo religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the preſence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own ſcholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was ſo far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan ſophiſt alledged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed Cynegius this very year prefect of the eaſt, he ſtrictly enjoined him to ſhut up all the temples within his juriſdiction. Cynegius executed his orders with ſuch zeal and fidelity in the Eaſt, properly ſo called, that he was ſoon after ſent by the emperor for the ſame purpoſe into Egypt, where, by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worſhip, and by ſhutting up the temples, in ſuch manner that no one could have acceſs to them, he, in a ſhort time, utterly aboliſhed the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above all others, addicted to ſuperſtition [l]. The zeal, which he exerted on this occaſion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388, the honour of being interred in the church of the Apoſtles at Conſtantinople, the burying-place of the emperors [m]; whence his aſhes were conveyed the enſuing year by his wife Acancia into Spain, probably the place of his nativity [n]. He was comes largitionum from 381 to 383, when he was made prefect of the eaſt, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the year 388, in which he died, being then conſul with the emperor Theodoſius [o]. Libanius himſelf, notwithſtanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magiſtrate of an unblemiſhed character [p]; and Theodoſius, in a law addreſſed to him in 385, ſays, that his juſtice and equity were known and applauded by all the world [q]. It is ſurpriſing, that Baronius ſhould confound the prefect Cynegius with another of the ſame name, who, in 401, was ſent by Arcadius to demoliſh the temple of Marnas, and other temples in the city of Gaza.

Theodoſius cauſes all the temples to be ſhut up in the eaſt, and in Egypt.

[l] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 762 Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 444. Idat. chron. [m] Zoſ p. 769. [n] Idat. faſt. [o] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111. [p] Liban. de ingred. ad judices. p. 100. [q] Cod. Theod. l. ix tit. 1. leg. 15. p. 21.

Gaza. This year the emperor publiſhed a law, forbidding the marriages of couſin-germans, which had been always deemed lawful among the Romans, and no one ever looked upon as inceſtuous. However, Theodoſius not only prohibited ſuch marriages, but, by the ſame law, commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their eſtates to be confiſcated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate [r]. Arcadius ſoftened the rigor of this law by another, dated the twenty-ſixth of November 396, whereby he exempts the tranſgreſſors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of Theodoſius; but nevertheleſs declares ſuch marriages unlawful and inceſtuous, and the children incapable of receiving the leaſt legacy from their parents [s]. In 405, he entirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of couſin-germans abſolutely lawful [t]. This revocation was not received in the weſt till the time of Juſtinian, who cauſed it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and ſuch marriages were celebrated without reſtraint or ſcruple in the weſt, as well as in the eaſt. At the ſame time, and under the ſame penalties, Theodoſius revived the antient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to the niece of a firſt wife [u]. By another law of this year, dated the twenty-firſt of January, he ordered Cynegius to make a diligent ſearch after the Eunomian, Macedonian, Arian, and Apollinarian biſhops and clergy in Conſtantinople, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city [w]. By a third he forbids the Jews to buy chriſtian ſlaves; and allows all chriſtians the liberty of ſetting free ſuch ſlaves as they ſhall have purchaſed [x]. Theodoſius, as appears from the dates of his laws, paſſed moſt part of this year at Conſtantinople, and there received a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of Perſia, to ſolicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich preſents, and to excuſe, ſays a panegyriſt [y], by his ſubmiſſion, all the evils, which, till that time the Romans had ſuffered from the Perſian nation. They had loſt their great king Sapor II. who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned ſeventy years. He was ſucceeded by Artaxer, whom Eutychius ſuppoſes to have been his ſon [z], tho Agathias and Abulfaragius call him his

He forbids under ſevere penalties, the marriages of couſin-germans.

A ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of Perſia.

[r] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12 leg. 3. p. 297. [s] Idem, tit. 1. p. 227. [t] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 19. p. 419. [u] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p 297. [w] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. p. 129. [x] Idem, l. iii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 246. [y] Paeat. p. 263. [z] Eutych. p. 470.

his younger brother [a]. But if Sapor himſelf was born after the deceaſe of his father, as moſt authors write, he could not be ſucceeded by his younger brother. Artaxer, ſtyled Ardſhir by Abulfaragius and Eutychius, and Artaxerxes by Scaliger and Petavius, reigned only four years, and was ſucceeded in 383, by his ſon Sapor III. called by Theophanes, Arſabel, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed the kingdom in 388, to his ſon Vararanes or Varanes IV. ſurnamed Kermaſaa, perhaps from ſome country called Kerma, conquered by his father. Varanes reigned eleven years, and maintained the whole time a good underſtanding with the Romans [b]. The embaſſadors, of whom we have ſpoken above, were ſent, not by Sapor II. as Pacatus ſeems to ſuppoſe; [c] but by Sapor III. who reigned in Perſia this year 384,

With whom he concludes a treaty.

Oroſius writes, that a treaty was concluded between the Perſians and the Romans, in virtue of which the whole eaſt ſtill enjoyed a profound tranquillity at the time he was compoſing his hiſtory; that is, about the year 416 [d], The articles of this treaty are not mentioned by any hiſtorian; but from a law of Theodoſius, dated the fourteenth of June 387, and addreſſed to Gaddanes, ſatrapa or governor of Sophene, it appears, that the authority of the Roman emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by moſt geographers, is placed in the ſouth of Armenia, and is reckoned, by ſome hiſtorians, one of the five provinces which Jovian yielded to the Perſians. While the Perſian embaſſadors were ſtill at

Honorius born.

Conſtantinople, a ſecond ſon was born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of September. Theodoſius gave him the name of Honorius, to honour in his ſon, ſays the poet Claudian, the memory of his brother [e], diſtinguiſhed him with the title of nobiliſſimus, or moſt noble, and named him conſul for the year 386 [f].

THE ſame year, the Sarmatians having made an irruption into the dominions of Valentinian, he diſpatched one of his generals, not named in hiſtory, againſt them, who drove them back with great ſlaughter, and took many priſoners,

The Sarmatians defeated by the troops of Valentinian.

who were all ſent to Rome, to be either maſſacred in the ſhews of gladiators, or deſtroyed by the wild beaſts. The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms, beſtowed

[a] Agath. l. iv. p. 135. Abulf. p. 90. [b] Agath. p. 136. Theoph. p. 55, 58. Eutych p. 472. Claud. in Eut l ii. p 120.
[c] Pacat. p. 263. [d] Oroſ. ibid. [e] Claud. de Ser. p. 194.
[f] Socr. l. v. c. 12. p. 171. Theoph. p. 59.

beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on the general who commanded on that occaſion [g]. As for Valentinian himſelf, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in Italy; for, during the months of March and April, he was at Milan; at Aquileia in the month of September; and again at Milan in October, and the two remaining months of the year [h]. By a law dated the twenty ſecond of March, which was this year good-friday, he commanded all the priſoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be ſet at liberty, in honour of the approaching great feſtival [i]. This year died Vettius Agorius Prætexatus, a perſon greatly commended and extolled, as one of the moſt deſerving men of his age, by Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote his hiſtory about this time, by Zoſimus, Symmachus, Libanius and in general all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himſelf but augur, high-pontiff of Veſta and the ſun, and the head, as we may ſtyle him, of the pagan ſuperſtition. He was by Julian made proconſul of Achaia in 362, by Valentinian I. prefect of Rome in 367, and afterwards prefect of Italy and Illyricum; in which employments he acquitted himſelf ſo as to be at the ſame time feared and beloved. Ammianus writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and probity of the antient Romans [k]. Zoſimus calls him a man of an unblemiſhed character, and propoſes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magiſtrates [l]. Macrobius ſuppoſes the banquet of the learned men, which is the ſubject of his Saturnalia, to have been celebrated at the houſe of Prætextatus [m]. Symmachus looked upon him as in every reſpect the beſt, or, at leaſt, as one of the beſt men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but conſtantly yielded to the children or relations of the teſtator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no leſs affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that ſuch as poſſeſſed eſtates adjoining to his, in the diſputes which aroſe between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himſelf; ſo great was the opinion they had of his integrity [n].

Prætextatus dies.

His character.

The

[g] Symm. l. x. ep. 61. p. 461. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 212. [i] Cod. Theod. l. ix tit. 38. leg. 7. p. 276, 277. [k] Ammian. l xxii. p. 210. & l. xxvii. p. 399. [l] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 735. [m] Macrob. l. i. c. 1. p. 162. [n] Symm. l. i. ep. 38—49. p. 29. ep 47. p. 34.

The many letters which Symmachus wrote to him, and after his death, to the emperors concerning him, are ſo many panegyrics, in which he extols his wiſdom, his integrity, his modeſty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his moſt inveterate enemies [o]. He came this year to Rome, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magiſtrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praiſe of Valentinian [p]. He was then conſul elect; but before he entered upon that new office, he was ſnatched away by a natural, but ſudden, death, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Roman people. The ſenate erected ſeveral ſtatues to the honour of a perſon, who lived, to uſe the expreſſion of Symmachus, even after his death, in the memory of all good men [q]. St. Jerom, who was then at Rome, compares the death of Prætextatus, whom he ſtyles a ſacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbeſs Lea, who died a few days after him [r]. Prætextatus was no friend to the chriſtians; but uſed to ſay, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him biſhop of Rome [s]. About this time, Symmachus was appointed prefect of Rome, in which employment he acquitted himſelf with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new conſuls, prætors and quæſtors. The conſuls uſed, agreeable to a cuſtom which then obtained, to ſend rich preſents to their friends, and to all perſons of diſtinction; and the prætors and quæſtors to expend immenſe ſums in the public ſports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the preſents to be given by the conſuls, and the ſums to be laid out in the public ſhews by the two other magiſtrates, were fixed by this law, and thoſe declared infamous, who ſhould ſolicit an exemption from it [t]. This year a famine being apprehended in Rome, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of corn, in Africa, which uſed of late years to ſupply that metropolis, Theodoſius, at the requeſt of Symmachus, delivered the Roman people from the danger that threatened them, by ſending them great plenty of grain from Egypt and Macedon.

Symmachus made prefect of Rome.

Theodoſius ſupplies Rome with corn.

[o] Idem, l. x. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. [p] Idem, l. x ep. 37. p. 424. Hier. ep. 24. p. 156. [q] Idem, l. x. ep. 23, 24, 37. p. 405, 406, 424. [r] Hier. ep. 24, p. 156. [s] Idem, ep. 61. p. 165. [t] Symm. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 383, 384.

don. For this ſeaſonable ſupply Symmachus returned thanks, not only to Theodoſius, but to count Ricomer, and likewiſe to Rufinus, who, it ſeems, made already ſome figure in the emperor's court [u]. The great power he afterwards acquired there, does no ways redound to the honour of Theodoſius. The following year 385, when Arcadius and Bauto were conſuls, St. Auguſtin, then profeſſor of rhetoric in Milan, pronounced on the firſt of January a panegyric on the two new conſuls [w]. Bauto was by nation a Frank, and had been ſent by Gratian in 381, to the aſſiſtance of Theodoſius; but returning afterwards into the weſt, he ſerved Valentinian II. with great fidelity. Valentinian paſſed the firſt ſix months of this year at Milan, and the reſt either at Aquileia or Verona [x]. Tho' he enacted this year ſeveral excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he ſuffered his mother Juſtina to perſecute and oppreſs the catholics, becauſe they would not yield the great church at Milan to the Arians, whom ſhe countenanced and protected [y]. Theodoſius continued all this time at Conſtantinople, where a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him; but diſcovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Moſt of the conſpirators were apprehended, tried, and ſentenced to death; but Theodoſius generouſly forgave them, and would not allow any enquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' ſome perſons, in whom he repoſed great confidence, were ſuſpected to be in that number [z]. Not long after died at Conſtantinople the emperor's daughter Pulcheria, who was ſoon followed by the empreſs Flaccilla her mother, to the great grief of Theodoſius, who was no leſs a tender father than husband. The empreſs died at Scotuminum in Thrace, where ſhe was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health, but her body was brought back to Conſtantinople, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. Gregory of Nyſſa, who was then at Conſtantinople, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done ſome time before that of her daughter Pulcheria [a]. The fathers of the church who lived in that age, beſtow upon her the higheſt encomiums; and the pagan writers themſelves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other vir-

He forgives thoſe who had conſpired againſt him.

The death of Pulcheria, and her mother the empreſs Flaccilla.

[u] Symm. l iii. ep 55, 82. p. 127, 138. [w] Aug. contra lit. Petiliani, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131. [x] Cod. Theod chron p. 144. [y] Socr. l. v. c. 11. [z] Themiſt. orat xix. p. 231. [a] Greg. Nyſſ. de Pul. p. 516. & de Flaccill p 528.

tues [b]. The Greeks honour her as a ſaint, and celebrate her feaſt on the fourteenth of September, perhaps the day on which ſhe died [c]. The next conſuls were Honorius, ſtyled in the faſti nobiliſſimus puer, and Evodius, perhaps the prefect of Gaul under Maximus. This year Theodoſius continued at Conſtantinople till the third of September, when he is ſuppoſed to have left that metropolis, in order to march againſt the Greuthongi, who were ready to paſs the Danube, and break into the empire, under the conduct of Odotheus, whom Claudian honours with the title of king [d]. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated by the two emperors Theodoſius and Arcadius, who returned to Conſtantinople, leading with them an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of October. Thus Idatius in his faſti, and Marcellinus in his chronicle [e]. Claudian likewiſe ſpeaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the Greuthongi [f]. But Zoſimus, to rob Theodoſius of the glory of this, as he does of moſt other victories, aſcribes it to Promotus, who commanded in Thrace, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, Promotus ſent to the enemy's camp ſome perſons, who, pretending to be deſerters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the Roman commander and his army into their hands. Odotheus, not ſuſpecting any treachery, ſuffered himſelf to be conducted by them; but, in the mean time, Promotus, informed by his emiſſaries of the enemy's deſign, received them ſo briſkly, while they expected to meet with no oppoſition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the Danube, and drowned, and the reſt either taken priſoners, or cut in pieces. After this, Promotus attacked and made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately ſent to Theodoſius; but the emperor ordered them to be ſet at liberty, and having made them rich preſents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the good-will of the barbarians, ſays Zoſimus, to entice them into his ſervice, and to employ them in the war againſt Maximus, for which he was then making great preparations under-hand [g]. All other writers ſuppoſe Theodoſius to have commanded

Theodoſius gains a great victory over the Greuthongi.

He ſets the captives at liberty.

[b] Themiſt. orat. xix. p. 231. orat. xviii p. 225. [c] Vide men. mag. Græc. 14 Sep. p. 209. & Cange. Byz. fam. p. 70 [d] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 55. [e] Idat. p. 61. Marcel. p. 6 [f] Claud. ibid. [g] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 759---763.

commanded his troops in perſon; nay, Claudian tells us, that he engaged Odotheus himſelf, who was killed in the battle [h]. The emperor, ſoon after his return to Conſtantinople, married to his ſecond wife Galla, ſiſter to Valentinian II. and daughter to Valentinian I. by the empreſs Juſtina. He had by her a ſon called Gratian, who died before his father, and a daughter named Galla Placidia, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of her brother Honorius, and her ſon Valentinian III [i]. As for Valentinian, he was at Milan on the eighteenth of January; at Ticinum or Pavia on the fifteenth of February; at Aquileia on the twentieth of April; at Milan during the months of June and July; at Aquileia on the third of November; and again at Milan on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and on the third of December [k]. Baronius produces a letter written this year by Valentinian to Saluſt prefect of Rome, enjoining him to rebuild the church of St. Paul in the neighbourhood of that city, and to enlarge it, by taking in, with the conſent of the ſenate and people of Rome, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the ſenate, and the chriſtian people, with the orders he had received, and to follow in every thing the directors of the venerable biſhop of that city [l]. Prudentius deſcribes the church of St. Paul placed on the Oſtian-way, or the way leading to Oſtia, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which Baronius underſtands of the emperor who reigned in Prudentius's time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finiſhed by Honorius [m]. That it was finiſhed in the reign of Honorius, is certain, not from the words of Prudentius quoted by Baronius, but from an antient inſcription, which informs us at the ſame time, that it was begun by Theodoſius, perhaps when he came to Rome in 398, and imbelliſhed by his daughter Placidia, in the time of Leo the Great, biſhop of Rome [n]. However, it is manifeſt from the code [o], that Valentinian iſſued orders this year 386, for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of Honorius. The next conſuls where the emperor Valentinian the third time, and Eutropius, who had been proconſul of Aſia, and afterwards prefect of the eaſt. In the very beginning of this year 387, Theodoſius publiſhed a law addreſſed by way of letter to all the cities of the eaſt, enjoining

He marries Galla.

Valentinian orders the church of St. Paul in the Oſtian-way to be rebuilt.

[h] Claud. ibid. p. 55. [i] Philoſt. l. x. c. 7. p. 139. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p 116---117. [l] Baron. ann. 386. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Gruter. p. 1100. [o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 383.

joining the magiſtrates to honour the ſolemnity of Eaſter, by ſetting at liberty ſuch as on the approach of that great feſtival they ſhould find in their priſons, unleſs they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occaſion that the emperor uttered thoſe memorable words; I wiſh it were in my power to reſtore life to the dead [m]. This year, Theodoſius finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to cuſtom, the fifth year of the reign of his ſon Arcadius, to which he added, it ſeems, the ſolemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence [n]; for we are told, that on ſuch occaſions each ſoldier received five pieces of gold [o]. Moſt cities ſubmitted chearfully to this burden; but the people of Antioch, complaining of it as an unreaſonable oppreſſion, crouded to the houſe of Flavianus their biſhop, as ſoon as the edict was publiſhed, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his eſcape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's ſtatues, broke ſome of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the ſtatues of his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius, of the late empreſs Flaccilla, and of his father Theodoſius, through the chief ſtreets of the city, uttering the whole time moſt injurious and abuſive reflections againſt their perſons [p]. Having thus demoliſhed moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, they ſet fire to the houſe of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore ſome grudge, and would have committed other diſorders, had they not been diſperſed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, ſtruck terror into all the reſt. The governor, hearing the archers were come, ſhewed himſelf to the multitude, and with an air of authority commanded them to diſperſe, and retire to their houſes. Thus was the ſedition quelled at once; and the city reſtored by noon to its former tranquillity [q]. The two perſons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed againſt their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: ſome were beheaded; others expoſed to the wild beaſts in

A ſedition of Antioch.

Which is appeaſed, and the authors of it puniſhed.

[m] Chryſ. tom. i. or. 6. p. 84. [n] Liban. or. xxiii. p. 526. [o] Ammian. p. 314, 315. [p] Lib. or. xv. p. 467. [q] Idem, or. xiv. & xxiii. p. 393, 415.

in the theatre, and ſome burnt alive; he did not even ſpare the children, who had inſulted the emperor's ſtatues; and cauſed ſeveral perſons to be executed, who had been but bare ſpectators of the injuries offered them [r]. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable ſeverity againſt the unhappy Antiochians, almoſt without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, a report was ſpread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of Syria was at once turned into a deſert, the citizens abandoning in the utmoſt terror and confuſion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deſerts. As that report proved groundleſs, ſome returned to their native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the juſt reſentment of the emperor, kept themſelves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongſt the rocks and mountains. To thoſe who returned, St. Chryſoſtom preached ſome of thoſe inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to ſtir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their ſins [s]. The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehenſion they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and diſſolute people, as appears not only from St. Chryſoſtom himſelf [t], but from Sozomen [u], and even from Libanius [w]. In the mean time, Theodoſius, being informed of what had paſſed at Antioch, and particularly of the inſults offered to his ſtatues, and to thoſe of his father, of the late empreſs, and of his children, was provoked to ſuch a degree, that in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, he commanded the city to be laid in aſhes, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, to be put to the ſword [x]. This ſhews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in a paſſion to enter into the moſt violent meaſures. His indignation ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he had favoured that city above all the reſt; for he had deſigned to reſide ſome time there, as Valens had done, and had with that view built

Theodoſius highly provoked againſt the city of Antioch.

[r] Chryſ. homil. iii. p 49. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. Lib. p. 397. [s] Vide Chryſ. hom. ii p. 22. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86. hom iv. p 54. [t] Idem, p. 169 [u] Soz. l. vi c. 23, p 741. [w] Lib. or. xiv. p. 403 [x] Chryſ ep. ad Cal. hom. vii p. 207. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19 p. 731

built a magnificent palace at Daphne, and another in the old city, beſides ſeveral other ſtructures, with which he had at a great expence embelliſhed that metropolis [y]. But nothing incenſed him ſo much againſt that ungrateful city, as their having inſolently inſulted even the dead [z], that is, his father and the empreſs Flaccilla. However, as his wrath ſoon aſ-ſwaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himſelf for the preſent with cauſing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be ſhut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and ſubjecting it as a common village to its rival Laodicea [a]. A certain quantity of bread was there daily diſtributed among the poor, as at Rome and Conſtantinople; and of this largeſs too the emperor thought fit to deprive them [b]. Theſe puniſhments Theodoſius inflicted on the Antiochians in general, but at the ſame time he diſpatched Cæſarius, magiſter officiorum, and Ellebichus, magiſter militum, or general, with full power to try and puniſh ſuch as had been concerned in the late riot [c]. Ellebichus was a man of an unblemiſhed character, and is ſaid to have ſquared all his actions by that golden and truly chriſtian rule, "Do as you would be done by [d]." Gregory Nazianzen wrote a letter to him, entreating him, by their antient friendſhip, to diſcharge a reader from the ſervice, and aſſuring him, that by ſo doing he would draw down the bleſſing of heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management [e]. Cæſarius, his collegue in this commiſſion, was at this time magiſter officiorum, was prefect of Conſtantinople in 365, prefect of the eaſt in 395, and conſul in 397 [f]. He is commended by Sozomen and Libanius as a man of great integrity, and one who never promiſed what he did not deſign to perform [g]. Theſe two officers the emperor choſe in regard of their known integrity, to try and puniſh, according to the laws, ſuch of the Antiochians as ſhould be accuſed and found guilty of having of having been any-ways concerned in the late ſedition. St. Chryſoſtom deſcribes, with his uſual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occaſion ſeized the inhabitans of Antioch: they apprehended nothing leſs than the utter de-

Appoints judges to try and puniſh theoffenders.

ſtruction

[y] Theodoret. l. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Chryſ. or. xii. p. 137. Lib. or. xvii. p. 197. Theod. l. v c. 19. p 731. [b] Lib. p. 408. [c] Chryſ. or. xvii p. 195. [d] Lib. or. xxiii. p. 529. [e] Greg Naz. ep. cxxiii. p. 857. [f] Cod. Theod. tit. 6 p. 354. [g] Soz. l. ix. c. 2. p. 802. Lib. or. xxii. p 518.

ſtruction of their city; the emperor, as they were well informed, was highly offended, eſpecially at the outrages offered to his deceaſed father and to the late empreſs, and reſolved to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; the judges were men not to be moved by entreaties, or gained over with preſents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, puniſhable with death and, the confiſcation of their eſtates; even ſuch as were barely ſuſpected, were liable to the moſt rigorous enquiries, to racks and tortures. The conſternation was, as St. Chryſoſtom informs us, ſo great and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what effects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deſerts; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that reſolution. As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, eſpecially by Ellebichus, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in ſome degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commiſſioners, having placed guards in the ſeveral quarters of the city, to reſtrain the people from aſſembling, ſummoned all the members of the ſenate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alledged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and after various enquiries, diſmiſſed them, highly ſatisfied with the treatment they had met with, eſpecially from Ellebichus, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themſelves at his feet, implored his protection. The compaſſion and good-nature he ſhewed on this occaſion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the ſcene ſoon changed; for Ellebichus, having cauſed great numbers of perſons of all ranks to be ſeized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where juſtice was uſually adminiſtered; and ordering the priſoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, ſentenced ſuch of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered thoſe who denied it to be cruelly racked, without ſhewing the leaſt pity or compaſſion, as if he had changed his nature. Thoſe who had ſeen him the day before, could ſcarce perſuade themſelves he was the ſame man; for not ſatisfied with cauſing perſons of the firſt quality to be racked and tortured, like ſo many ſlaves, he uttered dreadful menaces againſt the whole city, threatening to lay it in aſhes,

The city in the utmoſt conſternation.

Ellebichus, one of the judges, proceeds with the utmoſt ſeverity.

aſhes, and put the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, to the ſword, unleſs they redeemed themſelves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely diſcovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treaſonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-ways concerned in them. St. Chryſoſtom, who was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, ſo far as his tenderneſs and compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful deſcription of this ſcene of horror, which he compares to that of the laſt day, when all diſtinction of birth, wealth, and rank will ceaſe, and every one be puniſhed or rewarded according to his deſerts [h]. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a ſhort hearing, either ſentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themſelves guilty, and diſcovered their accomplices. St. Chryſoſtom mentions a lady of the firſt quality, who, ſeeing her ſon apprehended by an officer on horſeback, laid hold of his bridle, and ſuffered herſelf to be dragged in that manner through the ſtreets to the tribunal, where, with her hair diſhevelled, and bathed in tears, ſhe threw herſelf at the feet of Ellebichus; but he, deaf to all entreaties, purſued his enquiries with ſuch rigor, as threw the whole city into the utmoſt confuſion. St. Chryſoſtom, who, with ſome others of the ſacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compaſſion, and was therein ſeconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where they led a retired life amongſt the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their ſolitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occaſion, to comfort with their preſence the diſconſolate citizens, and try whether they could raiſe any ſentiments of humanity or commiſeration in the hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges were ſitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their fellow-creatures with more humanity and compaſſion, they prevailed upon them in the end to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe who were found guilty, and all proceeding againſt ſuch as were not yet convicted, till a report of the whole

St. Chryſoſtom and the hermits obtain a reſpite for ſuch as were condemned.

[h] Chryſ. orat. xiii. p. 147—150, & orat. xvii. p. 252.

whole had been made to the emperor, and his further pleaſure were known. One Macedonius, an anchorite, univerſally eſteemed and revered for his ſanctity, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt; for meeting Ellebichus and Cæſarius on horſeback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by the garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to diſmount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little ſurpriſed, that a perſon, in appearance ſo mean and contemptible, ſhould dare to ſpeak to them in ſuch a ſtyle; but they were no ſooner informed who he was, than diſmounting from their horſes, they threw themſelves at his feet; when the holy anchorite, addreſſing them in the Syriac tongue, "The emperor, ſaid he, however diſtinguiſhed "by his imperial dignity, is ſtill a man; and therefore ought "to conſider his nature, as well as his rank. Thoſe whom "he commands, are of the ſame nature with himſelf, and "the images of the Supreme Being; let him therefore take "care not to provoke the Almighty, by deſtroying the living "images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the "inanimate images of his body. Other ſtatues may be ea-"ſily raiſed to him in the room of thoſe that have been de-"moliſhed; but he, notwithſtanding his boaſted power, is "not able to make the leaſt reparation for a ſingle life, which "he has once taken away [i]." We are told, that both Ellebichus and Cæſarius heard theſe words, which were interpreted to them in Greek, with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard [k]. The judges having, at the requeſt of the eccleſiaſtics and hermits, agreed to ſuſpend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleaſure was known, ſuch as had been found guilty were conducted under a ſtrong guard to the publick priſon, and the reſt diſmiſſed. Amongſt the former were all thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whoſe eſtates were immediately ſeized, together with their houſes and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the ſtreets, their friends and neareſt relations fearing, leſt, by harbouring them, they ſhould be involved in the ruin of their huſbands and fathers [l]. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they ſhould prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order

[i] Idem, p. 193. 194. Theodor. l. v. c. 19. p. 731, 732. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem, p. 517.

order to this, they resolved to repair without delay to Constantinople, and throw themselves at the prince's feet; but Ellebichus and Cæsarius, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and took upon themselves to present it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their mountains and deserts [m]. Upon their departure, it was agreed between Ellebichus and Cæsarius, that the former should remain at Antioch, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly Cæsarius set out that very evening, and pursued his journey with such expedition, that the sixth day about noon he reached Constantinople, distant above five hundred miles from Antioch [n]. In the mean time, Ellebichus caused those who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and seeing their friends and relations [o]. St. Chrysostom let no day pass without visiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in suspense between hope and fear, to an entire resignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence [p]. The Antiochians, dreading the effects of the emperors resentment, had sent, a few days after the riot was committed, Flavianus, bishop of the place, to intercede with Theodosius in their behalf. Flavianus had met Ellebichus and Cæsarius on the road, who acquainted him with the commission they were going to execute at Antioch. The holy bishop, in hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the good-natured emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at Constantinople he appeared at court; but in order to move the emperor to compassion, stood at a distance from him, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no sooner observed him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the Antiochians had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. Flavianus,

The drawing up a memorial in behalf of the Antiochians.

The prisoners treated with great humanity by Ellebichus.

Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, recurs to the emperor in their behalf.

[m] Idem, orat. xvii. p. 195. [n] Lib. orat. xxii. p. 518. & orat. xxiii. p. 533. [o] Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535. [p] Chrys. orat. xvii. p. 204.

vianus, burſting into tears, anſwered, that the ſevereſt puniſhment he could inflict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to ſo indulgent a prince; but at the ſame time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every chriſtian; that from his pardoning ſuch enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he profeſſed; that the Jews, Greeks, and barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, &c. He added, that now an opportunity offered to make himſelf a laſting inſtance to all poſterity of humanity and good-nature; and ſeaſonably put him in mind of the order he had iſſued this very year, commanding all priſoners to be ſet at liberty againſt the ſolemnity of Eaſter, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occaſion, viz. I wiſh it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and reſtore them to life! This admirable ſpeech, which is related at length by St. Chryſoſtom, made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and reſtored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Thus St. Chryſoſtom [q]. But Libanius [r] and Theodoret [s] tell us, that the emperor, tho' greatly ſoftened by the ſpeech of Flavianus, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of Cæſarius; who preſenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the ſame time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he ſaid, had been already ſufficiently puniſhed, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of Antioch, ſhewing, that it was not without reaſon he had treated them with ſo much ſeverity, after they had, in ſuch un outrageous manner, inſulted his deceaſed father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however juſt, was ſoon appeaſed, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or baniſhment, reſtored to them their eſtates, their ſhews, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expreſſions of the deepeſt concern for the death of thoſe who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to Flavianus, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the

Theodoſius grants them a general pardon.

And reſtores to the city all its privileges.

[q] Idem, orat. xx. p. 226—233.
[r] Lib. orat. xxii. p. 519.
[s] Theodor. l. v. c. 19. p. 732.

the diſconſolate city; but the holy biſhop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the joy, which the arrival of the meſſenger cauſed in Antioch. St. Chryſoſtom, to whom we refer our readers, deſcribes at length what paſſed on this occaſion, and concludes with theſe words: Let the pagans be aſhamed, or rather inſtructed; and learning our philoſophy of an emperor and a biſhop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces ſuch eminent virtues[s].

Maximus invades the dominions of Valentinian, who flies to Theodoſius.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the eaſt the boundleſs ambition of Maximus raiſed far greater diſturbances in the weſt; for that uſurper, not ſatisfied with the provinces which had been held by Gratian, paſſed this year the Alps all on a ſudden, with a deſign to ſeize on Valentinians ſhare too; and, meeting with no oppoſition, marched ſtrait to Milan, where Valentinian uſually reſided. The young prince, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt him, fled firſt to Aquileia, and from thence, being cloſely purſued by Maximus, to Theſſalonica, with his mother Juſtina, and the prefect Probus, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of Theodoſius[t]. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to Valentinian, in anſwer to one he had received from his mother Juſtina, told him, that he was not at all ſurpriſed at the progreſs Maximus had made, nor at the bad ſucceſs that attended his affairs, ſince the tyrant had protected and he perſecuted, the orthodox faith; for Valentinian, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of Arius, but proſecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven ſeveral of them from their ſees, being induced thereunto by his mother Juſtina, a moſt zealous Arian. Soon after, Theodoſius removed from Conſtantinople, attended by ſeveral members of that ſenate, to Theſſalonica, in order to comfort with his preſence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where Valentinian was lodged; and after having aſſured him, that he was reſolved to employ all the forces of the eaſt in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the Arian impiety, as the only obſtacle to the ſucceſs which they might expect from heaven[u]. Suidas relates the diſcourſe which Theodoſius

Who induces him to renounce the doctrine of Arius.

[s] Chryſ. orat xx p. 234. [t] Zoſ. l. iv. p 667. Theodor. l. v. c. 14. Soz. l vii. c. 14. p. 728. [u] Theodor. p. 724.

ſius made on that ſubject [w]. Zoſimus writes, that in a great council held at Theſſalonica, all the counſellors to a man were of opinion, that war ſhould be forthwith declared againſt Maximus; but that Theodoſius, forſeeing and dreading the evils inſeparable from a civil war, ſent firſt embaſſadors to the tyrant, ſeriouſly exhorting him to reſtore to Valentinian the uſurped provinces, and content himſelf with Gaul, Spain and Britain, which had been yielded to him by himſelf and Valentinian [x]. Maximus would not, it ſeems, hearken to any propoſals; for this very year he laid ſiege to Aquileia, which he reduced, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the inhabitants, as he did Quaderna, Bononia, Mutina, Regium, Placentia, and ſeveral other cities in Italy; nay, he was the enſuing year acknowledged in Rome, and in all the provinces of Africa [y]. Theodoſius, therefore, finding a war inevitable, ſpent the remaining part of this, and the firſt month of the following year 388, when he was conſul the ſecond time with Cynegius, in making the neceſſary preparations for carrying it on with vigor. His army conſiſted chiefly of Goths, Hunns, Alans, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the ſervice, to prevent their raiſing diſturbances on the frontiers. He appointed Promotus general of the horſe, and Timaſius of the foot; and having committed the government of the eaſtern provinces to ſuch perſons as, he knew, would, in his abſence, conſult the welfare of his ſubjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he ſet out from Theſſalonica, in the beginning of the ſummer, marching with great expedition through Illyricum, with a deſign to ſurpriſe Maximus, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, in Aquileia. Andragathius, one of the uſurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the paſſes of the Julian Alps; but a report being ſpread, that Theodoſius deſigned to paſs the Ionian ſea, and invade Italy, he was ordered to quit thoſe paſſes, and to man with the utmoſt expedition what ſhips he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his paſſage. Thus was Maximus deprived of the aſſiſtance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which Andragathius aſſembled, purſuant to his orders, on the coaſt of the Ionian ſea. In the mean time, Theodoſius entered

Maximus reduces ſeveral cities.

Theodoſius marches againſt him.

[w] Suid. p. 347. [x] Zoſ. l iv. p. 768. [y] Ambroſ. ep. 17. p. 215. Pacat. p. 275. Zoſ. p. 769.

tered Pannonia, and advanced to Sciſcia, now Seiſſeg, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of Mxaimus in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon Theodoſius as he was paſſing the Save; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf drowned in the river [y]. From Sciſcia the emperor advanced to Petovio, now Pettaw on the Drave, whcre he was met by Marcellinus, the brother of Maximus, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, tho' his men fought with extraordinary courage and reſolution. We are not told, that Maximus was preſent at either of theſe battles; but he muſt have at leaſt advanced to ſupport his generals; for both Pacatus [z] and St. Ambroſe [a] write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of the ſhattered army, to Aquileia, whither Theodoſius purſued him, having ſent Arbogaſtes before to inveſt the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his eſcape. Zoſimus writes, that the emperor arriving ſoon after, took the town by aſſault [b]; and Socrates, that it was delivered up to him by the ſoldiers of Maximus [c]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was ſeized, according to ſome, by his own men, according to others by the ſoldiers of Theodoſius, who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. Theodoſius reproached him with the death of Gratian, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As Maximus was, or at leaſt pretended to be, touched with remorſe for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had uſurped, Theodoſius began to look upon him with an eye of compaſſion; which thoſe about him obſerving, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's ſight, and without waiting his orders, ſtruck off his head [d]. He was executed at a place about three miles diſtance from Aquileia, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, according to Socrates [e]; or on the twenty-eighth of July, as Idatius will have

The army of Maximus defeated.

Theodoſius gains a ſecond victory.

Maximus taken.

And beheaded.

[y] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 769, 770. Amb ep. 17. p. 215. [z] Pacat p. 270—275. [a] Ambr. p. 214. [b] Zoſ. p. 770. [c] Socr l. v. c. 14. p. 273. [d] Socr. Zoſ. ibid. Pacat. p. 279. [e] Socr p. 273.

have it [f]. St. Ambroſe writes, that Maximus was at the ſame time defeated by the Saxons, the Franks, and Theodoſius [g]. Thoſe two nations had broken into Gaul, as appears from Gregory of Tours [h], under the conduct of Genobaud, Marcomir, and Sunno; and having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, were preparing to repaſs that river with an immenſe booty, when Nannius and Quentinus, two of Maximus's generals, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Quentinus followed the Franks croſs the Rhine, which he paſſed near the preſent city of Nuys; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, moſt of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marſhes, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a ſhameful and precipitous flight [i]. Maximus had left his ſon Victor, whom he had declared Auguſtus, in Gaul, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his abſence. Againſt him Theodoſius diſpatched Arbogaſtes, who took him priſoner, after having diſperſed the troops that attended him, and put him to death [k]. Zoſimus calls him a youth; but all other writers ſtyle him an infant. Andragathius, hearing of the defeat and death of Maximus, as he was cruizing in the Ionian gulf, threw himſelf headlong into the ſea, and was drowned, chuſing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as Gratian had been ſeized and murdered by him, he had reaſon to apprehend [l]. Oroſius writes, that he was overcome in battle [m]; and St. Ambroſe, that he had joined Maximus, before his defeat, and periſhed ſoon after [n]. Thus ended a war, which at firſt threatened the empire with endleſs calamities; and the glory which Theodoſius acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the uſe of it; for immediately after the death of Maximus, he publiſhed a general amneſty, and was ſo far from perſecuting the friends and relations of the uſurper, that he would not even ſuffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was baniſhed, ſays Pacatus, no man's eſtate was confiſcated; and thoſe who deſerved, and would have ſuffered, the moſt cruel death under any other prince, were diſmiſſed by Theodoſius, without ſo

Quentinus, one of the generals of Maximus, defeated by the Franks.

Victor, the ſon of Maximus, taken in Gaul, and put to death.

Theodoſius uſes the victory with great clemency and moderation.

[f] Idat. chron. [g] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215. [h] Greg. Turon. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p 58, 59. [i] Idem ibid. p. 59, 60. [k] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 770. Victor. p. 545. Proſp p. 515. [l] Zoſ. Vict. Proſp. ibid. [m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [n] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 214.

ſo much as hearing from him an angry word [o]. Thoſe who had with moſt warmth eſpouſed the tyrant's cauſe, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the ſame author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their eſtates unmoleſted, and with them the ſame rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been diſtinguiſhed before the rebellion [p]. The wife and daughter of Maximus had been taken, and confined in a public priſon by ſome of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no ſooner knew than he ordered them to be ſet at liberty, ſettled a conſiderable penſion upon them, and charged one of their kinſmen to take care, that no one injured or inſulted them [q]. But what St. Ambroſe and Zoſimus himſelf moſt of all admired in Theodoſius, was, his not only reſtoring to Valentinian his own ſhare, when no one was in a condition to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of the whole empire, but his generouſly relinquiſhing to him Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which, before the revolt of Maximus, had been held by his brother Gratian. He was ſatisfied ſays St. Ambroſe, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it himſelf, tho' no one could have blamed him, had he retained ſome of thoſe provinces, conſidering the immenſe charge he had been at in reſtoring the young prince to the quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt [r]. As Juſtina, the mother of Valentinian, died about this time, Theodoſius, during the three years he continued in the weſt, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, ſcarce ſeventeen years old, and conſequently not yet equal to ſo great a burden [s]. While Theodoſius was purſuing the war in Illyricum, a report was ſpread at Conſtantinople, that his army was cut off, and he himſelf in great danger of falling in the hands of the uſurper. Hereupon the Arians, whom he had highly diſobliged, by driving them from their churches in 380, as we have related above, riſing in the night time, ſet fire to the houſe of Nectarius, the orthodox biſhop of Conſtantinople, who periſhed in the flames, and committed ſeveral other diſorders. But the news of the entire defeat of the uſurper being brought ſoon after to that metropolis, the Arians, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourſe to the clemency of Arcadius, whom Theodoſius had left at Conſtantinople in ſetting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himſelf, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted

Diſturbances raiſed in Conſtantinople by the Arians.

[o] Pacat. p. 281. [p] Idem, p. 282. [q] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215. [r] Ambr. p. 216. [s] Ruffin. l. ii. c. 17. p. 135.

ed them [t]. It was without all doubt, on this occaſion that the Arians ſet fire to the church of St. Sophia, which conſumed the roof of that ſtately edifice, as we read in Codin; but Theodoſius, notwithſtanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to encourage his ſon to acts of clemency, at his requeſt overlooked that, and the other enormous diſorders committed by the fanatics on that occaſion. The emperor was ſtill at Aquileia on the twenty-ſecond of September; but on the tenth of October at Milan, where he ſeems to have paſſed the winter [w]. Being informed, while he reſided in that city, that the chriſtians had burnt a ſynagogue of the Jews and a temple of the pagans at Callinicum in Meſopotamia, he condemned the biſhop of the place to rebuild the ſynagogue at his own expence, and ordered all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in either of theſe riots, to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But St. Ambroſe, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater diſorders in the Arians, ought not to exert ſo much rigor againſt an orthodox biſhop and his people, wrote to him from Aquileia in their favour; and upon his return to Milan perſuaded the emperor, by a ſpeech he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given [x]. About the latter end of this year, the ſenate of Rome diſpatched deputies to Theodoſius, earneſtly entreating him to give them leave to reſtore to its former place the altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian. The emperor ſeemed at firſt inclined to grant them their requeſt; but was in the end perſuaded by St. Ambroſe to deny it. However, Symmachus, the chief of the deputies, a man univerſally eſteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the antient religion of the Romans in a panegyric which he pronounced ſoon after on Theodoſius, renewed the ſame requeſt in the name of the ſenate; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that inſtant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into baniſhment, forbidding him, under the ſevereſt penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of Rome [y]. The emperor's indignation ſeemed the more juſt,

Theodoſius pardons them at the requeſt of his ſon Arcadius.

A deputation from the ſenate of Rome, for reſtoring the altar of Victory.

Their requeſt rejected, and Symmachus baniſhed but recalled.

[t] Sodr. l. v. c. 13 p. 272. Soz l. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. [u] Codin. orig. Conſtant. p. 64. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. 7. p. 410 [x] Ambr. apol 17, 18. vit. p. 83, 84. [y] Socr. l. v. c. 14 p. 273. Proſp. de promiſſ l. iii. c. 38. p. 149.

juſt, as Symmachus had been but very lately pardoned by him, when accuſed by his enemies of treaſon, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the uſurper Maximus. However, as Theodoſius was never more ready to pardon, than when he ſeemed moſt provoked, the friends of Symmachus no ſooner ſpoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, reſtored him to his former rank, and to convince the world that he retained no ill will to him, raiſed him two years after to the conſular dignity [z]. This year Theodoſius enacted ſeveral laws againſt heretics, viz. one dated the ſecond of March, forbidding them, eſpecially the Apollinarians, to hold aſſemblies, to have biſhops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to preſent any petition to the emperor [a]. The ſame prohibition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of June [b]. By another enacted two days after, all public diſputes concerning religion were forbidden under the ſevereſt penalties [c]. A law dated the twenty-ninth of February declares all marriages between Jews and chriſtians unlawful, and ſubjects the contracting parties to the puniſhments due to adultery; another, addreſſed to Cynegius, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's ſiſter [d]. The ſame prohibition had been made by Conſtantius in 355 [e]. Theodoſius, who was ſtill at Milan on the twenty-ſecond of May [f], left that city ſoon after, and repaired to Rome with young Valentinian and his ſon Honorius, whom he had ſent for from Conſtantinople, after the defeat of Maximus. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of June; and a few days after Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, an orator of Gaul, pronounced his panegyric in the ſenate, the emperor himſelf being preſent. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occaſion, of his affability and condeſcenſion, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houſes of private perſons, which won him the hearts of the Roman people [g]. The poet Claudian tells us, that at Rome he received embaſſadors ſent by the king of Perſia to treat with him about a peace between the two

Several laws of this year, eſpecially againſt heretics.

Theodoſius goes to Rome.

[z] Ambroſ. ſermo de diverſ. iii p. 118. Sym. l. ii ep. 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61, 63. p. 89, 90. & l. v. ep. 15. p. 191. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg 14. p. 130. [b] Idem, leg. 15 p. 131. [c] Idem, tit. 4 leg 2. p. 100. [d] Idem, l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. & cod. Juſtin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5 p. 425. [e] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg 2. p. 296. [f] Idem, p. 130. [g] Soz. p. 273. Ruf. l. ii. c 17. p 185.

two empires [h]. To Theodoſius's journey to Rome was owing, according to Prudentius [i], the converſion of the ſenate and people of that city to the chriſtian relgion; not that he uſed any violence, ſays that writer, for he indifferently raiſed pagans and chriſtians to the firſt employments in the ſtate [k]; but ſo great was the force of his example, that few, either in the ſenate or among the people, were ſo attached to their errors as to withſtand it. Prudentius mentions ſeveral illuſtrious families converted on this occaſion to the true religion, viz. the families of the Paulini, of the Baſſi, of the Annii, and of the Gracchi, at that time the moſt antient and noble family in Rome. The people, continues that writer, flocked to the Lateran church, to receive there the ſacred ſign of the royal chriſm, and to the Vatican, to viſit the aſhes of the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. Peter, who was then ſuppoſed to have planted the faith in Rome. The idols, ſays St. Jerom, were every-where pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once ſo much revered, left in their nitches alone, or attended only by mice and owls: the capitol, continues the ſame writer, formerly ſo much frequented, is now turned into a deſert; the other temples are covered with duſt, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in paſſing by thoſe antient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. Rome forſakes Jupiter and his temples, deſpiſes his ceremonies, and is aſhamed of the worſhip formerly paid him [l]. Theodoſius, however, would not ſuffer the ſtatues of the gods, many of which were the work of the beſt artificers of antiquity, to be deſtroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public ſquares, where they ſerved as ornaments to the city [m]. Theodoſius ſtaid ſcarce three months at Rome, but in that ſhort time he not only ſeriouſly applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſion of idolatry, but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuſes, which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the ſeveral laws he publiſhed there [n]. He enacted one, dated the ſeventeenth of June, ordering all the Manichees to be driven out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children.

Endeavours to aboliſh idolatry in that metropolis.

[h] Claud. p. 176. [i] Prud. in Sym l. i. p. 218. [k] Idem, p. 220. [l] Hier. ep. 7. p. 54. & in Jov. l. ii. c. 18. p. 95. [m] Prud. p. 220. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18 p. 138.

A comet appears in the eaſt.

A few days before Theodoſius left Rome, a comet is ſaid to have appeared in the eaſt in the ſhape of a ſword; and moving northward, to have vaniſhed in the middle of the Urſa Major, after having laſted forty days, as we read in Philoſtorgius [o]; or only twenty-ſix, as Marcellinus will have it [p]. The former writer mentions ſeveral other prodigies, among which he reckons two men equally remarkable for their ſize, the one being ſeven cubits and three inches, and the other no taller, ſays the author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent underſtanding: the former was a native of Syria, and the latter of Egypt, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five [q]. Theodoſius leaves Rome.

Theodoſius left Rome on the firſt of September, was at a place called Valentia on the third of the ſame month, and on the ſixth at Forum Flaminii, now Ponte Centeſimo on the Topino, not far from Fuligno in the dutchy of Spoleto, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during Lent [r]. From thence he purſued his journey to Milan, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-ſixth of November, commanding the heretic biſhops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities and their ſuburbs [s]. From this law, and ſeveral others of the enſuing year, it appears, that Theodoſius paſſed the winter in that city, while Valentinian marched into Gaul, to make head againſt the Franks, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that Valentinian had an interview with Marcomir and Sunno, two chiefs of the Franks; that they delivered hoſtages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of November, was at Treves, where he took up his winter quarters [t]. This year is chiefly remarkable for the deſtruction of the celebrated temple of Serapis at Alexandria, which, according to the deſcription Ammianus Marcellinus gives us of it, ſurpaſſed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of Jupiter Capitolinus alone excepted [u]; nay, Theodoret calls it the greateſt, and without exception the moſt beautiful temple, in the univerſe [w]. Theodoſius, who had hitherto ſpared that ſtately edifice, cauſed it this year to be levelled with the ground on the following occaſion. Theophilus, biſhop of Alexandria, having begged and obtained

Valentinian concludes a peace with the Franks.

of

[o] Philoſt. l. x. c. 9 p. 139——141. [p] Marcell. chron. [q] Philoſ ibid. p. 142, 143. [r] Cod. Theod. chron p. 120, 121. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Oroſ. l. vii c. 35. p. 220. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120. [u] Ammian l. xxii. p. 234. [w] Theodor. p. 735.

of the emperor an old temple, formerly conſecrated to Bacchus, but at that time ruined and forſaken, with a deſign to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of the rubbiſh, found among the ruins ſeveral obſcene figures, which the biſhop to ridicule the ſuperſtition of the heathens, cauſed to be expoſed to public view. This provoked the pagans to ſuch a degree, that they flew to arms; and falling upon the chriſtians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppoſe their furry. At length the chriſtians took arms in their own defence; and, being ſupported by the few ſoldiers who were quartered in Alexandria, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day paſſed without ſome ſcuffle and bloodſhed. The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers, (for the chriſtians were far more numerous) uſed to retire to the temple of Serapis; and thence ſallying out again unexpectedly, ſeize on ſuch of the chriſtians as they met, and dragging them into the temple, either force them by the moſt exquiſite torments to ſacrifice to their idol, or, if they refuſed, to rack them to death. As they expected to be ſoon attacked by the emperor's troops, they choſe a philoſopher, by name Olympus, for their leader, with a reſolution to defend themſelves, their temple, and their religion, to the laſt extremity. In the mean time, Evagrius, governor of Egypt, and Romanus, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain to perſuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, ſent a diſtinct account of the whole to the emperor, who extolling and envying the happineſs of ſuch as had choſen rather to die, than renounce their religion and offer ſacrifice to the idols, would not ſuffer their death to be revenged on thoſe at whoſe hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However, at the ſame time, he ordered the temple of Serapis, and all the other temples in Alexandria, which gave occaſion to frequent diſturbances, to be utterly demoliſhed, charging Theophilus, biſhop of the place, who had ſolicited this order, to ſee it put in execution, and enjoining Evagrius and Romanus to follow therein his directions. The pagans no ſooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they had committed, than they abandoned the temple and diſperſed, ſome of them retiring privately to their own houſes, and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themſelves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more diſtant

The pagans riſe againſt the chriſtians in Alexandria.

Several chriſtians maſſacred and put to cruel deaths.

Theodoſius orders the famous temple of Serapis, and all the temples in Alexandria, to be pulled down.

diſtant countries. Among the latter was their leader Olympus, who conveyed himſelf in the night on board a veſſel which was ready to ſail for Italy. Helladius and Ammonius, two grammarians, under whom Socrates, the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian, had ſtudied at Conſtantinople, withdrew from Egypt, and took refuge amongſt the neighbouring barbarians. The former uſed to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine chriſtians with his own hand [x]. The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to Theophilus, who, with the aſſiſtance of the people and ſoldiery, reduced it in a ſhort time to an heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemoliſhed but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and ſize of the ſtones. The celebrated ſtatue of Serapis, the principal god of the Egyptians, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried firſt in triumph by the chriſtians through the city, and then thrown into an huge fire kindled for that purpoſe in the amphitheatre. As the Egyptians aſcribe the overflowing of the Nile, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god Serapis, they concluded, that, now he was deſtroyed, the river would no longer overflow, and conſequently that a general famine would enſue. But when they obſerved, that the Nile, on the contrary, ſwelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immenſe plenty of all manner of proviſions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worſhip of the idols, adored the God of the chriſtians [y]. Rufinus [z], Socrates [a], Eunapius [b], and Sozomen [c], write, that croſſes were found engraved on ſeveral of the ſtones of the temple, which occaſioned the converſion of great numbers of the Egyptian prieſts, the croſs being in the ſacred language of that nation the ſymbol of life; and on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of Serapis would ſubſiſt till the ſign of life appeared. Not only the ſtatue of Serapis, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other ſtatues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous chriſtians carefully ſought for, ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets, and conſumed in the flames; inſomuch, that in the great city of Serapis, as Alexandria

The ſtatue of Serapis, broken in pieces.

[x] Socr. l. vii. c. 15. p. 724. Ruf. l. ii. c. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726. [y] Ruf. l. ii c. 27. p. 190. Socr. l. v. c. 16. p. 274. [z] Ruf. ibid. [a] Socr ibid. [b] Eunap. c. 4. p. 60—64. [c] Soz. l. vii. c. 15. p 725.

andria was frequently ſtiled, not the leaſt footſtep was left of that idol, or of the worſhip which for ſo many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of Serapis was built a church, and a martyrium, ſays Rufinus [d], meaning perhaps a burying-place for thoſe who had ſuffered martyrdom, during the late diſturbances. Sophronius, one of St. Jerom's friends, wrote a particular and diſtinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis [e]; but his work has not reached our times. Theophilus, who was a prelate no leſs active than zealous, not ſatisfied with demoliſhing the temple of Serapis, encouraged the people, ſupported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the Roman troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places ſet apart for the worſhip of the idols throughout Egypt, cauſing every-where the ſtatues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable ſtatues, with which that ſuperſtitious province was filled, he is ſaid to have ſpared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expoſe the pagan religion to ridicule [f]. Theodoſius not only approved of what Theophilus had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been ſo long addicted [g]. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the ſubjects of the empire to offer any kind of ſacrifice to idols; and declaring the eſtates confiſcated of ſuch as ſhould burn incenſe before them [h].

All the temples throughout Egypt demoliſhed.

THE following year 390, when Valentinian was conſul the fourth time with Neoterius, Theodoſius continued at Milan, as appears from the code, till the fifth of July; was at Verona from the twenty-third of Auguſt to the eighth of September, and again at Milan on the twenty-ſixth of November, and the twenty-third of December. At Verona he publiſhed a law, dated the third of September, commanding thoſe who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deſerts, purſuant to their inſtitution. But this law he revoked by another dated the ſeventeenth of April 392 [i]. By a law, which was publiſhed at Rome on the fourteenth of May, he commanded thoſe who ſhould be found

A law againſt unnatural luſt.

[d] Ruf. l. ii c. 27. p. 190. [e] Hier vir. illuſtr. c. 133. p. 303. [f] Socr. p. 275. [g] Ruf. p. 189. [h] Cod Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10 leg 10 p. 271. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit 3. leg. 1. p. 96. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98.

found guilty of unnatural luſt to be burnt alive in the ſight of the whole people [k]. This year, an obeliſk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raiſed in the circus at Conſtantinople, and a column before the church of St. Sophia, on which was a ſtatue of Theodoſius in ſilver, weighing ſeven thouſand four hundred ounces [l]. As for Valentinian, he ſeems to have continued all this year at Treves, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next conſuls were Tatianus and Q. Aurelius Symmachus. Theodoſius continued this year at Milan to the twenty-ſecond of March, was at Concordia on the ninth of May, at Vicentia on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, and at Aquileia from the ſixteenth of June to the fourteenth of July [m]. By a law dated the ninth of May, he declared thoſe who ſhould renounce the chriſtian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the leaſt thing by will, but of being, as infamous perſons, witneſſes to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deſerts, had he not believed it a greater puniſhment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men [n]. By another law, dated the ninth of the ſame month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities [o]. Some writers confine this law to the Manichees, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. Theodoſius was, as we have obſerved above, at Aquileia on the fourteenth of July; but ſoon after he ſet out from thence for Conſtantinople, leaving the entire management of affairs in the weſt to Valentinian, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at Theſſalonica, he found the province of Macedon in great confuſion; for the barbarians, who, at the inſtigation of Maximus, had revolted, and concealed themſelves among the marſhes and woods, after the defeat of the uſurper, taking advantage of the emperor's abſence, began to ſally out of their faſtneſſes in the night, and ſeizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult taſk to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himſelf; and without diſcovering his deſign to any one, made choice of five perſons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three ſpare horſes, that

One againſt apoſtates.

Theodoſius returns to the eaſt.

The barbarians, concealing themſelves amongſt the woods and marſhes, infeſt the province of Macedon.

[k] Idem, l ix. tit. 2. leg. 4 p. 30. [l] Marcell. chron [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. [n] Idem, l xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4 & v. p. 207, 208. [o] Idem, tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.

that they might ſhift as often as there was occaſion. Thus attended and diſguiſed, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peaſants ſuch refreſhments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a ſmall inn, kept by a woman ſtricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to ſtay there that night. In the ſame inn lodged a perſon, who declining to converſe with the reſt, and ſeeming deſirous to conceal himſelf, gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the miſtreſs of the houſe, and aſked her who that perſon was, ſhe anſwered, that who he was ſhe knew not; but that ever ſince the news of the emperor's return out of the weſt, he had lodged at her houſe, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honeſtly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be ſeized and examined; but he refuſing to declare who he was, the emperor at laſt diſcovered himſelf, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth, viz. that he was employed as a ſpy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor's army, and to inform them what places lay moſt convenient for their incurſions. Hereupon the emperor cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his ſoldiers to the place where he had learnt from the ſpy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Timaſius, who together with Promotus commanded on this occaſion under Theodoſius, imagining moſt of the barbarians to be already cut off, adviſed the emperor to allow his ſoldiers ſome time to refreſh themſelves after ſo warm and fatiguing a ſervice, that they might with more vigour purſue the reſt, who could not make their eſcape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreſhing themſelves without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and moſt of them overcome with wine, or aſleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himſelf, had he not been ſeaſonably reſcued by Promotus, at the danger of his own life. However, Theodoſius, having rallied his diſperſed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them

How diſcovered by Theodoſius.

The emperor in great danger.

He gains a complete victory over the barbarians.

them eſcaped the general ſlaughter. Thus Zoſimus [p], on whoſe ſingle authority the whole truth of this account reſts; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, according to Zoſimus, who ſtudies to leſſen on all occaſions the glory of Theodoſius, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Promotus; but that brave general, who had ſerved the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambuſcade by the barbarians in Thrace. Zoſimus writes, that Rufinus, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated Promotus in a very haughty and inſolent manner, the general, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſtruck him; which affront Rufinus revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpoſe a private correſpondence [q]. But Claudian, who mentions the death of Promotus, and wrote two books filled with invectives againſt Rufinus, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. Zoſimus adds, that Rufinus having complained of Promotus to the emperor, the prince, who repoſed an entire confidence in him, returned him this anſwer; If the other miniſters continue thus to envy you, your good fortune, they ſhall ſoon have the mortification to ſee you emperor [r]. Claudian writes, that Stilicho revenged the death of his friend Promotus on the Baſtarnæ, by whoſe hands he fell; and that after having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he ſhut them up in a narrow valley, with the Goths, Hunns, and other barbarians, who had long infeſted Thrace, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor choſen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, ſays that poet, the evil counſels of the traitor Rufinus [s].

Promotus kil'ed in an ambuſcade.

Theodoſius endeavours to ſuppreſs idolatry and Arianiſm in the eaſt.

Theodoſius, upon his return to Conſtantinople, made it his chief ſtudy to ſuppreſs idolatry and Arianiſm, ordering ſuch temples as were ſtill ſtanding to be pulled down, and the Arians to be every-where driven out of the cities, leſt they ſhould infect their fellow-citizens with their peſtilent doctrine [t].

The next conſuls were Arcadius, the ſecond time, and Rufinus. Theodoſius had, as we have obſerved above, during his three years ſtay in the weſt, uſed all poſſible means to extirpate idolatry; but upon his return to the eaſt, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and ſuch of the ſenators of Rome, as continued ſtill attached to the ſuperſtition of

[p] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 770—773. [q] Idem, p. 773. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l. i. c. 17. [t] Ruf. l. ii. c. 19 p. 185.

of their anceſtors, ſent a deputation to Valentinian, at the head of which was the celebrated Symmachus, entreating him to reſtore to their prieſts and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of Gratian. Valentinian, who was then in Gaul, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the many pagan miniſters who were in his court, to grant them their requeſt [u]. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to paſs the Alps towards Rhœtia, and invade Italy, the emperor reſolved to quit Gaul, and haſten to Milan, in order to make head againſt them. As he was deſirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he diſpatched from Vienne, where he then was, an expreſs to St. Ambroſe biſhop of Milan, for whom he had an extraordinary eſteem and veneration, inviting him into Gaul, to adminiſter to him that ſacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, ſet out without delay; but before he reached Vienne, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as moſt authors agree, by Arbogaſtes. He was a Frank by nation, and owed his preferment to Gratian. After that prince's death, the ſoldiery, by whom he was highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and diſintereſtedneſs, raiſed him, without the conſent either of Valentinian, who was then a child, or of his mother Juſtina, to the poſt of general; in which command he acquitted himſelf with great fidelity and moderation, while Theodoſius continued in the weſt; but, upon the departure of that prince for Conſtantinople, he began to act more like a ſovereign than a miniſter or officer, arrogating to himſelf the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an abſolute ſway. Such of the officers in the army as ſeemed attached to Valentinian, he diſcharged, and put Franks, in whom he could confide, in their room, diſpoſing at the ſame time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's conſent or knowledge, and beſtowing them upon perſons of his own faction. Valentinian, no longer able to brook ſuch a ſhameful ſervitude, reſolved to diſcharge Arbogaſtes; and accordingly ſeeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But Arbogaſtes, having peruſed it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with

Valentinian refuſes to reſtore to the temples their antient privileges.

Arbogaſtes pretends to controul the young prince.

[u] Ambr ſerm. de diverſ p 114. Symm. l. iii ep. 63. p. 130. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 35. p. 249.

He is diſcharged; but refuſes to reſign his poſt, and cauſes Valentinian to be murdered.

with the utmoſt arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to diveſt him of it. After this, Arbogaſtes, well appriſed that Valentinian would not ſuffer ſuch an outrage to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly diſpatched him a few days after [w]. Authors diſagree as to the manner of his death:

Various opinions concerning the manner of his death.

Zoſimus writes, that while Valentinian, attended by a ſmall guard, was diverting himſelf in the neighbourhood of Vienne, Arbogaſtes, aſſaulting him unexpectedly, ſtabbed him with his ſword [x]. According to Philoſtorgius, he was ſtrangled, while he was taking his diverſion on the banks of the Rhone, by aſſaſſines, whom Arbogaſtes had hired for that purpoſe. The ſame author adds, that, after they had ſtrangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himſelf; for his guards were at ſome diſtance, and out of ſight [y]. St. Jerom [z], Oroſius [a], Rufinus [b], Epiphanius [c], Socrates [d], and Sozomen [e], agree, that he was ſtrangled; but the two latter writers ſuppoſe this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by Arbogaſtes, to have been the authors of his death. Idatius and Tiro Proſper only write, that he was murdered by the treachery of Arobogaſtes. The report which Arbogaſtes, and thoſe of his faction, ſpread abroad, viz. that the prince had laid violent hands on himſelf, was credited by many, and among the reſt by Proſper, who relates it in his chronicle as an event not to be queſtioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. Ambroſe would have extolled, as he does, his piety and religious ſentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of ſelf-murder. He died in 392, on the fifteenth of May, that year the eve of Pentecoſt, after having lived only twenty years and ſome months, and borne the title of emperor ſixteen years and about ſix months, tho' he cannot be ſaid to have reigned till the death of Gratian, who died eight years and nine months before him [f]. St. Ambroſe tells us, that when he ſaw himſelf unexpectedly attacked by the aſſaſſins, the only words he uttered were, Alas! my poor ſiſters [g]! The funeral ceremonies

[w] Oroſ. p. 220. Zoſ. p. 776. Socr. p. 93. Soz. ibid. [x] Zoſ. ibid. [y] Philoſtorg l. xi c. 1. p. 145. [z] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [a] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [b] Ruf. l. ii. c. 31. p. 191. [c] Epiph. de menſ & pond. 20. p. 177. [d] Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. [e] Soz l. vii. c. 22. p. 739. [f] Epiph. p. 177. Philoſt. p. 144. [g] Ambr. ibid p. 112.

monies were performed the next day, the ſixteenth of May, with great ſolemnity; and his body was ſent to Milan, and interred there near that of his brother Gratian, on which occaſion St. Ambroſe pronounced an oration in praiſe of the deceaſed prince [h], who, according to him, and moſt other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipſed, the glory of the beſt emperors, had he been ſuffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, ſober, liberal, ſincere in his friendſhip, entirely unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the diſpoſing of employments partial to merit alone [i]. Zoſimus, tho' highly prejudiced againſt all chriſtian princes, owns, that his death was a public loſs [k]. He had perſecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, ſhe had perſecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a moſt zealous patron of the orthodox faith, diſcountenancing the Arian and other ſectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of diſtinguiſhing truth from falſhood [l]. His two ſiſters, Juſta and Grata, continued at Milan, and there embraced, after his death, the ſtate of virginity. His ſiſter Galla, who was married to Theodoſius, died two years after in child-bed.

His character.

AFTER the death of Valentinian, Arbogaſtes might have eaſily ſeized on the ſovereignty; but not caring to appear guilty of ſuch a treacherous and inhuman murder, he choſe to confer it on Eugenius, and to reign in his name [m]. Eugenius had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally eſteemed on account of his eloquence. Ricomer, at the requeſt of Symmachus, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the eaſt with Theodoſius, recommended him to Arbogaſtes, by whoſe intereſt he was raiſed to the poſt of ſecretary [n]. Zoſimus tells us, that Arbogaſtes, repoſing an entire confidence in Eugenius, and judging him capable of the moſt daring reſolutions, imparted to him the deſign he had formed of murdering Valentinian, and raiſing him to the empire in his room; that Eugenius rejected at firſt the propoſal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the meaſures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his intereſt, after the death of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a perſon well qualified

Eugenius is ſet up by Arbogaſtes in his room.

[h] Idem ibid, p. 113—115. [i] Idem ibid. Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p 250. [k] Zoſ. l iv. p. 776. [l] Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 107. [m] Philoſt. l. xi. c 2. p. 145. Oroſ. l vii. c. 35. p 220. Claud. conſ. Hon 3, 4. p. 35, 41. [n] Soc. l. v. c 25. p. 293. Zoſ. p. 775. Philoſt p. 146. Symm. l. iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129.

He ſeizes on all the weſtern provinces.

qualified for that high ſtation [o]. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the weſtern provinces, ſays Socrates [p]; which muſt be underſtood of Weſt Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; but not of Africa, which, after the death of Valentinian, ſubmitted to Theodoſius, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from Conſtantinople the thirtieth of December, 393, and addreſſed to Gildo count of Africa, and the other dated from the ſame place the twenty-ſeventh of March, and addreſſed to Silvanus duke of the province Tripolitana [q]. It is likewiſe manifeſt from Claudian, that Gildo acknowledged Theodoſius, and not Eugenius [r]. The new uſurper, tho' a chriſtian, was greatly favoured by the pagans, who were well appriſed, that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in Arbogaſtes, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruſpices, who began to appear anew, aſſured him, that he was deſtined to the empire of the whole world; that he would ſoon gain a complete victory over Theodoſius, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but thoſe of the Roman empire [s]. Tho' Eugenius ſeemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to St. Ambroſe, who did not anſwer his letter, till he was preſſed by ſome of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the reſpect due to an emperor [t]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, ſome diſturbances happened in the court of Theodoſius at Conſtantinople: Rufinus, not ſatisfied with the conſular dignity to which he was raiſed this year, notwithſtanding the report of his having been the author of the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians, began to aſpire at the prefecture of the eaſt, which was held by Tatianus, whom he cauſed to be accuſed of oppreſſion in his government. Zoſimus will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by Rufinus, on account of his integrity. Proculus, the ſon of Tatianus, and prefect of Conſtantinople, was accuſed of the ſame crime, Rufinus hating him, ſays Zoſimus, for the ſake of his father. Theodoſius appointed ſeveral judges to try them; but as Rufinus was at the head of that commiſſion, and the other judges dreaded his reſentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was depoſed,

Tatianus and his ſon Proculus accuſed at the inſtigation of Rufinus.

[o] Zoſ. p. 775. [p] Socr p. 294. [q] Cod Theod. chron. p. 128 [r] Claud. bell. Gild. p. 76. & conſul Hon. 6 p. 77. [s] Soz. l. vii. c. 22 p. 740. [t] Amb. ep. 15. p. 210.

ed, and confined to Lycia, his native country; and the ſon ſentenced to death; which Theodoſius no ſooner knew, than he ſent him his pardon: but the meſſenger, gained over by Rufinus, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over [u]. Thus Zoſimus. But Libanius charges both Tatianus, and his ſon Proculus, with cruelty and oppreſſion [w]; and the laws enacted on this occaſion by Theodoſius, give us room to believe, that the charge brought againſt Tatianus, was not altogether groundleſs, as Zoſimus ſtyles it; for by one law he took off a tax which had been levied by Tatianus, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the eſtates and effects of ſuch perſons as had been proſcribed by him, to be reſtored to them or their children; and by a third addreſſed to Rufinus, he declared thoſe guilty of death, who, for the future, ſhould be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they had taken [x]. As for Proculus, he muſt have been guilty of greater crimes than his father, ſince he was puniſhed with more ſeverity. But however juſt was the puniſhment inflicted on Tatianus, his countrymen the Lycians, who had no ſhare in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his diſgrace and misfortunes; nevertheleſs Theodoſius, at the inſtigation of Rufinus, a declared enemy to the Lycians, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of any preferment [y]. This unjuſt law was afterwards revoked by Arcadius, who reſtored the Lycians to their former condition, aſcribing the baſe treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning Rufinus [z]. As Tatianus is highly commended by Zoſimus, and perſecuted with great cruelty the catholics, while he was governor of Egypt under Valens in 367, ſome writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been comes largitionum to Valens in 374, three times prefect of the eaſt, and twice conſul. He is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after his diſgrace. When he was depoſed, Rufinus was appointed prefect of the eaſt in his room [a]. The affair of

Tatianus baniſhed, and his ſon executed.

Rufinus made prefect of the eaſt.

Tatianus

[u] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 774. [w] Lib. orat. xvi. p. 423. [x] Cod. Theod l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219, 220 [y] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279. [z] Idem, tit. 3. p. 279. [a] Ambr. ep. 50. p. 309.

Tatianus and Proculus was not yet ended, when news of the death of Valentinian, and the uſurpation of Eugenius, was brought to Conſtantinople. A few days after, embaſſadors arrived from the uſurper, who, without ſo much as mentioning the name of Arbogaſtes, demanded an audience in the name of Eugenius; and being admitted to the emperor's preſence, propoſed an alliance between him and their maſter. Theodoſius received them in a very obliging manner, amuſed them, ſays Zoſimus, with fair words, and diſmiſſed them loaded with rich preſents [b]. At the head of this embaſſy was one Rufinus, an Athenian, who was attended by ſeveral biſhops ſent by Eugenius to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As Theodoſius charged Arbogaſtes with the murder of Valentinian, the biſhops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that falſe, as they ſtyled it, and groundleſs aſperſion [c]. Rufinus [d], Theodoret [e], and Sozomen [f], tell us, that, upon the departure of the embaſſadors, Theodoſius diſpatched the eunuch Eutropius, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of Arcadius, to conſult an holy hermit, by name John, by nation an Egyptian, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. Eutropius was enjoined to bring him, if poſſible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his ſolitude, to aſk him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking Eugenius firſt? or, if he ſhould wait till the uſurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court, but adviſed the emperor to begin the war without delay, aſſuring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodſhed; that he would die in Italy, after his victory, and in dying leave his ſon emperor of the weſt. Thus the above-mentioned writers. Theodoſius, upon the return of the meſſenger, began his military preparations; but as he confided more in the aſſiſtance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he viſited in the firſt place all the churches of his capital, attended by ſeveral biſhops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who diſpoſes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and beſtowes victory on whom he pleaſes [g]. The military preparations, to which Theodoſius applied himſelf with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publiſhing ſeveral laws this year, among the reſt one condemning ſuch heretics

Eugenius ſends deputies to Theodoſius.

Who prepares for war.

His piety.

[b] Zoſ. p. 776. [c] Ruf. p. 191. [d] Idem, p. 192. [e] Theodor. l. v. c. 24. p. 738. [f] Soz. p. 740. [g] Ruf. lib. 33 p. 291

heretics as ſhould confer or receive holy orders, to pay, by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places where they ſhould perform any religious ceremony, confiſcated [h]. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of July, he commands thoſe who ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be baniſhed, and confined to ſome deſert, if they had been guilty of the ſame fault before [i]. The law of the eighteenth of October of this year, commands ſuch criminals as ſhould have purloined the public money, and taken ſanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and puniſhed, or the biſhops who protected them, to pay what they owed [k]. From this law it appears, that the cuſtom of taking ſanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, St. Auſtin, being ſolicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name Faſcius, who had fled to his church as to an aſylum, or to ſatisfy his creditors, choſe the latter [l]. By a law dated the eighth of November, the emperor revived all the antient laws againſt paganiſm, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion [m].

His laws againſt heretics.

THE following year Theodoſius was conſul the third time, with Abundantius, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horſe and foot [n]. In his room Eugenius was acknowledged conſul in the weſt, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that uſurper is ſtyled the collegue of Theodoſius in the conſulſhip [o]. This year Theodoſius publiſhed many excellent laws, and among the reſt one abrogating an antient law, which puniſhed thoſe with death, who uttered ſeditious words againſt the prince. If ſuch words ſays Theodoſius in his law of this year, proceed from levity, they are to be deſpiſed; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven [p]. In the beginning, or, as ſome will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of January, or the twentieth of November, the emperor declared his ſecond ſon Honorius, Auguſtus. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity in the palace of Hebdomon near Conſtantinople [q]. The poet Claudian introduces on this occaſion

He revokes the law of treaſon.

Honorius declared Auguſtus.

[h] Cod. Theod. l xvi. tit. 5. leg. 21. p. 138. [i] Idem ibid. tit. 4. leg. 3 p. 101. [k] Idem, l ix. tit. 45. leg. 1. p. 358. [l] Aug. ep. 268 p. 901. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xvi tit 10. leg. 12. p. 273. [n] Cod Theod. chron. p. 126 [o] Vide Rein p. 1021. [p] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit 4 leg. 3 p. 42. [q] Philoſt. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. Soſ. l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. Claud. conſ Hon 3. p. 35, 36.

caſion Theodoſius inſtructing the young prince in the art of governing [r]. This year was ended at Conſtantinople a ſquare, which bore the name of Theodoſius; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the Goths and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equeſtrian ſtatue of Theodoſius, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor Zeno; but the column was ſtill ſtanding in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in hiſtory [s]. Theodoſius paſſed this whole year at Conſtantinople, making the neceſſary preparations for the dangerous war which he was reſolved to undertake. As for Eugenius, he had gained the preceding year conſiderable advantages over the Franks, being induced to make war upon them by Arbogaſtes, who bore an old grudge to Marcomir and Sunno, two princes of that nation. This war was managed by Arbogaſtes, who paſſing the Rhine near Cologne in the depth of winter, laid waſte the countries of the Bructerians and Chamavians, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, Marcomir ſhewing himſelf only at a diſtance on the hills, with ſome parties of the Angirvarii and Chatti [t]. Hence it appears, that theſe antient nations of Germany were at this time compriſed under the name of Franks. Eugenius himſelf approached the Rhine, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of Arbogaſtes, renewed the antient alliance between the Romans and Franks, he left Gaul, and repaired to Italy; which he had ſcarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the Roman ſenate, entreating him to reſtore to the temples the revenues, of which they had been deprived by Gratian, and to re-eſtabliſh the celebrated altar of Victory. Eugenius received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their requeſt. The ſenate ſoon after ſent a ſecond deputation to ſolicit the ſame favour; which was denied them a ſecond time. But when by a third embaſſy they renewed their requeſt, Eugenius yielded at length to their importunity, reſtoring the pagan religion and temples to their former luſtre, and ſuffering the antient ceremonies and ſacrifices to be renewed in the ſenate of the metropolis of his empire [u]. The following year

Eugenius gains conſiderable advantages over the Franks.

Eugenius favours the pagan ceremonies.

[r] Claud. ibid. p 45—50. [s] Chron. Alex. p. 708. Cange Conſtant. antiq. l. i. p. 76—80. [t] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61, 62. [u] Ambr. vit. p. 85. ep. 15 p. 210.

year 394, Arcadius being conſul the third time, and Honorius the ſecond, Theodoſius was ſtill at Conſtantinople on the fifteenth of May[w]; but he left that metropolis ſoon after; for he was on the thirtieth of the ſame month, at Heraclea; and on the fifteenth of June at Adrianople[x]. He bent his march through Dacia, and the other provinces between Thrace and the Julian Alps, which ſeparate Italy, from Noricum, with a deſign to force the paſſes of thoſe mountains, and break into Italy, before the army of Eugenius was in a condition to oppoſe him. Upon his arrival at the Alps, he found the paſſes guarded by Flavianus prefect of Italy, at the head of a conſiderable body of Roman troops, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight. Flavianus was killed at the firſt onſet. Theodoſius, having thus opened himſelf a paſſage over the Alps, was met, as he came down from thoſe mountains, by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river Frigidum; which Sanſon and others take to be the river Vipao or Wiback in the county of Gorice, about thirty-ſix miles from Aquileia. The army of Theodoſius was no leſs numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by ſeveral bodies of Armenians, Iberians, Arabians, Goths, and other barbarians, who dwelt beyong the Danube. The Roman troops were commanded by Timaſius and Stilicho, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by Gainas, Saul, Bacurius, and Alaric the Goth, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory. Of Gainas, who was of the ſame nation, and Saul, who was likewiſe a barbarian, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. Bacurius was a native of Armenia[a], or, as Rufinus will have it, of Iberia[b]; nay, he is ſtyled by that writer king of Iberia. Among the Romans he was comes domeſticorum, that is, captain of the guards, and univerſally eſteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildneſs of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies[c]. Rufinus, the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of Paleſtine, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous chriſtian, a worthy companion of Theodoſius, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body[d]. Under

Theodoſius forces the paſſes of the Alps.

[w] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129. [x] Idem, ibid. [a] Zoſ. p. 777. [b] Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. [c] Zoſ. ibid. [d] Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192.

theſe leaders, the army of Theodoſius advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expoſe the Romans, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and reſolution; but were ſoon put in diſorder by the regular and well diſciplined troops of Eugenius, headed by Arbogaſtes, who ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner. Bacurius however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being ſupported by Timaſius and Stilicho, renewed the combat, which laſted till night coming on, both armies retired to their reſpective camps. Bacurius on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end ſurrounded on all ſides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himſelf for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the Goths and other auxiliaries above ten thouſand were killed; but of the Romans, who ſupported them, only a ſmall number. Eugenius, concluding that he had gained the day, and that the army of Theodoſius was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refreſh themſelves, that they might be the better able to purſue the enemy next morning. In the mean time Theodoſius was adviſed by his generals not to hazard a ſecond engagement, but to retire in the night, repaſs the Alps, and put off the deciſion of the war till another campaign; againſt which time he might with great eaſe recruit his army, and renew the war with freſh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonſtrances, having aſſembled his troops by break of day, led them in perſon againſt the enemy; and entering their camp when leaſt expected, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [c]. Thus Zoſimus. But the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians aſcribe the victory gained by Theodoſius, not to any ſurprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous aſſiſtance of St. John the evangeliſt, and the apoſtle St. Philip, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and aſſured him of victory. The ſame writers add, that Theodoſius no ſooner attacked Eugenius's numerous forces, than a violent ſtorm ariſing, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themſelves, and raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, as quite deprived them of their ſight; ſo that having two enemies to encounter at once, they

[c] Zoſ. p. 778.

they were quickly overcome. Of this ſtorm mention is made by Theodoret [f], Oroſius [g], Sozomen [h], St. Ambroſe [i], Rufinus [k]. St. Auſtin [l], and the poet Claudian [m], who deſcribes it with great elegance in ſome verſes which he wrote eighteen months after [n]; but to flatter Honorius, will have it to have been owing to his deſtiny. Arbogaſtes behaved on this occaſion with great intrepidity; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, his men, quite diſheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the ſtorm, that Heaven fought againſt them, either betook themſelves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, ſubmitted to Theodoſius, who readily received them into favour; but at the ſame time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the uſurper. They no ſooner received this order, than they flew to the riſing ground where Eugenius had poſted himſelf to behold the battle, and was ſtill waiting the event of it. When he obſerved them coming in great haſte towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he asked them, whether they had, purſuant to his orders, ſecured Theodoſius. They anſwered, that they deſpiſed the commands of a tyrant and uſurper, whom they were come to ſeize, and deliver up to their lawful ſovereign; and loading him that inſtant with irons, dragged him, ſtripped of all the enſigns of majeſty, to the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of Valentinian, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire by his unjuſt uſurpation, and with putting his confidence in Hercules, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief ſtandard he had diſplayed the image of that fabulous deity. Eugenius begged earneſtly for his life; but while he lay proſtrate at the emperor's feet, his own ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a ſpear, ſhewed it to thoſe who, remaining in his camp, had not yet ſubmitted to Theodoſius. At that ſight they were all thunderſtruck; but being at the ſame time informed, that Theodoſius was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their arms and ſubmitted [o]. Arbogaſtes, the chief author of

Eugenius taken, delivered up to Theodoſius, and put to death by his own men.

[f] Theodor. l. v. c. 24. p. 739. [g] Oroſ. l vii c 35. p. 220. [h] Soz. l. vii. c. 24. p. 742. [i] Ambr. ſerm de diverſ. p 117. & in pſal. xxxvi. p. 692. [k] Ruf. l. ii. c 33. p. 100. [l] Aug. civit Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 642. [m] Claud. conſ. Hon. 3 p. 36. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Ambr. vit. p. 86. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4 p 41. Ruf. p. 192. Theodor. p 740. Socr. l. 5. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710.

the death of Valentinian, and the evils attending it, deſpairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being appriſed that diligent ſearch was made after him, he laid violent hands on himſelf [p]. The children of Eugenius and Arbogaſtes, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reaſon to expect the ſame treatment, took ſanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not ſatisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganiſm, which they profeſſed, to the chriſtian religion, appointing proper perſons to inſtruct them, and convince them of their errors; which they had no ſooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates, and raiſed them to conſiderable employments [q]. Great numbers of the partizans of Eugenius having fled for refuge to the great church of Milan, St. Ambroſe repaired to Aquileia, where the emperor then was, to ſolicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amneſty proclaimed [r]; nay, the emperor is ſaid to have been ſo concerned for the blood that was ſhed in the battle, as to abſtain for ſome time from the holy euchariſt [s]. He probably followed therein the directions of St. Ambroſe, at leaſt his conduct was agreeable to the ſentiments of that prelate, who, in ſpeaking of judges, ſays, That tho' he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy euchariſt, after they have ſentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abſtaining for ſome time of their own accord from the holy myſteries [t]. The emperor, immediately after his victory over Eugenius, ſent for his ſon Honorius, whom he had left at Conſtantinople, under the care of Rufinus, who was thereby veſted with almoſt an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, Theodoſius had removed from Aquileia to Milan, where he received him and Serena; who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. Ambroſe [u]. Serena was daughter to Honorius, the emperor's brother. A few days after he declared his ſon Honorius emperor of the weſt, aſſigning him for his ſhare, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and Weſt Illyricum, and appointing Stilicho his firſt general and prime

Arbogaſtes lays violent hands on himſelf.

[p] Claud. ibid p. 41 & conf. Hon 3 p. 89 Socr. p. 295. Oroſ p. 220, 221. [q] Ambr. ep. 16. p. 211. Oroſ ibid. [r] Ambr. vit. p. 86. [s] Ruf l. ii. c. 34 p 192. Socr. l. v. c. 26. p 295. Soz. l vii. c 29. p 753. [t] Amb ep. 51. p. 309. 310. [u] Soz. l. v. c. 26. p 295. Ruf l ii c. 34. p 192.

prime miniſter [w]. With this declaration he ſent Stilicho to Rome; on which occaſion Serena, whom Theodoſius had married to that general, and who accompanied her huſband to Rome, ſhewed a great deſire, ſays Zoſimus, to ſee the ſtatue of Cybele; but ſhe was no ſooner admitted into the temple, than ſhe ſnatched from the goddeſs a necklace of ineſtimable value, ſaying it became better the niece of an emperor, than a ſenſeleſs ſtatue. An old veſtal, who was preſent, tranſported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations againſt Serena, her huſband, and her children; but Serena cauſed her to be driven out of the temple, and puniſhed for her arrogance. At the ſame time her huſband Stilicho commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of Jupiter Capitolinus were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood theſe words: This is reſerved for an unhappy king. Thus Zoſimus [x], who ridiculouſly aſcribes to theſe two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befel Stilicho and Serena. The Roman ſenate ſent deputies to congratulate Theodoſius on his late victory, and to beg the conſulſhip of the enſuing year for the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus. The emperor granted them their requeſt, exhorting them at the ſame time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth, which now generally prevailed. Zoſimus, who ſeldom agrees with other writers, ſuppoſes Theodoſius to have gone in perſon to Rome, to have ſummoned to the imperial palace all the ſenators, who ſtill continued attached to the antient ceremonies of the Romans, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and renouncing the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the gods, to embrace the chriſtian religion, which alone could deliver them from their ſins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which Rome had been founded, and had ſubſiſted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could ſpare no money for the ceremonies of their religion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly ſuppreſſed [y]. He had before enacted ſeveral laws for the ſuppreſſion of idolatry; but Eugenius had revoked them, and reſtored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almoſt

Honorius declared emperor of the weſt.

[w] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 773. [x] Zoſ. p. 779. [y] Idem, l. v p. 814.

almoſt every day in moſt provinces of the empire, from the beginning of September to the end of November; for exceſſive and inceſſant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and ſuch a darkneſs as had not happened in the memory of man [z]: all which the writers of thoſe times ſeem to have looked upon as prognoſtics of the great loſs the Roman empire was to ſuſtain in the approaching death of the great Theodoſius.

The next conſuls were the two brothers Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and Anicius Probinus, the ſons of Petronius Probus and Anicia Proba, on whoſe conſulate Claudian wrote a poem [a]. Theodoſius, having reſtored the weſt to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to Conſtantinople, when he was ſeized with a dropſy, occaſioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war [b]. As ſoon as he perceived himſelf to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the eaſt to his eldeſt ſon Arcadius, and the weſt to Honorius. He likewiſe confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burdenſome to the people, charging his ſons and ſucceſſors to ſee his will duly executed as to theſe two points [p]. Socrates and Sozomen write, that finding himſelf in great meaſure eaſed of his pain, he aſſiſted at a chariot-race; but his diſtemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his ſons to preſide at the ſports in his room; and withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night [r]. He was heard a few minutes before he expired to utter the name of St. Ambroſe [s]. He died at Milan on the ſeventeenth of January of this year 395, two days before he had ended the ſixteenth year of his reign, being then at moſt in the fiftieth year of his age [t]. St. Ambroſe pronounced his funeral oration, in which he ſuppoſes him to enjoy the rewards promiſed in the goſpel to a religious and virtuous life [u]. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from Milan to Conſtantinople, where it was interred by Arcadius with extraordinary pomp and magnificence on the ninth of November of the preſent year [w]. A tomb of porphyry was to be ſeen many ages after

Theodoſius divides the empire between his two children.

Theodoſius dies.

[z] Mar. chron. Amb. ſerm. de diverſ. iii. p. 116. [a] Claud. de conſ. Olyb. & Prob. p. 1--8. [b] Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 28. p. 752, [q] Amb. ibid. p. 117. [r] Socr. l. v. c. 26. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752. [s] Amb. ibid. p. 122. [t] Socr. p. 295. Chr. Alex. p. 710. [u] Amb. ſer. de diverſ. iii. p. 117--121. [w] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 779. Amb. ibid. p. 125. Socr. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300.

ter, ſuppoſed to be that of Theodoſius. It ſtood in the mauſoleum of Conſtantine the Great, near the church of the apoſtles [x]. As for the character of Theodoſius, all authors, whether pagan or chriſtian, Zoſimus alone excepted, agree that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one ſingle vice. Not to mention the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. Ambroſe and St. Auſtin, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a moſt zealous patron of the orthodox faith, Themiſtius, Symmachus, Pacatus, and Victor the younger, though greatly attached to the antient religion of the Romans, which Theodoſius diſcountenanced above all his predeceſſors, and made it his chief ſtudy utterly to ſuppreſs, propoſe him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the eminent virtues that ſhone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the chriſtian religion, and averſion to the ſuperſtitious ceremonies, of the pagans, raiſed againſt him among thoſe, who, in ſpite of his utmoſt endeavours, continued obſtinate in their errors [y]. The teſtimony of thoſe writers, who had no leſs reaſon to be prejudiced againſt Theodoſius than Zoſimus, and who lived in thoſe times, muſt be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that hiſtorian, who lived an hundred years after. Theodoſius was, as we have hinted above out of Aurelius Victor, naturally choleric, and apt in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, to iſſue ſuch orders as ſavoured of cruelty. But as he was ſoon appeaſed, we have but one inſtance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous maſſacre of the inhabitants of Theſſalonica, who had murdered in an inſurrection Botericus, the emperor's lieutenant in Illyricum, becauſe he refuſed to ſet at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been impriſoned for offering violence to a woman of ſome diſtinction. When this came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all thoſe who had been anyways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the interceſſion of St. Ambroſe, and other biſhops aſſembled in a ſynod at Milan, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his miniſters repreſenting to him, that the Theſſalonians had been encouraged to this ſedition by the too great indulgence he had ſhewn to the inhabitants of Antioch; and that if he ſuffered the murder of his lieutenant to go unpuniſhed.

His character.

[x] Cange. urb. Conſt antiq. l. iv. p. 109. [y] Vide Sym. liii. ep. 81. p. 157. ep. 13. p. 65. Vict. epit. 546, 547.

puniſhed, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himſelf diſturbed and alarmed with daily inſurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to ſuch a degree, that forgetful of the promiſe he had made to St. Ambroſe, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to Theſſalonica, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The ſoldiers, entering the city, purſuant to their orders, ſurrounded the people, while they were aſſembled to behold the Circenſian games; and falling upon them ſword in hand, without regard to ſex, age, or condition, without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly maſſacred in the ſpace of three hours above ſeven thouſand perſons, many of whom were ſtrangers come to Theſſalonica on occaſion of the ſports. When news of this maſſacre was brought to Milan, St. Ambroſe wrote to the emperor, who had left that city ſome time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, repreſenting to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a ſincere ſubmiſſion and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and returning a few days after to Milan, repaired, according to his cuſtom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But St. Ambroſe, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongſt them, till he had expiated ſo public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily ſubmitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as enjoined by the canons of the church, and the cuſtom of thoſe times. He continued in that ſtate for the ſpace of eight months, that is, from the latter end of April to Chriſtmas, when, to make ſome amends for his crime, and to prevent both himſelf and his ſucceſſors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the obſervance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a reſpite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the ſentence of death and their execution[z]. It is ſurpriſing, that Zoſimus, who omits no opportunity of railing at Theodoſius, and often cenſures even the moſt commendable actions of that prince, ſhould take no notice of the above-mentioned maſſacre. The reader will find in the

The maſſacre of Theſſalonica.

An inſtance of his ſubmiſſion to the diſcipline of the church.

[z] Theodor. l. iii. c. 17. Soz. l. iii. c. 24. Niceph. l. c. xii, 34. Amb. ep. xxviii. Aug. de civ. Dei. l. v. c. 26, &c.

the eccleſiaſtic writers other inſtances of the emperor's entire ſubmiſſion to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, ſelf-denial, and other chriſtian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note (M).

CHAP.

(M) Among the writers, who flouriſhed under Theodoſius, the celebrated oratorSymmachus deſerves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the firſt place. He was the ſon of L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, prefect of Rome in 364 (1). He is ſtyled at the head of his letters, by Macrobius (2), and in an antient inſcription, Q. Aurelius Symmachus (3). He had at leaſt three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (4). Of theſe Celſinus Ticianus, whom in all his letters he ſtyles brother (5), ſeems to have been one. He diſtinguiſhes Flavianus, who was prefect of Italy, and joined Eugenius, in whoſe cauſe he loſt his life, with the ſame title (6); but moſt writers are of opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. Symmachus married Ruſticiana, the daughter of Orfites, who was for many years prefect of Rome under Conſtantius, and had by her one ſon, named Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (7). Orfites, his father-in-law was accuſed in 364, and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his eſtate was confiſcated, and he baniſhed; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his eſtate was reſtored to him, but nevertheleſs he died very poor about the year 370, leaving two daughters behind him, viz. Ruſticiana, and another, who was married to a perſon of diſtinction in Hetruria (8). Though Symmachus had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy ſenators (9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, quæſtor, prætor, corrector or governor of Lucania and Brutium in 365, and 368, proconſul of Africa in 370, and 373, prefect of Rome in 384, and conſul in 391 (10). He is ſtyled in an antient inſcription count of the third order (11), He was a moſt zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account baniſhed by Theodoſius, but ſoon after recalled, as we have obſerved already. He brought up his ſon with

(1) Sym. l. ii c. 44. p. 81. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 69. (2) Macrob. l. i. c. 5. p. 176, 177. (3) Rein. p. 399. (4) Sym. l. iii. ep. 6. p. 104. (5) Idem, l. i. ep. 40, 56, 68. p. 30, 38. (6) Idem, l. ii. ep. 44. p. 81. & ep. 83. p. 97. (7) Sidon. l. ii. ep. 10. p. 54. Sym. l. ix. ep. 121 p. 386. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (8) Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376. Sym. l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (9) Phot. c. 80. p. 197. Sym. l. v. ep. 5, p. 187. & ep. 66. p. 214. Ammian. p. 377. Macrob p. 745. (10) Sym. l. ix. ep. 41. p. 31. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 356. (11) Rein p 399. (12) Sym. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273.

with extraordinary care, and ſeems to have taken upon himſelf to inſtruct him (12). Being invited by Theodoſius, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to Milan, and aſſiſt at the ſolemnity of his conſulſhip in 399, he excuſed himſelf, alledging, that he could not leave his ſon (13). His ſon was made by his intereſt, firſt quæſtor and afterwards prætor (14), quæſtor about the year 392, and prætor in 397. The latter dignity coſt him two thouſand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have ſpent on that occaſion a far greater ſum, had he not been reſtrained by Stilicho, who at that time ruled under Honorius (16). Young Symmachus was proconſul of Africa in 415, and prefect of Rome in 419 (17). In the date of a law of the year 424, he is marked conſul (18); but moſt writers take that to be a miſtake. He married, after the year 394. the grand-daughter of Flavianus, and had by her a ſon before the death of his father (19). He wrote ſome epigrams on illuſtrious men, and ſeveral letters, which are to be found among thoſe of his father, who ſubmitted his own compoſitions to the cenſure and judgment of his ſon (20). Symmachus, the father, was eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator of his time; but his ſpeeches not meeting with the applauſe he expected, he applied himſelf entirely to the writing of letters (21). His ſpeeches have been long ſince loſt; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preſerved by his amanuenſis, and one of his friends, named Elpidius, and publiſhed after his death by his ſon (22). Prudentius, who wrote againſt him, while he was ſtill living, on occaſion of his endeavouring to perſuade the emperor to reſtore the altar of victory, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a goolden ſpade made uſe of to dig up ordure (23). Macrobius compares his elegant and florid ſtyle, as he terms it, to that of Pliny the younger, and equals him in that reſpect to the beſt writers of antiquity (24). Apollinaris Sidonius and Caſſiodorus admire his eloquence, and the purity of his ſtyle (25). Both theſe writers quote ſome paſſages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26). Socrates (27), Photius (28), and Jornandes (29), mention him

(13) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68 p. 335. (14) Idem, l. v. ep. 44. p. 202. & l. iv ep. 12. p. 147. (15) Idem, l. iv. ep 8. p. 146. (16) Idem ibid. (17) Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 386. (18) Idem, tit. 1. p 386. (19) Sym. l. iv. ep. 14. p. 149. (20) Idem, l. vii. ep. 21 p. 70. & appendix. ad ep. Symmachi, p. 298, 301. (21) Idem, l iv. ep. 29. p 159. & l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (22) Idem, l. iii. p. 101. & l. v. ep. 83, 84. p. 220. (23) Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 220. & l. 2. p. 225. (24) Macr. l. v. c. 1. p. 364. (25) Sid. l. i. ep. 1. p. 11. & car. 9. p. 361. l. viii. ep. 10. p 231. Caſſiod. l. xi ep. 1. p. 175. (26) Sid. & Caſſiod. ibid. (27) Socr. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. (28) Phot. c. 80. p. 197.

him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without ſome elegance; but the ſame thoughts, tho', generally ſpeaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his ſtyle ſavours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. Jornandes quotes the fifth book of the hiſtory of Symmachus; but as it does not appear, that either Symmachus the orator, or his ſon, ever wrote any hiſtory, moſt authors take the hiſtorian quoted by Jornandes to be different from both (30).

The Latin poet Rufus Feſtus Avienus is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed under Theodoſius, becauſe he inſcribed a work to Probus, a conſular man, whom moſt writers take to be the celebrated Probus, who died not long before the year 395 (31). St. Jerom, in his comments on the epiſtle to Titus, writes, that the phenomena of Aratus had been lately tranſlated by Avienus (32); which work, together with his tranſlation of Dionyſius's deſcription of the world, and a third poem by the ſame author on the ſea coaſts, has reached our times. To the ſame Avienus or Avianus are generally aſcribed the fables of Æſop in Latin verſe, and the whole hiſtory of Livy in Iambics; but the latter laborious performance which is mentioned by Servius, has been long ſince loſt (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the ſame author are ſtill extant. He writes with more taſte and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to thoſe of Phædrus (34). Rufus Feſtus, who was proconſul of Achaia under Valens, is thought to have been his ſon (35). Victor the hiſtorian, who cloſes his hiſtory with a kind of panegyric on Theodoſius, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote ſoon after the death of that prince (36). The name of Sextus Aurelius Victor is common to him with another hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Valens; but from him he is diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of junior or the younger: in ſeveral manuſcripts he is ſtyled Victorious or Victorius, and under both theſe names he is quoted by Paulus Diaconus (37). He wrote the Roman hiſtory; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called Victor's epitome (38). Gregory of Tours quotes ſeveral things concerning the Franks out of an hiſtorian named Sulpicius Alexander (39), whom Gothofredus commends as an excellent writer, and ſuppoſes to be the ſame

(29) Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 15. p. 636. (30) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 724. (31) Idem, l. ii. c. 9. p. 202. (32) Hier. in Tit. i. p. 248. (33) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 56. (34) Vide Baillet. tom. vi. p. 475, 476, (35) Vide Spon. p. 100. (36) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 12. p. 221. (37) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 12. p. 221. (38) Vict. epit. p. 531. (39) Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, &c.

ſame Alexander to whom Symmachus wrote ſeveral letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raiſed by Valentinian II. about the year 387, to the poſt of tribune and ſecretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the Latin poet Manilius, who wrote on aſtrology, flouriſhed under Theodoſius, or his ſon Honorius; but from ſeveral paſſages in that poem, eſpecially from the laſt verſes of the firſt book, Extremas modo per gentes, &c. moſt critics conclude him to have lived in the time of Auguſtus, and to have writen ſoon after the defeat of Varus (41). The notitia, or ſtate of the provinces of the empire, publiſhed by Surita with the itinerary of Antoninus, is ſuppoſed to have been written in the time of Theodoſius; for mention is made there of the provinces of Arcania in Egypt, and Honorius in Pontus, ſo ſtyled from that prince's two ſons, and no notice is taken of ſeveral other provinces formed by Arcadius after the death of his father (42). The five books of Flavius Vegetius Renatus on the military art, are addreſſed to the emperor, by whoſe order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is ſometimes named Valentinian, and ſometimes Theodoſius (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of Gratian, and not long after the ravages committed by the Goths in that prince's reign, which he aſcribes to his having ſuffered the infantry to lay aſide their cuiraſſes and helmets (45). Vegetius is diſtinguiſhed with the title of comes or count, and even with the epithet of illuſtrious. He is commonly blamed for confounding the cuſtoms and regulations of the antients with thoſe of his time.

The Philoſopher Themiſtius flouriſhed under Theodoſius, and was no leſs eſteemed by the Greeks than Symmachus by the Latins. He was ſprung from a noble family, and one of his anceſtors, a philoſopher by profeſſion, had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral honours by Dioclefian (46); perhaps his father Eugenius, who was no leſs famous for the profeſſion of philoſophy, than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongſt the letters of the emperor Julian, there is one to a philoſopher by name Eugenius (48); whom ſome take to have been the father of Themiſtius; if ſo, he muſt have been too young in Dioclefian's time to be raiſed to any public employment. From his elogium, written by his ſon ſoon after his death, it appears, that he preferred Ariſtotle to all other philoſophers, and that in his old age he uſed to unbend his mind from the ſtudy of philoſophy with cultivating

(40) Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p 409. Sym. l. i. ep. 101. p. 58. & l. ix. ep. 25. p. 347. (41) Spanh. l. vii. p. 643 Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 36. Manil. p. 160, 161. (42) Vide Noris epoch. p. 298, 302. (43) Veg. l. i. p 13. & l. ii p. 30. (44) Idem, p. 13. (45) Idem, l. i. c. 20. p. 24. (46) Orat. Conſtantii Aug. de Themiſt. p. 22. & Themiſt. or. v. p. 63. (47) Or Conſ p. 23. (48) Julian. ep. xviii. p. 135.

tivating his garden (49). Themiſtius was of the ſame age with the emperor Conſtantius (50), born in 317. He was a native of Paphlagonia, and not of Conſtantinople, tho' he ſpent almoſt his whole life in that city (51). He ſtudied rhetoric at a place on the moſt diſtant borders of Pontus and Colchis, near Phaſis, a city of Colchis, on a river of the ſame name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated profeſſor, who taught in that country (52), and under whom he made ſuch progreſs, that he was ſurnamed Euphradus or the fine ſpeaker (53). Gregory Nazianzen ſtyles him the king of eloquence and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but moſt of all in the art of ſpeaking (54). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on Ariſtotle for his own private uſe; but nevertheleſs they were publiſhed and met with great applauſe (55). His comments on Ariſtotle, and his notes on Plato, were ſtill extant in the time of Photius, who ſtyles them an uſeful work (56). The author of the book on the categories or predicaments, falſly aſcribed to St. Auſtin, owns, that, in compiling that work, he had often recourſe to Themiſtius, a great and wiſe philoſopher of his time (57). Some fragments of the comments of Themiſtius on Ariſtotle are ſtill extant (58); and Stobæus quotes a paſſage out of that work concerning the immortality of the ſoul. When he had ended his ſtudies, he went to Conſtantinople, and reſided there for the ſpace of at leaſt forty years (60). He firſt taught philoſophy, viz. that of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of Ariſtotle; but made moſt account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of diſciples, and a philoſopher of Sicyon in Peloponneſus, who had ſtudied under Iamblichus, ſent him all his at once (62). He taught gratis; nay, he aſſiſted his diſciples with money ſo far as his ſmall eſtate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of ſophiſt, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (63). After he had taught ſome time at Conſtantinople, he went firſt to the court of Conſtantius, before whom he pronounced his firſt oration at Ancyra in 347, having been introduced to that prince by Saturnius who was conſul in 383 (64). Not long after, that

(49) Themiſt. or. xx. p. 234. (50) Idem, or. i. p. 375. (51) Idem, or. ii. p. 28. (52) Idem, or. xxiii. p. 292. & or. xvii. p. 214. or. xxvii. p. 332, 333. (53) Greg. Naz. ep. cxl. p 866. (54) Idem, ep. cxxxix. p. 865. (55) Idem, or. xxvii. p. 333. or. xxiii. p. 294, 295. (56) Phot. c. 73. p. 164. (57) Aug. de categ. c. 2. p. 23. & c. 22. p. 34. (58) Phot. c. 74. p. 161. (59) Euſeb. p. 241. (60) Idem, or. xvii. p 214. (61) Idem, or. xxiii. p. 298. & or. Conſt. p. 22. (62) Idem, or. xxiii p 295. (63) Idem ibid. p. 294. (64) Idem, or. xiii. p. 165. & or. xxxi. p. 352.

that is, before the year 350, he ſaw Conſtans in the weſt (65). In the year 355, Conſtantius created him ſenator of Conſtantinople, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the ſenate of that city (66). Two years after, that prince cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to his honour (67). Julian wrote frequently to him in the time of his diſgrace; and being created Cæſar, anſwered by a long letter that which Themiſtius had wrote to him from Conſtantinople, encouraging him to anſwer the mighty expectations the world entertained of him (68). Upon the acceſſion of Jovian to the empire, Themiſtius was ſent to the new prince by the ſenate of Conſtantinople, to congratulate him in their name; on which occaſion he pronounced, or deſigned to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (69), with ſeveral diſcourſes pronounced by him before Valens, who would hear him at leaſt once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369, when he concluded a peace with the Goths, to which the philoſopher pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attended Valens into the eaſt, and in the Perſian war in 372 (72). Socrates and Sozomen write, that he reconciled in ſome degree that prince to the catholics by a ſpeech, which he pronounced before him, ſhewing, he ought not to be ſurpriſed at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but on the contrary allow them great liberty (73). In the year 376, he was ſent by Valens to Gratian, then in Gaul. As on his return he paſſed through Rome, the inhabitants of that metropolis earneſtly preſſed him to continue there and teach philoſophy, but could not by any offers prevail upon him to accept that office; ſo that after a ſhort ſtay in their city, he returned to Conſtantinople (74). Theodoſius raiſed him in 384, to the dignity of prefect of Conſtantinople, and once had ſome thoughts of committing to his care the education of his ſon Arcadius (75). He wrote ſeveral diſcourſes in praiſe of that prince before the year 385, but as none of his orations are thought to be poſterior to that year, he is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after. All the emperors who reigned in his time, ſhewed him great reſpect, and diſtinguiſhed him above all the other philoſophers. Of his orations thirty three have reached our times, compriſing one in the Latin tongue, which ſeveral critics ſuppoſe not to be his. In Photius's time they were in all thirty ſix, and among them one addreſſed to Valentinian II. which ſince his time has been loſt (76). Photius commends his ſtyle as grave, and at the ſame time

(65) Idem, or. xiii. p. 165. or xxxi. p. 354. or. Conſt. p. 18. (66) Or. Conſt. ibid. (67) Themiſt. or. iv. p. 54. (68) Julian ad Themiſt. p. 479. (69) Themiſt. or. v. p. 69. (70) Idem, or. xi. p. 129. (71) Idem ibid. p. 133. & or. xiii. p. 166. (72) Idem ibid. (73) Socr. l. iv. c. 32. p. 250. Soz. l. vi. c. 36. p. 696. (74) Themiſt. or. xxiii. p. 298. & or. xxxi. p. 354. (75) Idem, or. xvii. p. 215. (76) Phot. c. 76. p. 164.

time florid and elegant (77). He declares himself in many places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheless commends all the emperors alike, and bestows as great encomiums upon Valens, as upon Theodosius. A poet, by name Palladius, charges him with ambitiously aspiring at the dignity of prefect, notwithstanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (78). When Palladius lived we know not. Themistius's thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one Eutychianus, who lived in the sixth century; but it is evident from his writings, that he professed paganism, tho' he was not perhaps such a fanatic as Libanius or Eunapius. Gregory Nazianzen, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him recommending several persons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the sophists of the fourth century, was a native of Sardes, the metropolis of Lydia; but studied at Athens for the space of five years, under Proæreses, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, professor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to Lydia, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under Chrysanthus, who had married his cousin. He was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusina, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the pagan superstition (80). By Chrysanthus he was induced to write the lives of the sophists; which work he begins with the life of Plotinus, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From Plotinus he proceeds to the lives of Porphyrius, of Iamblichus, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (81). He mentions the ravages committed in Greece by Alaric in 395 and 396, whence it is plain, that he did not put the last hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books and extended from the beginning of the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallienus, where the history of Dexippus ended, to the death of Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius; that is, from the year 268, to 404 (82). His life of the emperor Julian was rather a panegyric, than a history (83). Some fragments of this history are still to be found in Suidas (84), and in the abstracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on embassies. Vossius writes, that the entire history of Eunapius is lodged in the public library of Venice (85). The history of Zosimus is but an

(77) Idem ibid. (78) Antholog. l ii. c. 52. p. 188. Voss. poet. Græc p 93. (79) Greg. Naz. ep. 139, 140. p. 865. (80) Eunap. c. 8. p. 82, 102, 103. Phot. c. 77. p. 169. Jons. l. iii. c. 17. p. 296 - 299. (81) Eunap. c. 21. p. 144 (82) Phot. ibid. Eunap. p. 75. (83) Phot. ibid. (84) Suid. p. 1099, 2237. (85) Voss. hist. Græc l. ii. c. 18. p. 252.

abridgment of that of Eunapius (86). They were both declared enemies to all chriſtian princes, eſpecially to Conſtantine the Great, tho' Eunapius retrenched, in the ſecond edition of his work, moſt of the invectives againſt the chriſtians, which he had inſerted in the firſt (87). In his lives of the ſophiſts, he betrays the ſame prejudice againſt the chriſtian religion, and in ſeveral places inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks. Photius commends his ſtyle as elegant, conciſe, and expreſſive; but finds fault with his endleſs metaphors, which better ſuit an orator than an hiſtorian (88). In the lives of the ſophiſts, his ſtyle is often obſcure, and not eaſily underſtood, which has led ſeveral able writers into groſs miſtakes (89). He frequently diſagrees with the hiſtorians of his own time; nay with thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of the events they relate. The two philoſophers, Pappus and Theo, flouriſhed at Alexandria, in the reign of Theodoſius, the former wrote a general deſcription of the earth, a treatiſe on the rivers of Lydia, and ſome other books on different ſubjects (90). Theo, or Theon, belonged to the muſeum, ſays Suidas (91); that is, to the ſociety of learned men who compoſed the academy of Alexandria. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the Nile, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, aſtrology, on Ptolemy's canon and on other ſubjects (92). Dodwel publiſhed a fragment of Theo of Alexandria on Ptolemy's canon, with a book of faſti, which he ſuppoſes to have been done by the ſame writer (93).

(86) Phot. c 98. p. 272. (87) Phot. ibid. Suid. p. 1515. (88) Phot. p. 169, 172. (89) Vide Jonſ. l iii. c. 17. p. 298. (90) Suid. p. 424 & p. 1307. (91) Idem ibid. (92) Idem ibid. & Jonſ. l iii. c. 2. p. 219. (93) Append. ad Cypr. diſſ. p 1, 10, 98, 106.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Roman hiſtory from the death of Theodoſius the Great, to the taking of Rome the firſt time by the Goths.

Rufinus prime miniſter to Arcadius.

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have obſerved above, the empire at his death between his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius; but as they were too young to govern of themſelves, Arcadius being but eighteen years old, and Honorius not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of Rufinus, and the latter to that of Stilicho,

Stilicho [a]. Rufinus was a native of Eauſe in Gaſcony [b], and not of Euſa in Boſphorus, as ſome have imagined, miſled by the authority of Tiro Proſper [c]. He appeared firſt at court in the reign of Theodoſius, who, being taken with his uncommon addreſs, and extraordinary qualities, raiſed him, about the year 390, to the poſt of magiſter officiorum, to the conſular dignity in 392, and the ſame year to that of prefect of the eaſt, leaving him at Conſtantinople veſted with almoſt an abſolute and unlimited power, when he ſet out for the weſt in 394, to make war on Eugenius [d]. Rufinus was well-ſhaped in his perſon, tall, of a graceful mien, and ſprightly genius [e]. He profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and was baptized in 394, on occaſion of the ſolemn conſecration of a church, which he had built, together with a palace, near Chalcedon [f]. He could never have gained the eſteem and confidence of Theodoſius, without the appearance, at leaſt, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. Ambroſe ranked him among his friends, and was glad to ſee him preferred [g]. He lived in great intimacy with Symmachus, if the laſt letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addreſſed to him. In thoſe letters Symmachus commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery [h]. He likewiſe extols his virtue, his ſincerity, and diſintereſtedneſs, and the penetration of Theodoſius in chuſing ſo worthy a miniſter [i]. But the ſame writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time [k]. Claudian charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiouſneſs, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable [l]. Suidas and Zoſimus ſpeak of him as a great diſſembler, and one who trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they ſtood in the way of his unbounded ambition and inſatiable avarice [m]. St Jerom likewiſe charges him with avarice [n]; Oroſius [o], Philoſtorgius [p], and Marcellinus in his cronicle [q], with having ſtirred up the barbarians againſt the empire, in order to raiſe himſelf, in that

His character.

[a] Oroſ. l. vii. p. 221. Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 117. Zoſ. p. 780. [b] Claud. in Ruf. l. i. p. 12, 13. [c] De Marca hiſtoire de Bearn, p. 24. [d] Zoſ. l. vi. c. 773. Cod. Theod tit. 6 p. 382. Amb. ep. 50. p. 309. [e] Philoſt l. xi. c 3 p. 528. Soz. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780 [f] Pallad hiſt. Lauſ c. 12 p. 915. [g] Amb. ep. 50. p 309. [h] Symm. l iii. ep. 83, 88 p. 127. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, l. vi. ep. 15. p 233. [l] Claud. in Ruf. l i & ii. [m] Suid. p 691, 692. Zoſ l v p. 780 [n] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [o] Oroſ. p. 221. [p] Philoſt. p 528. [q] Mar. chron. p. 79.

confuſion of affairs, to the ſovereignty. St. Ambroſe reproaches him in Theodoret as the author of the maſſacre of the inhabitans of Theſſalonica [r]. Zoſimus aſcribes to his treachery the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians in 391, and the downfal aud misfortunes of Tatianus and his ſon Proculus, in 392 [s]. But other writers queſtion the innocence both of the father and ſon, as we have already obſerved. Stilicho, who ruled with no leſs abſolute ſway in the weſt under Honorius, than Rufinus did in the eaſt under Arcadius, was originally a Vandal, whence he is ſtyled by St. Jerom a demi-barbarian [t]. Claudian, who was no leſs biaſſed in his favour, than prejudiced againſt his rival Rufinus, mentions none of his anceſtors, beſides his father, who had a conſiderable command in the army under Valens [u]. Stilicho himſelf bore arms from his childhood, and roſe by degrees to the poſt of magiſter utriuſque militiæ, that is, of general both of the horſe and foot [w]. He commanded the Roman troops, according to Zoſimus, for the ſpace of twenty-three years; that is, from 385, to 408; and attended Theodoſius in all his wars [x]. That prince muſt have entertained a great opinion of him, ſince he preferred him to all thoſe who courted his niece Serena, whom he had adopted after the death of her father Honorius. By her Stilicho had a ſon, named Eucherius, born at Rome in 389, while Theodoſius was in that city, and two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of our hiſtory. Theodoſius would not have honoured Stilicho with his alliance, had he not profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but as he is more commended by the pagan than chriſtian writers, and his ſon Eucherius openly declared himſelf againſt chriſtianity, we cannot, upon the bare teſtimony of Baronius, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious, chriſtan. Zoſimus writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the Roman armies, he never ſold any military employments, or deprived the ſoldiers, as others had done to enrich themſelves, of the leaſt ſhare of their pay. The ſame writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his ſon Eucherius to any conſiderable employments, tho' he had a juſt title to the firſt in the ſtate [y]. But

Stilicho firſt miniſter to Honorius.

His character.

[r] Theodor. l. v. c. 17. p. 728 [s] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 773. [t] Hier. ep. xi. p 93. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 194. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. [u] Claud. de laud. Stilic. l. ii p. 124 [w] Proſp. l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. Grut p. 112. [x] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 777. [y] Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111.

But other writers [z] charge him even with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire, and depoſing his lawful ſovereign Honorius, his ward and his ſon-in-law; for that prince married ſucceſſively both Stilicho's daughters. Zoſimus endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the ſame time owns him to have been in the higheſt degree corrupt and partial in the adminiſtration of juſtice; to have countenanced thoſe who plundered the provinces, provided they ſhared with him the ſpoils; and to have in a ſhort time acquired, by the moſt unlawful means, immenſe riches [a]. We read the ſame thing in Suidas [b], who ſeems to have copied it from Eunapius. To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory: Upon the death of Theodoſius, Arcadius, to whom the eaſtern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to Conſtantinople, while Honorius continued at Milan, to awe with his preſence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on Rhætia, who were ſaid to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As Honorius was but a child, and Arcadius a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in Rufinus and Stilicho, of whom the former ruled with an abſolute ſway in the eaſt, and the other in the weſt. Theſe two miniſters agreed, ſays Zoſimus, in plundering the provinces, and impoveriſhing whole nations, to enrich themſelves; but at the ſame time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himſelf ſafe, while his rival continued in power [c]. Stilicho pretended, that Theodoſius in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence looking upon the power which Rufinus enjoyed in the eaſt as a mere uſurpation, he was conſtantly meditating with himſelf in what manner he might compaſs his ruin, and engroſs the whole authority to himſelf [d]. On the other hand, Rufinus, not ſatisfied to rule with an abſolute ſway under Arcadius, began to aſpire at the ſovereignty; and thinking the readieſt way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any diſparagement to aſſume his father-in-law for his collegue, he cauſed overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmoſt ſecrecy; which, however, ſoon became the public talk, and heightened the averſion which the people had already con-

Both miniſters agree in plundering the people.

Rufinus aſpires at the ſovereignty.

[z] Philoſt. p. 461, 465. [a] Zoſ. p 780—789. [b] Suid. p. 690, 691 [c] Zoſ l. v p. 780. [d] Idem, ibid p. 782. Claud. in Ruf. l ii p. 20. & conſ. Hon. 3. p 38.

ceived againſt him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings [c]. While this affair was on foot, Eucherius, the emperor's uncle, thinking himſelf ill-uſed by Lucianus, count of the eaſt, complained of him to Arcadius, who caſt the whole blame upon Rufinus, by whoſe intereſt he had been raiſed to that poſt. Lucianus was the ſon of Florentius, prefect of Gaul in the latter end of the reign of Conſtantius; and having purchaſed the favour of Rufinus, by preſenting him with rich poſſeſſions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the eaſt, in which office he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf with the greateſt juſtice, moderation, and integrity; inſomuch, that he refuſed even to comply with a requeſt of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconſiſtent with equity. This being miſrepreſented to Arcadius, Rufinus, inſtead of protecting one who had purchaſed his favour at ſo great a price, left Conſtantinople, without imparting his deſign to any one; and haſtening to Antioch with a ſmall retinue, entred that city in the dead of the night, cauſed Lucianus to be apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared againſt him, to be beaten with leaden balls faſtened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of Antioch, and Rufinus, to appeaſe them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the moſt ſtately edifice in all Syria [i]. From Antioch Rufinus returned in great haſte to Conſtantinople, pleaſing himſelf with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found Arcadius immoveably determined to marry Eudoxia, who had been propoſed to him by the eunuch Eutropius; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-ſeventh of April of this year 395, to the great diſappointment of Rufinus [g]. Eudoxia was a Frank by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general Bauto, who had been conſul in 385. and not of the emperor Gratian, or of the famous general Promotus, as ſome have advanced without ſufficient grounds [h]. As ſhe was a woman of great addreſs, of an haughty and imperious temper, ſhe ſoon gained an abſolute ſway over the weak prince her husband.

A remarkable inſtance of Rufinus's cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.

Arcadius marries Eudoxia.

Her character.

[e] Zoſ. p. 780. [f] Idem, l. v. p 780, 781. [g] Idem, p. 781, 782. Chron. Alex. p 710. [h] Vide. Val. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 65. Philoſt. l. xi c. 6. p. 529.

huſband [i]. Some writers have queſtioned her modeſty [k]; but from that charge ſhe is cleared by others, tho' all agree in accuſing her of an inſatiable avarice, which often prompted her to moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. However, ſhe had ſome outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, ſhewed great reſpect to prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401, to demoliſh the temple of Marnas, and other temples at Gaza, ſhe built in that city a moſt ſtately and magnificent church, which from her was called Eudoxiana. Hence St. Chryſoſtom publicly commended her as the mother of the church, the patroneſs of the ſaints, the ſupport of the poor, &c [l]. But the cruel perſecution ſhe afterwards raiſed againſt her panegyriſt, has rendered her name infamous in the hiſtory of the church. But to return to Rufinus: That miniſter found himſelf diſappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the ſame time dreaded the credit of the eunuch Eutropius, but more the arms of Stilicho, who pretended to have been by Theodoſius appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the eaſt, to diſpoſſeſs his rival of the authority he had uſurped. In order therefore to defeat the deſigns of Stilicho, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of Eutropius, and even of ſeizing the ſovereign power, he reſolved to ſet all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmoſt confuſion [m]. With this view he privately ſtirred up by his emiſſaries the Hunns, who penetrated as far as Antioch, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where unheard of cruelties [n]. At the ſame time he encouraged the famous Alaric to put himſelf at the head of his country-men the Goths, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his ſtandard, to break into Greece, aſſuring him, that he ſhould meet with no oppoſition. Alaric at that time commanded a body of Goths in the Roman ſervice; but being diſſatisfied that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, ſince he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late war with Eugenius, he readily cloſed with the propoſal of Rufinus; and being by him ſupplied with large ſums, he aſſembled an incredible number of barbarians of different nations; and putting himſelf at their head, he ravaged

Stilicho claims the ſame power in the eaſt as in the weſt.

Rufinus ſtirs up the Hunns and Goths to invade the empire.

[i] Cedren. p. 334. [k] Zoſ. l. v. p. 795. [l] Chryſ. tom. 4. p. 853. [m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. [n] Socr. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. Soz. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753.

vaged all Thrace, Pannonia, Macedon, and Theſſaly. As he drew near the famous ſtreights of Thermopylæ, Gerontius, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked deſigns of his patron Rufinus, immediately withdrew, and opened a free paſſage for the barbarians into Greece, where they raged with incredible fury, putting thoſe to the ſword who offered to oppoſe them, and ſending into their reſpective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As Antiochus, at that time proconſul of Achaia, and another of Rufinus's creatures, did not offer to make head againſt them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing ſuch ravages and devaſtations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between Dalmatia, the Adriatic gulf, and the Euxine ſea, was laid waſte, and turned into a deſart, the inhabitants concealing themſelves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of Conſtantinople itſelf was in a manner beſieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldneſs to the very gates of that metropolis. Rufinus, attired after the Gothic manner, went out, as he ſaid, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of eſteem; which confirmed the ſuſpicion moſt people entertained of his treachery [o].

Dreadful ravages committe by the Goths, under the conduct of Alaric.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, Stilicho was buſied on the bank of the Rhine, in renewing the antient alliances of the Roman people with the Franks, and other German nations. This he accompliſhed, ſays Claudian [p], in leſs than fourteen days; which Mr. Valois maintains to be abſolutely impoſſible [q]. That writer ſpeaks much at length of Marcomir and Sunno, two princes or chiefs of the Franks in thoſe days [r], as does likewiſe Gregory of Tours [s]. Claudian who diſtinguiſhes them with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, ſays, that they endeavoured to raiſe new diſturbances after the peace concluded with Stilicho; but that one of them, after having been kept ſome time in priſon, was baniſhed into Tuſcany; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that Honorius appointed other kings

Stilicho renews the antient alliances with the German nations.

[o] Zoſ. p. 783. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. Philoſt. p. 154. [p] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 128. [q] Val. ibid. p. 94. [r] Idem, p. 86—90. [s] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 59—61.

kings over the Franks in their room [t]. This ſeems to have happened, according to Claudian, before the revolt of Gildo; that is, before the end of the year 397. Valeſius writes, that Marcomir outlived Sunno; and conſequently that it was he who was baniſhed into Tuſcany. He is thought to have been the father of Faramond, ſuppoſed to have been the firſt king of France [u]. Stilicho, having thus renewed the antient treaties with the Franks and Germans, reſolved to march to the ſuccour of Greece; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity of ruining Rufinus, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore Gaul about the latter end of the ſpring, he ſet forward with all the weſtern troops, and thoſe likewiſe of the eaſt, that had been left in the weſt after the defeat of Eugenius. He marched, according to Claudian, over the Alps, no doubt, the Julian-Alps, and conſequently through Dalmatia. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in thoſe parts, reſolved to make a ſtand in Theſſaly, and with this view aſſembled into one body all their troops, that were in ſeveral parties diſperſed about the country. Stilicho was already within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy's army, and his men ſhewed a great forwardneſs to engage them, when Rufinus, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repreſſed, the ſtorm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon Arcadius to ſend for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was diſpatched to Stilicho, with a peremptory order from the emperor to ſend them forthwith, and return with the reſt into the weſt. Stilicho was greatly ſurprized at this order, which, he thought, ſnatched out of his hands a certain victory, and expoſed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to diſobey, he not only ſent the troops, but half the treaſure which Theodoſius had left [w]. In diſmiſſing the forces, he appointed one Gainas, by nation a Goth, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to Conſtantinople, after having imparted to him his deſign of diſpatching Rufinus, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Under his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople on the twenty-ſeventh of November; and the emperor, according to cuſtom, went out

Stilicho marches to the relief of Greece.

He is ordered by Arcadius to return into the weſt.

[t] Claud. ibid. p. 129. [u] Val. ibid. l. iii. p 119. [w] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4 p. 50, 51. & laud. Stil l. i. p. 128, 129. & l. ii. p. 135. Ruf. l. ii. p. 22. Zoſ. p. 782, 783.

out in perſon to meet them, attended by Rufinus, who, as he had gained over ſome of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occaſion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the ſoldiery. The army received the emperor with all the reſpect due to the ſon of

Rufinus murdered.

Theodoſius the Great; but at the ſame time, upon a ſignal given by Gainas, they fell upon Rufinus, and cut him in pieces, while he was preſſing Arcadius to declare him his collegue [x]. This happened, according to Claudian, at the palace of Hebdomon [y], where the emperors of the eaſt were uſually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a ſtone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a ſpear to Conſtantinople, where it was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy [z]. They likewiſe cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, aſked alms for the inſatiable Rufinus, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected conſiderable ſums, every one being glad to reward with ſome ſmall acknowledgement thoſe who had contributed to the death of a perſon they ſo much abhorred [a]. His eſtate and all his effects were confiſcated; and the decree iſſued on that occaſion was ſent to Rome, where the people expreſſed the greateſt joy at the death and deſerved end of that inſatiable robber, to uſe the expreſſion of Symmachus, who had plundered the world [b]. His wife and daughter, fearing they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the fury of the people, took ſanctuary in a church, whence they were ſuffered to retire to Jeruſalem, where they ſpent the reſt of their days [c]. Palladius beſtows great encomiums on Salvia or Silvia, the ſiſter of Rufinus, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity [d]. From a law dated the fifth of Auguſt of the enſuing year 396, it appears, that his wife's fortune was reſtored to her [e]. Neither Stilicho nor the empire gained any thing by the death of Rufinus, he being ſucceeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other deteſtable qualities, by the eunuch Eutropius, who had concurred with Stilicho in all his meaſures againſt their common rival. Eutropius was by birth an Armenian, by condition a

And his eſtate confiſcated.

He is ſucceeded in his power and employments by Eutropius.

ſlave,

[x] Socr. p. 300. Philoſ. p. 528. Chron. Alex. p. 710. Claud. in Ruf. l ii. p. 29. Zoſ p. 785. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Philoſ. p. 528. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Claud. in Ruf. l ii p. 31. Aſterii orat. iv. p. 76. [a] Hier. Philoſt Zoſ. ibid. [b] Symm. l. vi. ep. 15. p. 232. [c] Zoſ. l. v. p. 785, 786. [d] Pallad. hiſt Lauſ. c. 143. p. 1046. [e] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 15. p. 342.

ſlave, and had been made an eunuch ſoon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in requeſt, and conſequently more advantageous to the ſeller, than common ſlaves. He had frequently changed maſters, having been often bought and ſold. When he was already ſtricken in years, a ſoldier, named Ptolemy, gave him as a preſent to his general Arintheus, who was famous under Valens: Arintheus preſented his daughter with him when ſhe was married, to comb her hair, and perform ſuch-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer diſcharge on account of his age, ſhe gave him his liberty. Being now his own maſter, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the loweſt offices, till he was raiſed by the intereſt of Abundantius, who was conſul in 392, to a more creditable poſt [e]. Theodoſius ſent him in 392, as we read in Sozomen, to conſult the holy hermit John in the wilderneſs of Thebais [f]. That prince ſeems to have repoſed ſome confidence in him. After the marriage of Arcadius with Eudoxia, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation great chamberlain, and upon the death of Rufinus, veſted with the ſame power and authority which that miniſter had enjoyed [g]. Rufinus ſeemed to ſurvive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to Eunapius, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man [h]. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackeſt colours, concludes, that he has not painted him ſuch as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deſervedly charge him [i]. He ſurpaſſed in avarice Rufinus himſelf, expoſing to public ſale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuſe ſuch perſons as were poſſeſſed of eſtates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers [k]: the priſons, and places of baniſhment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, and ſtripped their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned [l]. As for Arcadius, who was a prince of very ſlender parts, he ſuffered himſelf to be entirely governed by this wicked miniſter, not daring in a manner to enquire into his conduct, or give ear to thoſe who had the boldneſs to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by ſeveral laws of this year, he confirmed thoſe that had been enacted by

His extraction, employments, and character.

[e] Claud. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 49, 95—97. [f] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. [g] Zoſ. p. 781. Philoſt. l. xi. c. 4. p. 528. Suid. p. 1099. [h] Eunap. p. 183. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Claud. ibid. p. 97, 98. [l] Zoſ. p. 786. Suid. p. 1099.

by his father againſt heretics [m]; and by one addreſſed to Marcellus, then magiſter officiorum, he commanded that officer to enquire with great care whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to diſmiſs, but to baniſh ſuch as he ſhould diſcover in the palace, with thoſe who had recommended them [n]. Honorius continued all this year at Milan, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

Stilicho returns to the relief of Greece.

THE next conſuls were, Arcadius the fourth time, and Honorius the third. This year Stilicho, who was returned to Italy with the weſtern troops, ſet out anew with a deſign to ſuccour Greece, reduced to a moſt deplorable condition by Alaric, and the barbarians under his command. He embarqued on the Adriatic ſea; and landing without oppoſition in Peloponneſus, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various ſucceſsful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in Arcadia, named Pholoe, at a ſmall diſtance from Piſa. There he ſhut them up on all ſides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the courſe of the river that ſupplied them with water [o]. But when he had them thus in his power, he ſuffered them to eſcape, to retire out of Peloponneſus, and to pillage Epirus in their retreat [p]. Oroſius ſuppoſes him to have connived at their eſcape, and therefore thinks him no leſs guilty than Rufinus, who firſt ſtirred them up againſt the empire [q]. Zoſimus writes, that they owed their ſafety to the negligence and miſconduct of Stilicho [r]. But Claudian tells us, that Eutropius, looking upon Stilicho as a more dangerous enemy than Alaric, perſuaded Arcadius to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the beſt provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order Stilicho to withdraw his troops forthwith out of Greece, which belonged to Arcadius. Thus was Stilicho robbed the ſecond time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians [s]. Soon after, Alaric was by Arcadius, or rather by his governor Eutropius, appointed commander of the troops in Eaſt-Illyricum, which compriſed Greece, as we read in Claudian

But ſuffers Alaric to eſcape.

[m] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 9. leg. 8. p. 133. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142. 144. [n] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148. [o] Zoſ. l. 5. p. 784. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 51. [p] Zoſ. ibid. [q] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [r] Zoſ. p. 784. [s] Claud. bell. Goth. p 170. & in Eutrop. l. ii p. 113.

Claudian [t] (N). As for Stilicho, though he immediately retired with his troops out of Greece, pursuant to the orders of Arcadius, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of Eutropius, as Zosimus expresses it, caused him to be declared a public enemy by a solemn decree of the senate of Constantinople [u], ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the east to be seized and confiscated [w]. Claudian adds, that Stilicho discovered an assassin, who had been hired to murder him, and several letters dispersed among his troops, in order to debauch them, and stir them up against him [x]. Eutropius, not satisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of Stilicho, aspiring at the same post in the court of Arcadius which he held in that of Honorius, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom Arcadius seemed to repose any confidence. He began with Abundantius, by whose means he had been first raised at court, and who on that account deserved, according to Claudian [y], tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. Abundantius had served in the army with great reputation in the time of Gratian, and had been raised by Theodosius to the post of general both of the horse and foot, to the prætorship, and in 393, to the consular dignity [z]. But Eutropius, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty and malicious insinuations, to banish him to Pityus, a city of Bosphorus, to the north of the Euxine sea, and beyond Colchis; where he led a miserable

Stilicho, at the instigation of Eutropius, declared a public enemy.

Eutropius causes Abunduntius to be banished.

[t] Idem in Eutrop. ibid. [u] Zos. p. 788. [w] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 57. [z] Claud. ibid. Zos. l. 5. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347.

(N) His words are,

——————— At nunc qui fœdera rumpit,
Ditatur; qui servet, eget. Vastator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyrico. Jam quos obsedit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.
Sic hostes punire solent, hæc præmia solvunt
Excidiis——————— (89).

(89) Claud. in Eutrop. p. 113.

miſerable life, ſtripped of all his effects, till the death of Eutropius, when he was removed from thence, and confined to Sidon in Phœnicia, in which city he died [a]. The credit which Timaſius had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked miniſter, who could bear no competitor, more jealouſy than that of Abundantius. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had ſerved Valens and Theodoſius in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389, with the conſular dignity [b]. Eutropius, reſolving to procure by ſome means or other the ruin of ſo powerful a rival, had recourſe to one Bargus, who lived in great intimacy with Timaſius. Bargus was a perſon of a mean deſcent, and had been obliged for ſome notorious crime to fly from Laodicea in Syria, his native city, and retire to Sardes in Lydia. There Timaſius accidentally met him; and being pleaſed with his facetious converſation, without enquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to Conſtantinople; at which the magiſtrates were highly diſpleaſed, becauſe he had been formerly baniſhed that city [c]. To this man, as a proper inſtrument for his villainous purpoſe, Eutropius applied, and eaſily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accuſing him of treaſon, and producing againſt him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. Eutropius perſuaded the emperor to judge him in perſon; but perceiving the people were highly provoked to ſee a perſon of Timaſius's dignity and character arraigned upon the depoſition of ſuch an infamous and mercenary wretch as Bargus, he adviſed the prince, whom he managed as he pleaſed, to withdraw, and ſubſtitute Saturninus and Procopius in his room. Of theſe the former had diſcharged the chief employments in the ſtate, and the conſulſhip in 383, but is ſaid to have diſhonoured his old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling miniſter [d]. Procopius was ſon-in-law to the emperor Valens, of a rough and ſavage temper, but not eaſily prevailed upon to ſwerve from what he thought juſt and equitable, as appeared in this caſe; for he boldly maintained, that ſuch an infamous wretch as Bargus ought not to be admitted as evidence againſt a perſon of Timaſius's rank, againſt

His treacherous practices againſt Timaſius.

[a] Claud. Zoſ. ibid. Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. Aſt or. iv. p. 76. [b] Zoſ. p 786, 787. Aſt. p. 76. Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 766. [c] Zoſ. p. 786, 787. [d] Idem ibid.

againſt his friend and benefactor. But Saturnius prevailing, the unhappy Timaſius was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to Oaſis, a barren and inhoſpitable place in Libya, from which there was no poſſible means of eſcape, it being ſurrounded by a vaſt deſert, full of ſand, which moving to and fro with the wind, ſuffered no track or footſtep of any former traveller to be ſeen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, Zoſimus gives us, on occaſion of the exile of Timaſius, a moſt frightful deſcription [e]. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that a report was ſpread, that Syagrius, the ſon of Timaſius, accuſed as privy to the crime of his father, having eſcaped from thoſe who had been ſent to ſeize him, reſcued his father, with the aſſiſtance of ſome robbers, out of the hands of the ſoldiers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the ſon were ever after heard of [f]. Others write, that Timaſius was found dead in the ſand that ſurrounded Oaſis, having perhaps attempted to make his eſcape [g]. St. Jerom, writing in this year 396, ſays, that Timaſius lived then an exile at Aſſus a city of Aſia [h]. But as Sozomen, Zoſimus, and Aſterius agree, that he was confined to Oaſis, ſome, inſtead of Aſſus, read, in the text of St. Jerom, Oaſis; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was firſt baniſhed to Aſſus, and afterwards, by Eutropius's orders, conveyed to Oaſis. Bargus did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedneſs; for Eutropius, who was a man of too great diſcernment to truſt a traitor, and well knew, that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, reſolved to get rid of him as ſoon as poſſible; and accordingly having ſent him upon ſome advantageous commiſſion out of Conſtantinople, during his abſence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her huſband, to preſent to the emperor ſome treaſonable papers, which ſhe pretended to have found in his cuſtody. Hereupon Bargus was upon his return arraigned, ſentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch puniſhed, as it deſerved, by the very perſon who had induced him to commit it [k]. Pentadia, the wife of Timaſius, was deaconeſs

Timaſius baniſhed.

His accuſer Bargus put to death.

[e] Zoſ. ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Aſt. or. iv. p. 76. Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p 766. [h] Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. [i] Soz. Zoſ. Aſt. ibid. [k] Zoſ. p. 787.

deaconeſs of the church of Conſtantinople in 404, when St. Chryſoſtom was baniſhed that city: he wrote, while in his exile, ſeveral letters to her, in one of which he enquires after her family and relations, and calls her houſe an houſe of bleſſing [l]. It was according to Sozomen, in order to apprehend Pentadia, and ſome others who had taken ſanctuary in the church, that Eutropius perſuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the churches for refuge; and commanding thoſe who ſhould, to be dragged from the altars, and puniſhed the more ſeverely [m]. This law raiſed a general odium againſt Eutropius [n]: Socrates pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that afterwards befel him [o]: Sozomen and Chryſoſtom exclaim loudly againſt it [p], and obſerve, that, in a few years after, Eutropius himſelf was forced to fly to that aſylum from which he had excluded others, owning, ſays Chryſoſtom, more by his actions than his words, the injuſtice of his law [q]. It was revoked immediately after the diſgrace and downfal of Eutropius, and eraſed out of all the public regiſters [r]. Churches are ſtill held as aſylums in Italy, and the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cauſe of many murders committed in thoſe countries. This year, dreadful earthquakes were felt in moſt provinces of the eaſt, and the ſky, appearing all in a flame over the city of Conſtantinople, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himſelf to ſuch a degree, that abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as St. Auſtin writes to a pious perſon, that the city of Conſtantinople was on a certain day to be conſumed by fire ſent from heaven: when the day came the above-mentioned phænomenon appeared over the city, but vaniſhed ſome time after, leaving it unhurt, the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having by a ſincere and timely repentance prevented the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt them. Thus St. Auſtin, in a ſermon which he preached a few years after [s]. From the ſeveral laws of this year, moſt of which tend to the utter ſuppreſſion of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that Arcadius continued the whole time at Conſtantinople, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-ſecond of March is dated from Regium, which is ſuppoſed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the weſt worthy

Great earthquakes, &c. in the eaſt.

[l] Chryſ. ep. xiv, xciv, civ, clxxv. Vit. l. iv. c. 3. p. 257. [m] Zoſ. p. 766. [n] Chryſ in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 434. [o] Socr. p. 264. [p] Soz. Chryſ. ibid [q] Idem ibid. [r] Soz. ibid. [s] Aug. de. urb. Rom. excid c. 6. p 332.

worthy of notice, except the converſion of Fritigil, queen of the Marcomans, to the chriſtian religion. At the requeſt of St. Ambroſe, who wrote ſeveral letters to her, inſtructing her in the holy myſteries, ſhe is ſaid by Paulinus Diaconus to have introduced the king her huſband to enter into an alliance with the Romans [t]: it is certain, that amongſt the barbarous nations that in the preſent reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the Marcomans. Some miſunderſtanding aroſe this year between St. Ambroſe and Stilicho, the latter having cauſed a criminal by name Creſconius, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge: but Stilicho in the end acknowledged his fault, and attoned for it [u]. Honorius continued all this year at Milan, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

Fritigil, queen of the Marcomans, converted to the chriſtian religion.

THE next conſuls were Cæſarius and Atticus; the former had ſucceeded Rufinus in the prefecture of the eaſt, Eutropius being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of Weſt Illyricum under Valentinian II. in 384; Cæſarius ſeems to have entered upon his conſulſhip at Conſtantinople, and Atticus at Rome [w]. This year 397, Arcadius, leaving Conſtantinople in the month of July, went to Ancyea, and ſtaid there till the latter end of September, when he returned to the metropolis, with as much pomp and ſhew as if he had conquered the Perſians, ſays Claudian, who ſuppoſes him to have conſtantly paſſed the ſummer at Ancyra, Eutropius diverting him by that progreſs from applying his mind to affairs of ſtate [x]. Stilicho ſtill claimed the adminiſtration of affairs in the eaſt, and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of Arcadius, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on Eutropius the injurious decree iſſued againſt him by the ſenate of Conſtantinople. But that wicked and crafty miniſter, not ſcrupling, for the ſupport of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately perſuaded Gildo, who commanded the Roman troops in Africa, to revolt from Honorius, and ſubmit to Arcadius, hoping by that means to divert Stilicho from purſuing his intended expedition into the eaſt [y]. Gildo was brother to the famous Firmus, who made war upon the Romans in 373, but was overcome by count Theodoſius, the father of the

Eutropius perſuades Gildo to revolt from Honorius.

[t] Paul. Diac. vit. Amb. c. 36. p. 10. [u] Idem, c. 434. p. 9. [w] Sym l. vii ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 136. Proſp. p. 470. Icat. in faſt. [x] Claud. in Eutrop. l, ii. p. 110. [y] Zoſ. p. 781.

emperor of that name. In that war Gildo ſided with the Romans, and was afterwards, that is about the year 387, by Valentinian II. or rather by Theodoſius, who governed in his name, appointed count of Africa, and commander of all the troops of that province. Theodoſius, that he might have, as it were, ſome pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo, to Nebridius, nephew by the mother to the empreſs Flaccilla [z]. St. Jerom, in a letter which he wrote to Salvina about the year 400, ſtyles her a virtuous and truly chriſtian widow; and at the ſame time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's ſiſter, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity [a]. As for Gildo himſelf, he was, if not by religion, as Marcellinus will have it, at leaſt in his manners, a pagan. Claudian charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdneſs, the more ſhameful and ſcandalous, as he was already ſtricken in years [b]. St. Auſtin ſpeaks of him as one famous for wickedneſs and debauchery [c]; and in one of his ſermons ſtyles him, tho' without naming him, a wicked wretch [d]. When Eugenius uſurped the empire of the weſt, Gildo acknowledged Theodoſius; but when that prince marched againſt the uſurper in 394, he declined ſending him any ſuccours, as other governors of provinces had done in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the iſſue of the war, as was ſuppoſed, in order to join the party that ſhould prevail; inſomuch, that Theodoſius would have treated him as an open enemy, according to Claudian, had he not been prevented by death [e]. Eutropius having induced him to revolt from Honorius, as we have related above, he obliged moſt of the cities of Africa and Carthage itſelf to acknowledge Arcadius, placing ſuch governors in them as he knew were attached to his own intereſt, with a deſign of ſeizing, when an opportunity offered, the provinces for himſelf, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes [f]. When news of his revolt was brought to Honorius, he acquainted the ſenate of Rome with it, who immediately declared Gildo a public enemy, and diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Arcadius, entreating

Gildo's character.

Arcadius is acknowledged in moſt cities of Africa.

[z] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 399 Zoſ. l. v. p. 788. Hier. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. Claud. bell Gild. p. 70—78 [a] Hier. ep. ix p 73—76. [b] Claud. bell. Gild. p 74, 84. [c] Aug ep. lxiv. p. 285. [d] Idem in Jo. hom. v. p. 20. [e] Claud. ibid. p 76. [f] Idem ibid. & de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.

ting him to reſtore Africa to its lawful ſovereign [g]. Symmachus at the ſame time wrote to Arcadius, probably by order and in the name of the ſenate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendſhip and amity, with his brother [h]. In the mean time, a famine began to rage in Rome, Gildo not ſuffering any corn to be conveyed thither from Africa. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed againſt Gildo, and the other in bringing corn and other proviſions to Rome from Gaul and Spain [i]. The former ſailed this year, and, with a ſeaſonable ſupply, quieted the populace, ready to riſe; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During theſe warlike preparations, died the celebrated biſhop of Milan St. Ambroſe, by no one more regretted than by Stilicho, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greateſt misfortune that could befal Italy, had, upon the firſt news of his illneſs, cauſed public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of Milan [k]. Honorius continued this whole year at Milan. Some of his laws are indeed dated from Rome; but that is generally thought to be a miſtake [l]. By one of theſe ſet up in the ſquare of Trajan on the ninth of March, he forbids the Romans to follow in their dreſs foreign faſhions [m], for it is to be obſerved, that the Romans, by converſing familiarly with the Goths, grew, by degrees, fond of their faſhions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened ſoon after. A blind ſubmiſſion to the modes and faſhions of a foreign nation, has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful ſlavery: may it not prove ſuch in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predeceſſors, moved by a due reſpect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the eccleſiaſtics, and particularly to the biſhop of Rome [n]. In the eaſt, Arcadius, by a law dated the firſt of April, commanded all the Appollinarian teachers to be baniſhed Conſtantinople, and the houſes where they had held their private aſſemblies to be confiſcated [o]. That of the ſeventeenth of June forbids any one to inſult the Jews, or their

St. Ambroſe dies.

Some laws enacted this year.

[g] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 131. Sym. l iv. ep. 4. p. 143. [h] Sym. ibid p. 144. [i] Idem, p. 143. Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in Eutrop. p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 70. [k] Ambr. vit. c. 34. p. 10 c. 45. p. 12. [l] Cod. Theod. chron., p. 136, 137. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 16. leg. 22. p. 215. [n] Idem, ibid. p 133. [o] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33 p. 151

their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of illuſtrious, which was given to the firſt officers of the empire [p]. The law dated the firſt of July, exempts the miniſters of their religion from the ſame burdens, from which the biſhops, prieſts, and deacons were exempted [q]. By a law dated the eighth of November, Arcadius commanded all domeſtics, whether free-born or ſlaves, to be ſentenced to death, who ſhould inform againſt their maſters, except in caſes of treaſon [r]. This year, on the ſeventeenth of June, the empreſs Eudoxia was delivered of a daughter, named Flaccilla from the emperor's mother, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of nobiliſſima, or moſt noble [s].

Flaccilla born.

THE following year 398, when Honorius was conſul the fourth time, with Eutychianus, who entered upon that dignity at Conſtantinople, Stilicho purſued with the utmoſt vigor his warlike preparations againſt Gildo; but was greatly at a loſs how to manage that expedition with ſucceſs, and whom to truſt with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was ſoon delivered by the ſeaſonable arrival in Italy of Maſcezel, brother to Gildo, who gave him a true account of the ſtate of affairs in Africa, and ſuggeſted to him the moſt proper mains for ſuppreſſing the rebellion. Maſcezel was not only a chriſtian, but a perſon of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon reſolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked deſign [t]. Gildo, however, vented his rage on the two ſons Maſcezel had left behind him, cauſing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beaſts. Stilicho, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigor, and ſerve the republic with unſhaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition againſt his brother [u]. Zoſimus writes, that Maſcezel was attended by a very numerous army [w]; but Oroſius [x] and the chronicle of Alexandria [y] aſſure us, that it was but five thouſand ſtrong. Their authority is confirmed by Claudian

Maſcezel brother to Gildo, ſent againſt him.

[p] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12 p. 227. [q] Idem, leg. 13. p. 228. [r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. [s] Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712. [t] Ammian. l. xxix p 400 Oroſ l vii. c. 36 p. 221. Claud. bell. Gild. c. 79. p 788. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Zoſ p. 788. [x] Oroſ. p. 221. [y] Chron. Alex. p. 713.

dian, who ſays, that Stilicho made ſmall preparations for this firſt expedition, but had in readineſs another fleet, and a more renowned general, to be employed, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal the firſt [y]. That poet names the ſeveral corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of which Maſcezel's army was compoſed [z]. It embarqued at Piſa, and putting to ſea, tho' a ſtorm, if we may depend upon a poet [a], was then apprehended, ſteered along the eaſt coaſt of Sardinia, and landed ſafe in Africa. Maſcezel, without loſs of time, led his troops againſt Gildo; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obſtinate fight, a complete victory. Thus Zoſimus [b]. But Oroſius [c], Marcellinus [d], and Paulus Diaconus [e], aſcribe this ſucceſs to the miraculous aſſiſtance of St. Ambroſe, who, appearing to Maſcezel, aſſured him, that in three days time he ſhould gain a complete victory, in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, ſay they, in the ſame poſt; and the third day, after having ſpent the preceding night in praying, and ſinging hymns with ſome holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the iſland Capraria, now Capraia, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not in the leaſt daunted, he marched againſt them with his ſmall army in battle-array. His piety prompted him to try firſt, whether he could by fair means bring them back to their duty; but one of the ſtandard-bearers anſwering him with great arrogance, he drew his ſword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the enſign. The other ſtandard-bearers, imagining he had ſubmitted, ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt in following his example, and lowering their enſigns threw themſelves at the feet of Maſcezel. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by Gildo, attempted to make a ſtand; but were ſoon put to the rout. Thus were ſeventy thouſand men, ſays Oroſius, defeated by five thouſand, without any ſtratagem or treachery, nay, and almoſt without bloodſhed. This miraculous ſucceſs, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many perſons ſtill living, who were eye-wittneſſes of it [f]. Paulinus aſſures us, that he had this account from Maſcezel's own mouth, after his return to Milan [g]. However, we will not

Gildo entirely defeated.

[y] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131, 132. [z] Idem, bell. Gil. p. 80. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Zoſ. ibid. [c] Oroſ. p. 221 [d] Mar. in chron. [e] Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13. [f] Oroſ. p. 221, 222. [g] Amb. vit. c. 51.

take upon us to prefer it to that of Zoſimus. Gildo made his eſcape, and reaching the ſea, went on board the firſt veſſel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour of Tabraca near Hippo in Africa, he was there apprehended, expoſed to the inſults of the populace, and then thrown into priſon, where he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death [h]. Upon the defeat and death of Gildo, all Africa ſubmitted anew to Honorius. Claudian, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero Stilicho, aſcribes the whole ſucceſs of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that miniſter. He wrote a poem on the war with Gildo; but that piece is imperfect, ſince the poet leaves the Roman fleet on the coaſt of Sardinia in their way to Africa. The leading men of Gildo's faction were ſent to Rome, to be tried there; and ſome of them were publicly executed. Optatus, biſhop of the Donatiſts at Tamugadi in Numidia one of Gildo's moſt zealous partizans, died in priſon. As ſeveral innocent perſons were, as it frequently happens on ſuch occaſions, accuſed, and dragged to priſon, Honorius, by a law addreſſed to Victor proconſul of Africa, put a ſtop to ſuch unjuſt proſecutions, ordering falſe informers and witneſſes to be puniſhed, according to the rigor of the ſeveral laws enacted againſt them [i]. Gildo's eſtate fell to the exchequer, and proved ſo large, that a particular treaſurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of comes Gildoniaci patrimonii, or count of Gildo's patrimony [k]. Africa being thus reſtored to its former tranquillity, Maſcezel returned to Italy, and was received at Milan by Stilicho, in appearance with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and eſteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting ſo ſpeedy an end to a war, which the miniſter had ſo much apprehended, giving him no ſmall jealouſy, he reſolved to diſpatch without delay this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day paſſing a bridge in the neighbourhood of Milan, Maſcezel, who attended him, with many other perſons of diſtinction, was, by his private orders, puſhed into the river, and drowned [l]. Oroſius writes, that Maſcezel, elated with his ſucceſs, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the altars

Gildo is taken, but lays violent hands on himſelf.

His eſtate confiſcated.

Maſcezel put to death by Stilicho's orders.

[h] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i p. 132. Zoſ. p. 788. Oroſ. Paulin. ibid Mar. chron. [i] Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. Claud. ibid. p. 148 [k] Idem, tit. 2 p. 349, 352. & tit. 3. p. 347. [l] Zoſ. l. v. p. 788, 789.

altars ſeveral criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cauſe of his unfortunate end [m]. About the time of the defeat of Gildo, Honorius married at Milan, Maria the daughter of Stilicho by Serena, couſin-german to that prince [n]. He was then but thirteen, and Maria not yet marriageable [o]; whence ſome authors pretend that the marriage was never conſummated, ſince Maria died very young long before the year 408 [p]. Claudian wrote ſeveral poems on this marriage [q], which, according to him, was firſt propoſed, nay, and commanded by Theodoſius [r]. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it [s], ſhew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the defeat of Gildo, an entire harmony was re-eſtabliſhed between the two brothers, as that poet tells us [t]; but the ſame miſunderſtanding continued between the two miniſters, who nevertheleſs agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires [u]. Eutropius perſuaded Arcadius to name him, tho' an eunuch, for the conſulſhip of the enſuing year; but Stilicho would not ſuffer him to be acknowledged in the weſt [w]. Claudian writes, that when news of the conſulate of Eutropius was brought to the court of Honorius, that prince was buſied with Stilicho in receiving the ſubmiſſions of the Alemans, Suevians, and Sicambrians; in giving kings to ſome; and commanding others to raiſe levies for recruiting his armies [x]. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The ſame poet, in enumerating the great things Stilicho had performed by himſelf or others before his conſulſhip, that is, before the year 400, ſays, that he ſuccoured Britain, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the Scots, who, arming all Ierne or Ireland againſt it, had covered the ſea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the Picts; and that he had ſecured the Britiſh coaſt againſt the deſcents of the Saxons, which the inhabitants apprehending before were conſtantly on their guard; through

Honorius marries Maria, the daughter of Stilicho.

Eutropius conſul.

Stilicho provides for the ſafety of Briton againſt the Scots, Picts, and Saxons.

[m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. [n] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 55. [o] Zoſ. p. 804. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Claud. p. 56—69, [r] Idem, p. 57. [s] Idem, p. 63. [t] Idem, bell Gild. p. 76. [u] Zoſ. l. v. p. 789. [w] Claud. in. Eutrop l. ii. p. 111. [x] Idem de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140.

through fear of a ſurprize [y]. He adds elſewhere [z], that the Saxons being overcome, the ſea was quiet; that the Picts having loſt their ſtrength, Britain was delivered from her fears. The learned Uſher aſcribes to Stilicho the eſtabliſhing of a legion in Britain, to defend it againſt the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons [a]. This legion is mentioned by Claudian [b]. About the ſame time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coaſt againſt the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonici, or count of the Saxon coaſt, that is, of the coaſt over againſt the country of the Saxons [c].

Earthquakes and other calamities in the eaſt.

In the eaſt, the cities of Conſtantinople and Chalcedon were ſhaken with violent earthquakes; ſeveral buildings were conſumed with lightning; and the ſea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole countries under water. Claudian mentions ſeveral other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, ſays the poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, viz. an eunuch conſul [d]; for the following year 390, Eutropius prevailed upon Arcadius to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of father to the emperor, and to raiſe him to the conſular dignity. He was the firſt and the laſt eunuch that ever held, or rather diſgraced, the faſces. His image, with the enſigns of his dignity, was carried as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the eaſt; but Stilicho refuſing to acknowledge him in the weſt, Manlius Theodorus alone is named conſul in ſome faſti, and in the laws of Honorius. Some writers, miſtaking his two names for the names of two different perſons, mark Manlius or Mallius,

Manlius Theodorus conſul in the weſt.

and Theodorus, as conſuls of this year [e]. Manlius Theodorus is famous from the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Claudian, in a poem which he wrote on his conſulſhip [f]; and by St. Auſtin, who, having known him at Milan in 384, inſcribed to him in 38[6], his book de beata vita, of a happy life, which he publiſhed ſoon after his converſion [g]. Claudian does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue [h]. After he had pleaded ſome time at the bar, he governed, firſt part of Libya, in quality of proconſul of Africa, and afterwards Macedon; whence he was called to court, and created quæſtor, whoſe province it was to draw

[y] Idem ibid. l ii p. 139. [z] Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p 102, 103. [a] Uſſ. eccleſ Britan. antiq. p. 595. [b] Claud bell. Get. p. 167 & epith. in Pallad. & Celer. nupt. p. 200. [c] Uſſ. ibid. p. 336 [d] Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 108, 109. [e] Idat. Proſp. Cañdor. faſt [f] Claud in Man. Theod. conſ. p. 84—90. [g] Aug. de beat vit. p. 212, [h] Claud. ibid. p. 84.

draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was raiſed by Gratian in 380 [i]. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was recalled to court by Honorius, or rather by Stilicho, who appointed him prefect of Gaul in 395, and prefect of Italy in 397 [k]. Symmachus beſtows great encomiums upon him [l]; and St. Auſtin, who informs us that he was a chriſtian, extols his modeſty, his learning, his eloquence, and generoſity [m]. Claudian, in the poem he wrote on his conſulſhip, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtues [n]; but elſewhere [o], deveſting himſelf of the character of a panegyriſt, he owns, that Italy would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of Theodorus, had he ſlept leſs.

DURING the conſulſhip of Theodorus in the weſt and Eutropius in the eaſt, died Varanes, or Vararanes IV. king of Perſia, who during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendſhip with the Romans. He was killed, we know not upon what provocation, by his own ſubjects, and ſucceeded by his brother Iſdegerdes, or, as Abulfaragius ſtyles him, Yaſdejird [p]. Eutychius, who calls him Al Aitham, ſuppoſes him to have been the ſon of his predeceſſor [q]. He reigned twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correſpondence with the Romans; but was, according to Eutychius, a prince of great ſeverity, or rather cruelty; whence he was ſurnamed Al Aitham, or Athim, that is, the bad [r]. Procopius gives him a quite different character, deſcribing him as a generous-ſpirited prince [s]. He is famous in the hiſtory of the church, on account of the perſecution which he raiſed about the end of his reign againſt the chriſtians in his dominions. The moſt remarkable event that happened in the eaſt during the conſulſhip of Eutropius, was the downfal of that famous and powerful miniſter, which Zoſimus aſcribes chiefly to Gainas. He had commanded the Goths, and other barbarians, under Theodoſius; and, after the defeat of Eugenius, reconducted the eaſtern army to Arcadius, on which occaſion he cauſed Rufinus to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent

Varanes king of Perſia, murdered, and ſucceeded by Iſdegerdes.

[i] Cod Theod tit. 6. p 368 [k] Claud ibid. p. 87, 88. Cod. Theod. ibid. & l. xi. tit. 6. leg 21. p 33. [l] Sym l. v. ep p. 10, 189 ep. 4, 8. p. 11, 15. [m] Aug. ibid. [n] Claud. ibid. p. 89, 90. [o] Idem, epig. xxix. p 261. [p] Abulfar. p. 91. Eutych. tom. 1. p 548. Agath, de imper. Juſt. p. 137. [q] Eutych. ibid. [r] Idem, tom. 2. p. 79. [s] Procop. bell. Perſ. l i c. 2, p. 8,

nent piece of ſervice he did not think himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by Eutropius, who, as he uſed to brag, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common ſoldier he had been raiſed by Theodoſius to the chief command of all the Goths, and other barbarians, in the Roman ſervice, and by Eutropius, after the death of Rufinus, to the poſt of general of the Roman horſe and foot; but yet not ſatisfied, and ſcorning to depend upon a ſlave and an eunuch, he reſolved, by ſome means or other, to diſpatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to ſucceed him in his power and authority [t]. While he was pleaſing himſelf with theſe thoughts, count Tarbigild, or Tribigild, who was by nation a Goth, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at Nicola in Phrygia, came to court; and, after a ſhort ſtay at Conſtantinople, was preparing to return to his quarters, highly diſſatisfied with the haughty behaviour and arbitrary conduct of the prime miniſter, when Gainas, to whom he was allied, according to Socrates [u], reſolving to improve his diſcontent to the ruin of Eutropius, imparted to him the deſign he had formed againſt Eutropius, and encouraged him to revolt, aſſuring him, that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, aſſiſt and ſupport him under-hand. Tribigild, who was a man of great intrepidity and reſolution, and ready to embarque in any deſperate undertaking, immediately cloſed with the propoſal; and returning to Nicola, took arms early in the ſpring, pillaged that and ſeveral other cities in Phyrgia, and putting all to the ſword who fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, he threw the whole province of Aſia into the utmoſt confuſion, the inhabitants, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, abandoning their habitations, and flying for refuge to the moſt diſtant provinces. When news of theſe diſorders was brought to court, Eutropius endeavoured firſt to gain Tribigild with large preſents, and great promiſes; but finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he diſpatched a body of troops againſt him, under the conduct of one Leo, a perſon greatly attached to his intereſt, but in every reſpect unfit for that command. Leo, having paſſed the ſtreights of the Helleſpont, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. Gainas, who pretended to be highly provoked againſt Tribigild, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard Thrace and the ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent an irruption on that ſide; but he, keeping the whole time

Gainas diſſatisfied with Eutropius.

He induces Tribigild to revolt.

Tribigild pillages ſeveral provinces.

[t] Zoſ. l. v. p. 789, Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 316. [u] Socr. ibid.

time a private correſpondence with the rebels, inſtead of defending Thrace, adviſed Tribigild to march his forces without delay to the ſea-ſide, and, croſſing the Helleſpont, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople without oppoſition; but Tribigild, bending his march towards Piſidia, was met there by one Valentine, a citizen of Selga, at the head of a ſmall body of ſlaves and peaſants. Tribigild deſpiſed them at firſt; but as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent diſputes with the robbers in thoſe parts, learnt to make ſudden onſets, and lay ambuſhes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length ſhut him up on all ſides, in ſuch manner, that no room being left for him to eſcape, he muſt inevitably have periſhed, had he not, by a large ſum, prevailed upon one Florentius, who guarded a narrow paſs called Coghlea, to withdraw, and ſuffer him to retire. However, his men, by the ambuſcades, frequent skirmiſhes, and ſudden onſets of the Piſidians, were now reduced to three hundred. With theſe he marched into the plain, where he was again ſhut up between the two rivers Melane and Eurymedon. In this extremity, he found means to acquaint Gainas with the deſperate poſture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing Leo's army, detached a ſtrong body of barbarians, with private orders to join Tribigild; which they did accordingly. With their aſſiſtance Tribigild opened himſelf a paſſage out of Piſidia, and falling unexpectedly upon Leo, cut moſt of his men in pieces. Leo himſelf, attempting to make his eſcape, periſhed among the marſhes [w]. From Piſidia, Tribigild returned into Phrygia, where Gainas, who had advanced into that province, as if he deſigned to attack him, ſuffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and ſuggeſting, that the only means to ſave the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that Eutropius, the author of all the preſent calamities, ſhould be delivered up into his hands. At the ſame time, news was brought to court of the death of Varanes king of Perſia, and a report ſpread, that his ſucceſſor was preparing to invade Syria. Upon this falſe alarm, and the

Is reduced to great diſtreſs.

But eſcapes and defeats Leo, ſent againſt him.

Gainas lays the whole blame on Eutropius.

[w] Zoſ. l. v. p. 789. Philoſt. p. 531. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110, 116, 119.

the accounts that were by Gainas daily tranſmitted to Conſtantinople of the progreſs made by Tribigild, ſome were for recurring to Stilicho, and others for ſatisfying the rebels, by ſacrificing the miniſter to the welfare of the ſtate [x]. Arcadius, who was under the greateſt perplexity, choſe the latter; and ſending for Eutropius, cauſed him to be ſtripped of the conſular enſigns, and diſcharged him [y]. Thus Zoſimus. But Socrates, Philoſtorgius, Sozomen, and Chryſoſtom, relate the downfal of Eutropius, without mentioning either Gainas or Trigibild. Socrates only ſays, that he had offended Arcadius [z]; Sozomen, that he had affronted the empreſs [a]; and Chryſoſtom, who was then at Conſtantinople, that he had injured the emperor [b]. Philoſtorgius writes, that Eutropius having inſolently threatened to drive the empreſs out of the palace, ſhe went, with her two little daughters, Flaccilla and Pulcheria, in her arms, to throw herſelf at the emperor's feet, and demand ſatisfaction. Arcadius, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and ſending for Eutropius, diſcharged him, and commanded him that inſtant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a ſingle perſon, tho' he had been hitherto conſtantly ſurrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers [c], Claudian ſeems to favour the opinion of Zoſimus; for in the ſecond book againſt Eutropius, he deſcribes at length the war of Tribigild, which would have been quite foreign to his purpoſe, had it not had any connection with the downfal of Eutropius, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only deſcribes the conſternation it occaſioned at Conſtantinople, and introduces the eaſt recurring to his hero Stilicho [d]. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. Eutropius, thus diſgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took ſanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming againſt him in the theatre, and Gainas with the ſoldiery, preſſing the emperor to reſtore the ſtate to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death or baniſhing the abhorred miniſter, a band of ſoldiers was ſent to drag him from his aſylum, ſome of thoſe who

Who is diſgraced and depoſed.

He takes ſanctuary in a church.

[x] Zoſ. p. 793. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 119, 120. [y] Zoſ. ibid. [z] Socr. l. vi c. 5. p. 304. [a] Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. [b] Chryſ. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p 486. [c] Philoſt. l xi. c 6. 529. [d] Claud. ibid p. 120—122.

who had appeared all that time moſt zealouſly attached to him, taking upon them that province [e]. But Chryſoſtom, then biſhop of Conſtantinople, preſenting himſelf before them, and reſolutely declaring, that he would not ſuffer them to profane the church, they ſeized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to Eutropius, from which many guilty of ſmaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded [f]. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the ſatisfaction of ſeing Eutropius, whom they all hated, deveſted of his power, and, by a juſt retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occaſion Chryſoſtom made a ſpeech to the aſſembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the ſame time to awake in the hearts of his auditors ſentiments of compaſſion for the unhappy criminal. When he ſaw them begin to relent, he ended his ſpeech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themſelves at the prince's feet, to beg his life [g]. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are no-where told. All we know is, that a few days after, Eutropius, having privately left his aſylum, in order to make his eſcape, was taken, and baniſhed to the iſland of Cyprus [h]. Zoſimus writes, that when he was baniſhed, he was aſſured, that his life ſhould not be taken from him [i]; and Claudian, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to Cyprus, ſays, that though he had cauſed an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he ſhould not undergo the ſame puniſhment [k]. The law has reached our times, by which Arcadius confiſcated his eſtate, ſtripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be eraſed where-ever he was ſtyled conſul, his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the ſame law Aurelian, the præfectus prætorio, is einjoined to cauſe him to be conducted under a guard to the iſland of Cyprus, and to be there narrowly watched, leſt he ſhould raiſe new diſturbances [l]. This law is dated the ſeventeenth of January of the preſent year; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince all hiſtorians agree, that he was baniſhed after the

Where he is protected by St. Chryſoſtom.

He is taken in endeavouring to make his eſcape, and baniſhed.

[e] Chryſ. tom. 3. p. 671, 676. [f] Idem, tom. 4. p. 486. [g] Socr. p. 304. Soz. p. 767. Chryſ. tom 4. p. 482—487. [h] Chryſ. in pſal. xliv. hom. 2. p. 667. Zoſ. l. v. p 797. [i] Zoſ. p. 793, 794. [k] Claud. ibid. p. 107. [l] Cod Theod. l. ix. tit. 11. leg. 17. p. 312.

the revolt of Tribigild, who took arms in the ſpring. Chryſoſtom gives us room to believe, that ſeveral other perſons were baniſhed with Eutropius [m]; and truly a favourite ſeldom falls alone. However, his ſiſter, tho' very rich, was ſuffered to continue at Conſtantinople [n]. Gainas, not yet ſatisfied, cauſed ſeveral charges to be brought againſt him; upon which he was conducted from the iſland of Cyprus to a place called Pantychium, between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, where he was tried by the prefect Aurelian and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, who, upon his being convicted of having in his conſulſhip made uſe of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded on the laſt day of the preſent year [o]. Zoſimus, who pretends he had been promiſed his life upon oath, ſays, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with reſpect to Conſtantinople, and cauſed him to be beheaded at Chalcedon [p]. This year is remarkable in the hiſtory of the church, for the many temples that were demoliſhed both in the eaſt and weſt, and the ſevere laws that were enacted by the two princes againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip; which may be ſaid to have given the laſt blow to the pagan ſuperſtition. The temples, ſays Tiro Proſper in his chronicle, were this year demoliſhed throughout the Roman world [q]. By a law dated the thirteenth of July, Arcadius commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewiſe in the country [r]; and by another dated the firſt of November, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities [s]. By other laws, all manner of ſuperſtitious worſhip was forbidden, both in public and private, under the ſevereſt penalties, and the prieſts and miniſters of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes [t]. In the weſt Honorius enacted a law, dated the twenty-ninth of January of this year 399, forbidding heatheniſh ſacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the ſtatues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footſteps might remain of the antient ſuperſtition [u]. Notwithſtanding this law, ſeveral temples were ſpared

He is accuſed anew, tried and executed.

Many temples pulled down.

[m] Chryſ. ibid. & p. 671. [n] Claud. ibid. p. 107. [o] Zoſ. p. 739. Philoſtorg l. xi. c. 6. p 529. Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p 305. Aſt orat. iii p. 76, 77. [p] Zoſ. p. 794. [q] Proſp. in chron. [r] Cod. Theod l. xvi tit. 10. leg 16. p. 283. [s] Idem, l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 16. 310. [t] Idem. tit. 10 leg. 13. p. 277. & leg. 14 p 278. [u] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280.

ſpared at the requeſt of the biſhops, who begged them, and conſecrated them to the worſhip of the true God. Among theſe was the famous temple of the goddeſs Cœleſtis, the chief deity of Carthage, one of the moſt ſtately edifices in the whole empire; for it is ſaid, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the ſpace of two miles, the whole being incloſed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and ſolemnity conſecrated on Eaſter-day by Aurelius, biſhop of Carthage, attended by ſeveral other biſhops, and an incredible multitude of chriſtians, who had flocked from all parts to aſſiſt at that ceremony [w]. Beſides the deſtruction of ſeveral temples recorded by the eccleſiaſtic writers, nothing happened this year in the weſt, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. Honorius was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of January at Ravenna, from the ſixteenth of February to the fourth of June at Milan, at Brixio or Breſcia on the ſixth of June, at Verona in July, in Auguſt at Padua, and at Altini in September; whence he returned to Milan, and there paſſed the winter [x].

The temple of Cœleſtis at Carthage turned into a church.

THE next conſuls were Stilicho and Aurelianus; the latter entered upon this new dignity at Conſtantinople, and the former at Milan, with the greateſt pomp that had ever been ſeen in that city [y]. In the eaſt no advantage accrued to the public from the death of Eutropius, the empreſs Eudoxia, a bold, enterpriſing, and avaricious woman, as Zoſimus ſtyles her, having, upon the downfal of that miniſter, gained an abſolute aſcendant over her huſband. She was conſtantly beſet by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to ſuch crying acts of violence and injuſtice, that every good man wiſhed for death, to avoid ſeeing ſuch enormous diſorders [z]. In the mean time, Gainas, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to Conſtantinople, followed by Tribigild, whom he joined at Thyatira, where they both agreed to march to Sardis in Lydia, and plunder that metropolis; but not being able to paſs the rivers that were ſwelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and bending their march to the ſea, Tribigild took his rout towards Lampſacus on the Helleſpont, and Gainas towards Chalcedon, allowing their ſoldiers to plunder all the countries

Stilicho conſul.

Gainas and Tribigild join their forces, and plunder ſeveral provinces.

[w] Proſp. chron. p. 149, 150. [x] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141, 147. [y] Sym. l. iv. ep. 31 p. 161. [z] Zoſ. p. 800, 832.

countries through which they paſſed. Their approach cauſed a general conſternation at Conſtantinople; nay, the whole empire ſeemed to be in imminent danger. As Arcadius had no troops to make head againſt them, and prevent their entering Thrace, he was adviſed to ſend deputies to Gainas, and to ſave the empire from utter ruin, by granting him what ever he demanded. Gainas, with great inſolence, required three of the moſt eminent men in the ſtate, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious deſigns, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. Theſe were Saturninus, who had been conſul in 383, and employed for the ſpace of thirty years in public affairs; Aurelianus, this year's conſul, who had been prefect of Conſtantinople in 393, and the preceding year the præfectus prætorio; and John, ſecretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince repoſed great truſt [a]. The emperor complied, tho' much againſt his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, thoſe three illuſtrious perſons requeſting him of their own accord to ſacrifice them to the public welfare [b]. With the emperor's conſent they left Conſtantinople, and preſented themſelves before Gainas, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to diſcharge the fatal blow [c]. They were chiefly indebted to Chryſoſtom for their lives, which were granted them at his interceſſion [d]. They were all three ſent under a guard towards Epirus; but having, either by corrupting the Goths that guarded them, or by ſome other means, made their eſcape, they appeared, when leaſt expected, at the court of Conſtantinople, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole city [e]. Zoſimus is the only writer who mentions John among thoſe whom Gainas demanded; all other writers ſpeak only of Aurelianus and Saturninus. Gainas, not yet ſatisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in perſon; and with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, paſſing for that purpoſe over to Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with Gainas, in the church of St. Euphemia, where it was agreed, that both Gainas and Tribigild ſhould lay down their arms, and return, if they pleaſed, to Conſtantinople;

Arcadius forced to comply with his unjuſt demands.

And to confer with him in perſon.

[a] Zoſ. p. 793—795. Zoſ l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p 306. Syneſ. ep. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii. p. 177—179. [b] Socr. ibid [c] Zoſ. l. v. p. 795. [d] Socr. ibid. Soz. p 761 Chryſ. tom. v. hom. 72. p. 825. [e] Zoſ. p. 799.

ſtantinople; and that the former, beſides the command of all the Goths in the Roman ſervice, ſhould have that of the Roman horſe and foot, with the conſular ornaments, and an authority almoſt unbounded [p]. We find nothing henceforth in hiſtory relating to Tribigild, except that he periſhed in Thrace ſoon after [q]. As for Gainas, upon his return to Conſtantinople, he demanded a church in that city for the Arians, whoſe doctrine was held by him, and moſt of the Goths his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an abſolute denial, referred him to Chryſoſtom, biſhop of the city, who ſhewed him the edict of the emperor Theodoſius, forbidding all heretics and ſectaries to hold any aſſemblies in the city. Gainas replied, that the ſervices he had rendered the empire deſerved at leaſt one church, in which he and thoſe of his perſuaſion might have the free exerciſe of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards had already exceeded his deſerts; that from the mean condition of a common ſoldier, he had been raiſed to the high ſtation of commander in chief of all the Roman forces; and ought to be ſatisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. Gainas, finding he had not to deal with an Arcadius, but a Chryſoſtom, thought it adviſeable to drop his demand [r]. Socrates and Sozomen mention a church in Conſtantinople belonging to the Goths [s]; but they muſt be underſtood not of the Arian, but the orthodox Goths, ſince Marcellinus, a zealous catholic, ſtyles it in his chronicle "our church." However the Arians were, it ſeems, at this time allowed to aſſemble without the walls of the city [t]. About this time appeared over Conſtantinople a comet of unuſual magnitude, portending, as was ſaid, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiouſneſs of Gainas. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of Arcadius, having filled Conſtantinople with his Goths, and removed from thence all the Roman troops, formed a deſign of ſeizing firſt the wealth of the bankers, and then ſetting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being fruſtrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by Socrates [u], Sozomen [w], and Philoſtorgius [x], he withdrew from the city on

The intrepidity of St. Chryſoſtom.

Gainas forms a deſign of ſeizing Conſtantinople.

[p] Idem, p. 794. Socr. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. Theodor. l. v. c. 32. p 744. [q] Philoſ. l. xi. c. 9. p. 551. [r] Philoſ. l. xi. c. 8 p. 531. Soz. p. 761. Theodor p. 774, 775. [s] Socr. p. 308. Soz. p. 762. [t] Theod. l. v. c. 30. p. 743. Soz. p. 761. [u] Socr. l. vi. c. 6 p. 307. [w] Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 762. [x] Philoſt. l. i. c. 8. p. 531.

on the tenth of July, as it were to take the air, ſays Zoſimus [y], or to perform his devotions, as we read in Socrates [z], in the church of St. John Baptiſt, ſeven miles from the city, pretending to be poſſeſſed, ſay Sozomen [a] and Socrates [b], with an evil ſpirit. He left in the city the greater part of the Goths, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a ſignal, that he might return and join them with thoſe who attended him [c]. Gainas defeated his own deſign, according to Zoſimus, by returning to force the gate before the ſignal agreed on; which alarmed the city [d]. Socrates [e] and Sozomen [f] write, that the ſoldiers who guarded the gates, obſerving thoſe, who went out with Gainas, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to ſtop them. Hereupon the Goths, having killed ſeveral of the guards, opened themſelves a way ſword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms; and Arcadius, acquainted with what had happened, declared Gainas a public enemy, and ordered all the Goths in the city to be put to the ſword. Upon this Gainas returned in great haſte; but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. Philoſtorgius ſuppoſes him to have been ſtill in the city, and to have retired in the night [g]. What happened the day following, we are no-where told; but the day after, the twelfth of July, the citizens fell upon the Goths, who were ſtill remaining in the city to the number of ſeven thouſand, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the reſt, over-powered with numbers, took ſanctuary in the church of their nation, which ſtood cloſe to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their aſylum, they firſt uncovered the roof; and after having for ſome time plied them warmly with ſhowers of darts and arrows, they ſet fire at laſt to the church, which was reduced to aſhes, with all who were in it [h]. This was looked upon, ſays Zoſimus, by every good chriſtian as an enormous crime [i]. Gainas, highly provoked at the maſſacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the maſque; and making open war upon the ſtate, ravaged all Thrace; but not being able to make himſelf

But fails in his attempt.

His men maſſacred.

He ravages Thrace.

[y] Zoſ l. v p. 795. [z] Socr. p. 307, 308. [a] Soz. p. 762. [b] Socr. ibid. [c] Zoſ. p, 795. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Socr. 307. [f] Soz p. 762. [g] Philoſt. p. 531. [h] Socr. p 308 Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p. 762. Zoſ. p. 796. Marc. chron. [i] Zoſ. ibid.

ſelf maſter of a ſingle city there, the inhabitants, who were accuſtomed to ſuch incurſions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to ſally out, and diſtreſs the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the Cherſoneſus, with a deſign to croſs the ſtreights of the Helleſpont, and enrich himſelf and his army with the ſpoil of Aſia. But Fravitus, who commanded in thoſe parts, having aſſembled in great haſte a conſiderable number of veſſels, attacked him in his paſſage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coaſt whence he had failed, with the loſs of many thouſands of his men, either killed or drowned [i]. Fravitus was himſelf a Goth, and a pagan, according to Zoſimus [k], but greatly attached to the Roman intereſt, having married a Roman of diſtinction in 380, and ever ſince that time ſerved the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of thoſe Goths, who, being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, were allowed by Theodoſius to ſettle in Thrace. Eunapius writes, that ſoon after he killed with his own hand Eriulphus, another of their chiefs, becauſe he was for taking arms againſt Theodoſius, purſuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themſelves, before they left their own country in 376, to do the Romans, however kindly by them received, all the miſchief that lay in their power [l]. As he was a man of great courage, a ſtrict obſerver of military deſcipline, vigilant, and indefatigable, he had been employed on ſeveral occaſions, and acquitted himſelf in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the eaſt of the robbers who had long infeſted it, roving up and down the country in great bodies [m]. However, he was ſuſpected of having ſuffered Gainas and the reſt of his countrymen to eſcape, when he might have eaſily cut them all off: But Zoſimus [n], and moſt hiſtorians, clear him from this charge, which ſeems the more groundleſs, as he was for his conduct on that occaſion rewarded the following year with the conſulſhip. From the Cherſoneſus, Gainas returned to Thrace, and was there, according to Socrates and Sozomen [o], cut in pieces, with all his men, by the Romans, who purſued him. Zoſimus writes, that after he had maſſacred all the Romans whom he found in his army, leſt they ſhould betray him, he paſſed the Danube, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the Goths. But Uldes or Uldin,

Is defeated with great loſs by Fravitus.

His death.

[i] Zoſ Socr. Soz. ibid. Philoſt. p. 531. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Eunap. p. 21. [m] Eunap. ibid. Zoſ. p. 769. Philoſ. p. 531. Socr. p. 309. [n] Zoſ. p. 798 [o] Socr. p. 309 Soz. p. 763.

king of the Hunns, then maſters of thoſe countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions ſo renowned a commander, with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a ſharp diſpute, put him and all his men to the ſword. His body being found, Uldes cauſed his head to be cut off, and ſent it to Arcadius [p], who received it at Conſtantinople

Eudoxia created Auguſta.

on the third of January of the enſuing year 401 [q]. During theſe troubles, Eudoxia, who had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed only with the title of Nobiliſſima, received that of Auguſta on the ninth of January; on which occaſion ſhe cauſed her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the ſame honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empreſs before her had preſumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the reſt Honorius, in a letter which he wrote to his brother [r]. But not many years after, the empreſſes claimed the ſame honours; nay, and aſſumed the ſame titles of pious, happy, moſt pious, perpetual, victorious, &c. that were given to the princes their huſbands. On the

Arcadia born.

third of April of this year, Eudoxia was delivered of Arcadia, her third daughter [s]. In the beginning of this year, the city of Conſtantinople was ſhaken with violent earthquakes, which laſted three days; on which occaſion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the ſacrament of baptiſm [t].

DURING the above-mentioned diſturbances raiſed by Gainas in the eaſt, the weſtern provinces, eſpecially Italy, were alarmed by a ſudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Alaric, and Radagaiſus king of the Hunns. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the hiſtory of Honorius's reign, we ſhall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the beſt writers concerning a man ſo famous in the records of thoſe times. Alaric was by nation a

The origin, birth and employments of Alaric.

Goth, born in the iſland of Peuce at the mouth of the Danube, whence Claudian calls that river his paternal god [u]. He was not ſprung from the family of the Amali, the moſt illuſtrious of the Gothiſh nation, but from that of the Balthi, which held the ſecond rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of Balt, which in their language

[p] Zoſ. p. 798, 799. [q] Socr. p. 309. Chron. Al. p. 12. Marc. chron. [r] Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. ii p. 66. & ſpicileg. veter. ſcript. tom. x. p. 8. [s] Chron. Al. p. 712. [t] Syn. ep. lxi. p. 204. Chryſ. in Act. hom. vii. xli. p. 69, 360. [u] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 177. Baudr. Prud. in Sym. l. ii p. 242.

language ſignified bold and enterpriſing [w]. Though Claudian introduces him ſpeaking in the language of a pagan [x], yet it is certain he was a chriſtian, but an Arian, the doctrine of that hereſiarch having prevailed among the Goths ever ſince the year 375 [y]. Long before the year 410, in which he took Rome, he uſed to brag, that he would one day extend his conqueſts to that great metropolis, purſuant to the prediction of an oracle [z]. This we learn of the poet Claudian, who little imagined then, that the prediction would ever be fulfilled. Prudentius likewiſe, who wrote ſome years before Alaric took Rome, tells us, that he was often heard to ſay, he ſhould one day ſet fire to that city [a]. He paſſed the Danube in 376, with his countrymen, driven out of their own country by the Hunns. Claudian ſays, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once ſhut up the emperor Theodoſius in the windings of the Hebrus in Thrace [b]. However, in 382, he ſubmitted to him with the other Goths, and received lands in Thrace, where they were allowed to ſettle, upon condition of their ſerving, when wanted, in the Roman armies. Purſuant to this agreement, they attended Theodoſius in his laſt expedition againſt the uſurper Eugenius in 364, on which occaſion Alaric commanded a body of his countrymen [c]. He had no other rank in the beginning of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius; whence Rufinus, finding him diſſatisfied, eaſily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder Greece in 395. Stilicho gained ſeveral advantages over him in Peloponneſus; but ſuffered him to eſcape in 396, as we have related elſewhere. Arcadius entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the Roman troops in Eaſt-Illyricum, which poſt he held when Tribigild revolted, that is, in 399. The Goths, who were ſubject to the empire, created him about the ſame time, if Jornandes is to be credited, their chief and general, with the title of king of the Viſigoths [d]. The ſame writer adds, that the Goths, deſpiſing both Arcadius and Honorius, and diſcontented becauſe they had not ſent them the uſual preſents, began to mutiny, and reſolved to make war upon the empire,

[w] Jorn. rer. Goth c. 14, 29. p. 630, 651. [x] Claud. bell. Get. p. 170. [y] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. [z] Claud. ibid. p. 159. [a] Prud. in Sym. l. ii. p 242. [b] Claud. ibid p. 170. [c] Idem conſ. Hon. 6. p. 177. Socr l. vii. c 10 p. 346. Zoſ. l. v. p. 783. [d] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29 p. 651. & de regn. ſucc. c. 43. p. 653.

in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces [e]. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this year 400, the Goths, under the conduct of Alaric, and Radagaiſus king of the Hunns, entered Italy in an hoſtile manner on the ſide of Pannonia, leaving Sirmium on their right [f]. Jornandes writes, that they met with no oppoſition [g]: according to St. Jerom, they beſieged Aquileia; and after having opened themſelves a way into Italy, they laid the country waſte far and near [h]. This happened the preſent year; but they were ſtill in Italy in the beginning of the following year 401, for Paulinus, in his annual poem on the birth-day of Felix of Nola, the fourteenth of January, writes in 401, that the Goths and other foreign nations were ſtill purſuing their ravages in Italy [i]. As we have no diſtinct account of this firſt irruption of Alaric into Italy, we know not how it ended; but as it ſeems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of Pollentia, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of Radagaiſus, we are inclined to believe, that Stilicho induced them both, by ſome means or other, to retire, and that Alaric returned about the end of the year 402.

He enters Italy, with Radagaiſus, and lays waſte ſeveral provinces.

He retires.

Theodoſius born.

THE next conſuls were Vicentius prefect of Gaul, and Fravitus or Fravita, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of Theodoſius, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Arcadius, born, according to Socrates [k] and the chronicle of Alexandria [l], on the tenth, according to Marcellinus, on the eleventh, of April, and, ſoon after his birth, declared Cæſar [m], and baptized with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity. This year Arcadius publiſhed a law forbidding any one to beg the eſtates of condemned perſons, till two years after they had been confiſcated [n]. The Euxine ſea was this year frozen over for the ſpace of twenty days [o]. A band of ſlaves and deſerters pillaged part of Thrace, pretending to be Hunns: but Fravitas marching againſt them, put moſt of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt [p]. In the weſt, Honorius, by a law dated the twenty-firſt of June, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his firſt conſulſhip;

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Proſp. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651 Ruf p 15. Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. Paulin car. xxiii p. 585 [g] Jorn. ibid p 651. [h] Hier. in Ruf l iii c. 6. p. 239 [i] Paulin carm. xxiii p 585——588. [k] Socr. p. 763. [l] Chron. Al. p. 712 [m] Theod. l ii. p. 568. Soz. p. 763 [n] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 17. p. 345. [o] Chron. Alex. p. 713. [p] Zoſ. p. 799.

conſulſhip; that is, before the month of September 386. By the ſame law, he ordered all proſecutions and ſuits for what was owing from that time, to the year 395, that is to his acceſſion to the empire, to be ſuſpended, till he had enquired into the circumſtances of the debtors [q]. The following year, when Arcadius and Honorius were both conſuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the eaſt, except the promoting of young Theodoſius to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of Hebdomon, on the tenth or eleventh of January [r]. In the weſt, Alaric entered Italy anew. Claudian who wrote a poem on this war, ſuppoſes, that he ſet out from Theſſaly [s]; but Socrates tells us in a very confuſed manner, that not preſuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left Conſtantinople, and upon his arrival in Illyricum, put all to fire and ſword; but as he was paſſing out of Theſſaly into Epirus, he was attacked in the narrow paſſes of mount Pindus by the Theſſalians, who killed three thouſand of his men in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis. Notwithſtanding this loſs, he purſued his march, carrying all before him [t]. What prompted him to theſe acts of hoſtility, we are no-where told. Claudian lays the whole blame on Alaric, charging him with treachery [u]. On the other hand Oroſius accuſes Stilicho, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the Goths, by refuſing to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire [w]. He hoped, ſays that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and ſettle the ſovereignty on his ſon Eucherius [x]. Be that as it will, Alaric entered Italy in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the Romans, not accuſtomed to bear the hardſhips of war in that ſeaſon [y]. He paſſed the Alps without oppoſition, the Roman troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into Rhœtia. As there was then no army in Italy to oppoſe him, he ravaged without controul the provinces of Venetia and Liguria which threw Rome itſelf into the utmoſt conſternation;

An inſtance of the generoſity of Honorius.

Alaric enters Italy anew.

And ravages ſeveral provinces without oppoſition.

[q] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196 [r] Soz. l. viii c. 4 p. 763. Chron. Alex. p. 712. [s] Claud. bell Get. p. 169. [t] Socr l vii c 10. p 346. [u] Claud. ibid. p. 171. [w] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37, 38, p. 221, 222. [x] Idem, ibid. [y] Claud. ibid. p. 165. & conf. Hon. 6. p. 186.

conſternation: the walls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by Flavius Macrobius Longinianus, then prefect of the city [z]; and the citizens, not being ſuffered to retire with their families and effects, were buſied night and day in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence they could [a]. The court was no leſs alarmed than the people, Alaric threatening to beſiege the emperor himſelf, and force him to comply with his demands [b]. Honorius was for retiring into Gaul; but Stilicho would neither ſuffer him, nor his own wife and ſon, to abandon Italy [c]. However, the emperor left Milan, and retired to Ravenna, which thenceforth became the uſual place of his reſidence [d]. The news of this irruption ſoon reached the moſt diſtant provinces of the eaſt; for we are told that this very year the chriſtians of Edeſſa in Meſopotamia, repairing to the church of St. Thomas, begged in their public prayers, that the Arian robber, who plundered Italy, might meet with the juſt doom which had overtaken his countrymen of the ſame ſect, meaning no doubt Gainas [e].

The emperor retires to Ravenna.

THE next conſuls were Theodoſius Auguſtus and Rumoridus. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a Goth, probably in the ſervice of Honorius; for, generally ſpeaking, one of the conſuls belonged to the eaſtern, and the other to the weſtern empire. This year 403, Eudoxia was, on the tenth or eleventh of February, delivered of Marina, her fourth and laſt daughter [f]. A ſtatue of ſilver was erected to the empreſs on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. Sophia; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between Eudoxia and St. Chryſoſtom, biſhop of the city, who could not endure the profane ſports that were exhibited before the ſtatue at the very entry of the church [g]. Arcadius cauſed likewiſe his own ſtatue to be placed on a column, which, according to ſome writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called Xerelophos, and is deſcribed by Gyllius [i]. The ſame year Arcadius built the city of Arcadiopolis in Thrace [k], or rathe

Marina born.

[z] Grut. p. 165. Prud. in Sym. l ii. p. 242. [a] Claud. bell Get. p. 158, 159, 164, &c. [b] Idem. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 186 [c] Idem bell. Get p. 166. [d] Cod. Theod chron. p 146. [e] Chry tom. 6. p 272 -274. [f] Chron Alex. ibid. Socr. l. vi. c. 1 p. 325. [g] Socr. ibid Theoph. p. 68. [i] Gyil. de Conſtan geograph. l. iv. c. 7 p. 300. [k] Theoph p. 66.

rather gave that name to the ancient city of Bergulæ [l]. To return to Italy, Stilicho, having in ſome degree removed the young emperor's fears, ſays Claudian, croſſed the lake of Como, and paſſing the Alps in the depth of winter, entered Rhœtia, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians and not only obliged them to ſue for peace, but perſuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to the troops that guarded the coaſt of Britain, and the banks of the Rhine, ordering them to march immediately, and with all poſſible expedition, into Rhœtia. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to purſue their march into Italy; but ſet out himſelf before them, attended by a ſmall number of troops in order to return with all ſpeed to court. When he came to the Adda, he found the enemy encamped on the oppoſite bank and maſters of the bridge; but not in the leaſt daunted, he threw himſelf into the river as ſoon as it was dark, and forcing his way ſword in hand through the midſt of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court to the inexpreſſible joy of the emperor [m].

Stilicho aſſembles an army.

The troops arrived ſoon after out of Rhœtia; and Stilicho, putting himſelf at their head, marched againſt the enemy; but could not hinder Alaric from paſſing the Po, and advancing to Pollentia, now Pollenza, on the Tanaro in Piedmont [n], where the two armies engaged, almoſt on the ſame ſpot, ſays Claudian, where Marius had formerly defeated the Cimbrians [o]; but he was therein miſtaken, for the Cimbrians were overcome in the neighbourhood of Vercelli [p]. There is a great diſagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: Jornandes writes, that Alaric having advanced to Pollentia, in virtue of a treaty, by which Honorius had yielded to him the provinces of Gaul and Spain, then held by the Vandals, Stilicho followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehenſion of an enemy [q]. But it is certain, that the Vandals had not yet entered either of thoſe provinces. Claudian, Caſſiodorus and Prudentius ſuppoſe Stilicho to have been preſent, and to have commanded the army in perſon; but Oroſius tells us, that Saul, a pagan and barbarian, was veſted

And marches againſt Alaric. The battle of Pollentia.

[l] Vide Baudr. p. 60, 114. 168. conf Hon 6. p. 186, 187.
[m] Claud. bell. Get p. 165——
[n] Idem ibid. p. 170—180.
[o] Idem, bell. Get p. 171.
[p] Plut. vit. Mar. p. 767.
[q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653.

veſted with the chief command; and that he, imagining the Goths, out of reſpect to their religion, (for they were forthe moſt part chriſtians, tho' Arians) would not fight on Eaſter-day, attacked them on that ſolemn feſtival [r]. In the preſent year 403, Eaſter fell on the twenty-ninth of March [s]; which is agreeable to what we read in Claudian, viz. that the war of Alaric began and ended with the winter [t]. In the Roman army ſerved a body of Alan horſe, commanded by an officer of that nation, who advancing with more courage than prudence, was ſlain at the head of his men; which put them into no ſmall confuſion: but Stilicho coming ſeaſonably with the foot to their aſſiſtance, they rallied, and returned to the charge [u]. Claudian and Prudentius [w] ſuppoſe the battle to have been gained by the Romans; but Caſſiodorus in his chronicle writes, that Stilicho and the Roman army were defeated, and put to flight; and Jornandes, that the Goths, when ſurpriſed by Stilicho, betrayed no ſmall fear, but afterwards took courage, and put moſt of his men to the ſword, obliging the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [x]. According to Oroſius the Romans gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory [y]. The Romans, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the ſpoils of ſeveral provinces, and the wife of Alaric, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took priſoners. Alaric was no ſooner informed of their misfortunes, than he ſent deputies to Stilicho to ſue for peace; which was readily granted him upon condition of his marching forthwith out of Italy [z]. Purſuant to this agreement, Alaric repaſſed the Po, and retired as far as Verona, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hoſtility. Hereupon Stilicho detached againſt him a ſtrong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome and obliged to take refuge among the mountains. He endeavoured to paſs the Alps, and ſeize on Gaul or Rhœtia; but found all the paſſes guarded by Stilicho, who kept him blocked up, till moſt of his men forſaking him, and joining the Romans, he thought it adviſeable to withdraw in the night-time, and return through by-ways into Pannonia. Thus Claudian [a]. Oroſius writes, that

Alaric ſues for peace.

Abandons Italy, and returns to Pannonia.

[r] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [s] Buch cycl. [t] Claud. ibid. p. 160, 161. [u] Prud. in Symm. p. 243 [w] Idem ibid. [x] Jorn. ibid [y] Oroſ. ibid [z] Claud. p. 172. & conſ. Hon. p. 181, 182. Prud. ibid. [a] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 178-183.

that the barbarians could not agree among themſelves; that the Goths were divided into two factions; and that the Alans and Hunns, who ſerved under Alaric, often quarrelled, and deſtroyed each other [b]. Italy being thus delivered from the barbarians, Honorius, to ſatisfy the ſenate and people of Rome, who, by frequent embaſſies, had entreated him to honour their city with his preſence, left Ravenna, and ſet out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having Stilicho with him in the chariot, about the beginning of December. He was received with loud acclamations by the ſenate in a body, by the nobility and people in their beſt apparel. He would not ſuffer the ſenate to attend, according to cuſtom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his ſiſter Placidia, and Eucherius his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour [c]. While he was ſtill at Ravenna, he ſuppreſſed and utterly aboliſhed the ſhews of gladiators, which, tho' forbidden by Conſtantine the Great in 325, had been tolerated by his ſucceſſors, even by Theodoſius himſelf, out of complaiſance to the people, fond beyond expreſſion of that inhuman diverſion [d]. Theodoret writes, that an anchoret, by name Telemachus, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at Rome, whither he was for that purpoſe come out of the eaſt, was by the incenſed populace ſtoned to death; and hence Honorius, according to that writer, took occaſion to ſuppreſs thoſe ſports [e]. Be that as it will, they were forbidden after the battle of Pollentia, as appears from Prudentius [f], and before Honorius's triumphal entry into Rome; ſince Claudian, in deſcribing the ſhews that were exhibited on that occaſion, makes no mention of gladiators [g].

Honorius enters Rome in triumph.

He aboliſhes the ſhews of gladiators.

The following year 404, Honorius was conſul the ſixth time, with Ariſtænetus, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. The empreſs Eudoxia died this year of a miſcarriage, on the ſixth of October, a few days after ſhe had prevailed upon the weak prince her husband to baniſh St. Chryſoſtom, whom ſhe had for ſome time perſecuted with great bitterneſs, on account of his reflecting in his ſermons, as ſhe imagined, and perhaps not without reaſon, on her conduct, and his exclaiming againſt the profane ſports that were exhibited before her ſtatue, which ſtood near the church.

The empreſs Eudoxia dies.

[b] Oroſ. p. 221. [c] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189. [d] Socr. l. i. c. 18. p 48 Soz. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod Theod. l. xv. tit. 11. leg. 2. p. 395. [e] Theod. l. v. c. 26. p. 741. [f] Prud. in Symm. l. ii. p. 242. [g] Claud. in conſ. Hon. 6 p 190, 191.

church. On the very day he left Conſtantinople, a fire broke out in the great church, which entirely conſumed it with the palace where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled biſhop's friends, and ſeveral of them were thrown into priſon, and racked to death. But of theſe violent proceedings againſt Chryſoſtom and his friends, the reader will find a diſtinct account in the eccleſiaſtic writers [h]. The empreſs was interred on the twelfth of October, in the church of the Apoſtles, where her tomb was to be ſeen many ages after [i]. Before her death the Hunns had broken into Thrace, and the Iſaurian robbers committed great diſorders in Aſia and Syria. The former having pillaged great part of Thrace and eaſt Illyricum, retired of their own accord beyond the Danube, loaded with booty [k]. Againſt the latter was ſent Arbazacius, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and ſhut them up on all ſides; but ſuffered them in the end to eſcape, being bribed by the large ſums they offered him [l]. Suidas, who calls him a native of Iſauria, and a few lines after an Armenian, ſays, that, from his inſatiable rapaciouſneſs and avarice, he was nicknamed Harpazacius, or the Harpy [m]. The Iſaurians, having now nothing to fear from Arbazacius, over-ran the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, Piſidia, Cappadocia, and Lower Syria, extening their ravages to the frontiers of Perſia on one ſide, and to the Euxine ſea on the other, ranſacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even paſſed over into the iſland of Cyprus, and cauſed a general conſternation in Phænicia, Caria, Juda, and Jeruſalem itſelf; inſomuch that the people were every-where buſied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in a poſture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inacceſſible mountains, with an immenſe booty, which they took care to ſhare with Arbazacius [n]. In the weſt, Honorius began his ſixth conſulſhip at Rome, which is the ſubject of the poem that Claudian pronounced on occaſion of that ſolemnity [o].

Moſt of the eaſtern provinces ravaged by Iſaurian robbers.

Honorius his ſixth conſulſhip.

The

[h] Socr. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. & l. vi. c. 4. p. 16. Pallad. vit. Chryſ. [i] Cedr. p. 334. Chron. Alex. p. 714. Cange de Conſtant. l. iv. p 110. [k] Socr. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793. Philoſt. l. xi p 530. [l] Zoſ l. v. p. 802. Chryſ. ep. 120. p. 764. [m] Suid. p. 412. [n] Theod. vit. patr. c. 10, 21. p. 828. 865. Zoſ. p. 802 Pallad. dial. vii. p. 147. Chryſ. ep. xiv. p. 683, 684. [o] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 191.

The emperor continued at Rome at leaſt till the fifteenth of July, as appears from the dates of his laws. From Rome he returned to Ravenna, and there fixed his reſidence, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the inhabitants of Milan inviting him back to their city. From this time Ravenna became the ſeat of the weſtern Roman empire; whence the country in which it ſtood was called Romania, which name it ſtill retains (N).

The ſeat of the weſtern empire transferred to Ravenna.

THE next conſuls were Stilicho the ſecond time, and Anthemius, who was ſoon after appointed prefect of the eaſt, and is mightily commended by St. Chryſoſtom [p]. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of Theodoſius

[p] Chryſ. ep. 147. p. 780.

(N) The city of Ravenna is ſaid by ſome to have been founded by the Theſſalians; but Pliny calls it a colony of the Sabines. It was once reckoned amongſt the cities of Umbria; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called Flaminia, and belonging to Ciſalpine Gaul, and the vicarſhip of Italy (1). It was incloſed on all ſides, either by the ſea, by an arm of the Po, conveyed thither by Auguſtus, or by marſhes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; ſo that it was, in a manner, a peninſula, and acceſſible only on one ſide (2). The ſea waſhed the walls of the city, and formed a ſpacious harbour in which two hundred and fifty ſhips could ride ſafe (3). Auguſtus, and after him ſeveral other emperors, kept conſtantly two fleets for the defence of Italy, one of which was ſtationed at Ravenna on the Adriatic, and the other at Miſenum on the Mediterranean ſea. But Jornandes, who was biſhop of Ravenna about the middle of the ſixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities, of which the higheſt was ealled Ravenna, the ſecond, in which was probably the imperial palace, Cæſarea, and the third Claſſis, becauſe in that place, then diſtant three miles from Ravenna, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (4). A city, thus ſituated amidſt waters and marſhes, could not be healthy; but, on the other ſide, it could not be eaſily attacked, and might with great eaſe be ſuccoured by ſea, affording at the ſame time a ſafe retreat into the eaſt, when it could be no longer maintained. Theſe reaſons, without all doubt, prompted Honorius to fix the ſeat of the empire there, notwithſtanding the preſſing and reiterated remonſtrances of the inhabitants of Milan and Rome.

(1) Vide Ughell p. 319–325. (2) Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 652. (3) Idem, ibid. (4) Idem, ibid.

doſius II. This year the Mazichi and Auxoriani, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between Cyrenaica and Tripolitana, laid waſte great part of Egypt [q]. Arcadius was on the twelfth of June at Nice; on the tenth and twenty-third of July, and twelfth of Auguſt, at Ancyra in Galatia, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to Conſtantinople [r]. This year Italy was again alarmed with a ſudden irruption of barbarians, led by Radagaiſus, or Rhodogaiſus, as the Greeks ſtyle him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths, a pagan by religion, and a ſworn enemy to the Roman name [s]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled king of the Hunns [t]. He entered Italy, as we have obſerved above, with Alaric, in the year 400, but returning afterwards beyond the Danube, he aſſembled an army, conſiſting, according to Zoſimus [u], of four hundred thouſand, according to Oroſius and Marcellinus [w], of two hundred thouſand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine, who were then all blended under the common name of Goths [x]. The commanders, who were diſtinguiſhed with the title of lords, amounted, according to Photius a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred [y]. With this formidable hoſt he broke ſuddenly into Italy, vowing to ſacrifice to his gods, ſays Oroſius, all the Roman blood he could ſhed [z]. The news of his approach threw all Italy, and Rome itſelf, into the utmoſt conſternation. As Radagaiſus was a zealous worſhipper of the gods, and ſacrificed every morning to Jupiter, the pagans in Rome gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not ſo much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful Romans had baniſhed from a city, which they had ſo often defended. Unleſs the antient religion, ſaid they, be reſtored, and chriſtianity, the only cauſe of our calamities, utterly aboliſhed, the city muſt fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their ſide, whom we have forſaken [a]. With theſe complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Chriſt every-where blaſphemed, as the true cauſe of the preſent calamities [b]. In the mean time Stilicho, having aſſembled at Pavia all the Roman forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them

Radagaiſus enters Italy with a numerous army.

[q] Philoſt. l xi. c. 8 p. 350, 351: [r] Cod. Theod. chron. p 148. [s] Aug in pſal cv. c. 10. p. 547. [t] Proſp. chron. [u] Zoſ l. v. p. 803. [w] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. [x] Zoſ. Oroſ ibid. [y] Phot. c. 80. p 180. [z] Oroſ. ibid. [a] Aug. p. 547. Oroſ. ibid. [b] Aug de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 23. p. 63.

them with great numbers of Goths, Hunns and Alans, under the command of Sarus a Goth, and Uldin king of the Hunns, he left that place, bending his march towards Hetruria, where Radagaiſus was buſied in the ſiege of Florence, which city was already reduced to the utmoſt extremity. As Stilicho came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the Hunns, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thouſand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the Romans [c]. Thus St Auſtin, Zoſimus and Proſper. Radagaiſus retired with the reſt to the neighbouring mountains of Feſulæ, where he was cloſely beſieged by Stilicho, and reduced, with his numerous army, to ſuch extremity, that he attempted to eſcape ſecretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the Romans; but, as all the paſſes were well guarded, he fell in to Stilicho's hands, and was by his orders put to death ſoon after. His men, finding themſelves abandoned by their leader, and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſubmitted to the Romans in ſuch numbers, that they were ſold like beaſts, in droves, at a crown a head [d]; but, as by the famine that had raged among them while ſhut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill ſtate of health, they all died in a few days. Oroſius [e] and St. Auſtin [f] aſcribe this victory to a miracle.

Which is defeated by Stilicho.

And he himſelf taken priſoner, and put to death.

THE following year Arcadius was conſul the ſixth time, with Anicius Probus, the younger brother of Olybrius and Probinus, conſuls in 395 [g]. A dreadful fire happened this year at Conſtantinople on the twenty-fifth of October [h]; and Paleſtine was infeſted with ſuch multitudes of graſhoppers, as quite darkened the ſky, and turned day into night. St. Jerom, who was then compoſing his comments on the prophet Joel, writes, that, after they had done great miſchief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the Dead ſea, partly into the Mediterranean, and thrown ſoon after on both ſhores in ſuch heaps, that they infected the air, and occaſioned a plague [i]. This year Arcadius enacted, amongſt ſeveral others, a law, dated the twenty-eighth of April, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but ſuch as ſhould read ſuch defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them [k].

Paleſtine infeſted with multitudes of graſhoppers.

Honorius

[c] Aug. ibid. Zoſ. p 803. [d] Aug ibid, Oroſ. p. 222. Marc. chron [e] Oroſ. ibid. [f] Aug. civ. dei. p 63. [g] Idat. & Hier. in Am. l. iii. p. 99. [h] Chron. Alex. p. 714. [i] Hier. in Joel. c. 2. p. 60. [k] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246.

Honorius continued all this year at Ravenna, where he enacted a law dated the ſeventeenth of April, encouraging all perſons, whether free-men or ſlaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promiſing to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and ſeven more after the war [l]. This law was, without all doubt, occaſioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the laſt day of this year 406, entered Gaul, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the Roman empire in the weſt. Oroſius, Marcellinus, Tyro Proſper, and St. Jerom, aſſure us, that they were ſtirred up, and invited into Gaul by Stilicho, who even ſupplied them with large ſums, hoping, by their means, to raiſe his ſon Eucherius to the empire [m]. The barbarians who, at his inſtigation, broke into Gaul this year, were the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians. The Vandals, in attempting to croſs the Rhine, were attacked by the Franks, who cut twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king Godigiſcles, and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the Alans and Suevians, haſtening to their aſſiſtance, obliged the Franks to retire. Upon their retreat, the barbarians paſſed the Rhine without oppoſition, and entered Gaul. Thus Gregory of Tours, upon the authority of an antient writer named Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus [n]. The Vandals appointed Gonderic or Gontharius, the ſon of Godigiſcles, king in his room. The following year, when Honorius was conſul the ſeventh time, and Theodoſius the ſecond, the eaſtern empire enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but in the weſt the Vandals, Alans and Suevians, committed dreadful ravages in Gaul, where they were joined by the Burgundians, and many other nations, ſtirred up, ſays Oroſius [p], by Stilicho. The firſt city that felt their fury was Mentz, which they took by ſtorm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly maſſacred many thouſands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for refuge. Worms held out for a conſiderable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in aſhes. Strafbourg and Spires underwent the ſame fate. Thence they marched to Rheims, to Tournay, to Amiens, to Arras, made themſelves maſters of all Aquitain, Gaſcony, the provinces of Lions and Narbonne, and extended their ravages

The Alans, the Vandals, and Suevians, break into Gaul.

And take ſeveral cities.

[l] Nem. l. vii. tit. 13 leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388. [m] Oroſ. ibid. Ener ep. 11 p. 93. Mar. Proſp. in caron. [n] Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9 p. 62. [o] Idem ibid. & Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 134. [p] Oroſ. ibid.

ravages from the Alps to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppoſe them [q]; for Stilicho had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the banks of the Rhine, on occaſion of the war with Alaric. The whole country, ſays St. Jerom, writing about this time, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the ocean, is over-run and pillaged by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Alans, the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Alemans [r]. In the mean time the Roman troops quartered in Britain, apprehending the barbarians would, after the entire reduction of Gaul, croſs the ſea, and jointly with the Scots and Iriſh, fall upon them, and expecting no aſſiſtance from Honorius, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one Mark, whom after a few days they murdered, upon ſome diſlike, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room [s]. Gratian, after a ſhort reign of four months, underwent the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by Conſtantine, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, which was common to him with Conſtantine the great, who being advanced to the imperial dignity in Britain, had made himſelf maſter of the whole empire, and governed it with great proſperity and ſucceſs [t]. The new prince, immediately after his promotion, paſſed over into Gaul, taking with him all the Roman forces quartered in the iſland, and the flower of the Britiſh youth; by which means the country, thus left quite naked and defenceleſs, was not long after obliged to ſubmit to the yoke of new lords. Conſtantine landed at Bologne, and continued there, till he was joined by the Roman troops, who were diſperſed up and down Gaul, and who choſe rather to ſubmit to him, than to the barbarians. Hereupon Limenius, prefect of Gaul, and Cariobaudes, commander of the Roman forces, fled into Italy, leaving the barbarians to waſte the country on one ſide, and Conſtantine to purſue his ſucceſs on the other [u]. Honorius, who was at Rome when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Stilicho then at Ravenna, who haſtening to Rome, ordered Sarus, by nation a Goth, but an officer of known valour, bold an enterpriſing, to march with a ſufficient force

The Romans in Britain revolt, and ſet up Conſtantine for emperor.

Who paſſes over into Gaul, which ſubmits to him.

[q] Hier. ep. 11. p. 95 [r] Idem ibid. [s] Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. c. 80. p. 180 [t] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223 Bed. hiſt. gent. Aug. l. i. c. 10. p. 12. Soz. Zoſ. ibid. [u] Oroſ. Soz. Zoſ. ibid. Phot. p. 181.

into Gaul, and make head againſt the uſurper. Sarus was met on the frontiers of Gaul by Juſtin, one of Conſtantine's commanders, whom he eaſily defeated and killed, after having put to the ſword the greateſt part of his forces. He then led his men, encouraged with this ſucceſs, to beſiege Valence in Dauphiny, whither the uſurper had retired. Upon his approach, Conſtantine ſent Neobigaſtes, another of his generals, to treat with him of an accommodation; but him Sarus cauſed to be murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the aſſurances he had given him [w]; but Conſtantine having placed, in the room of the two generals he had loſt, Edobincus and Gerontius, the former a Gaul, the latter of Britain, Sarus, ſays Zoſimus with little appearance of truth, dreading their courage and experience, raiſed the ſiege of Valence, and retired in great haſte. Conſtantine's army purſued him to the Alps, over which he was obliged to purchaſe a paſſage of the Bagaudæ, by quitting to them all his booty [x]. However that be, it is certain, that Sarus raiſed the ſiege, and repaſſing the Alps with his army, returned to Italy, Upon his retreat, Conſtantine fixed his reſidence at Arles [y], over-came the barbarians in ſeveral battles, and in the end forced them to ſue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit Gaul, probably becauſe he deſigned to maintain himſelf by their means in his uſurped power [z]. Theſe diſturbances did not prevent Honorius from enacting this year ſevere laws againſt the Donatiſts, Manichees, Phrygians, Priſcillianiſts, and all ſectaries in general [a].

His army defeated by Sarus, and he himſelf beſieged in Valence.

The ſiege raiſed.

Conſtantine maſter of all Gaul.

THE following year 408, when Anicius Baſſus and Flavius Philippus were conſuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the eaſt died at Conſtantinople, on the firſt of May, the emperor Arcadius, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death [b], or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empreſs Eudoxia, in the church of the Apoſtles [c], where their tombs of porphyry were to be ſeen ſeveral ages after [d]. He left behind him but one ſon, viz. Theodoſius, then eight years old, but juſt weaned, ſays Sozomen [e]. We ſhall examine elſewhere

Arcadius dies.

His iſſue.

[w] Zoſ. p 803, 804. Phot. p. 181. Oroſ. p. 223. Soz. ibid. [x] Zoſ. p. 824. [y] Idem. p 807. [z] Oroſ l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. [a] Cod. Theod. l xvi. tit. 5. leg. 40. p. 160. leg. 48. p. 168, 169. leg. 41. p. 160, &c. [b] Theod. l. ii. p. 568. Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. [c] Theod. ibid. [d] Cange de Conſt. l. iv. p. 110. [e] Soz. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron. Alex p. 712.

where what we read in Procopius, viz. that Arcadius by his laſt will appointed Iſdegerdes, king of Perſia, guardian to the young prince. We have obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, that he had four daughters, Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina: Flaccilla is never mentioned by hiſtorians but on occaſion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that ſhe died ſoon after. The other three embraced the ſtate of virginity, and led exemplary lives [f]. They were all ſtyled queens, as appears from the councils [g]; but only by courteſy; for, excepting Pulcheria, who was declared Auguſta in 414, they had no other title but that of moſt noble. Arcadia and Marina built a palace at Conſtantinople, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewiſe a church in honour of St. Andrew, which was many ages after, when become a monaſtery, re-built by Theodora, the niece of Michael Paleologus [h]. Arcadia died in 444, and Marina on the third of Auguſt 449 [i]. Arcadius himſelf was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very ſlender parts, and therefore entirely governed, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, by his miniſters, and the empreſs, who abuſed his authority to oppreſs the people in a moſt deſpotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the weſt: Conſtantine, having reduced all Gaul to his obedience, ſent a body of troops into Spain, in order to oppoſe Didymius, and Verianus or Verinianus, who having aſſembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with ſuch ſlaves and peaſants as were willing to take arms, had ſeized on the paſſes of the Pyrenees. Didymius and Verinianus were brothers, natives of Spain, and nearly allied to Honorius, for whom they openly declared, while moſt of the cities of that province were ready to revolt from him, and ſubmit to the uſurper [k]. The troops that were firſt ſent againſt them not being able to open themſelves a paſſage through the Pyrenees, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, Conſtantine obliged his eldeſt ſon, by name Conſtans, who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to quit his retirement, created him Cæſar, and diſpatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by Gerontius, an experienced officer, into Spain. Didymius and Verinianus defended the paſſes for ſome time with great reſolution and

His character.

Conſtans, the ſon of Conſtantine, declared Cæſar.

[f] Soz. ix. c. 5. p. 804. [g] Concil. tom. iii. p. 105. [h] Cange. ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 112. [i] Man. chron. & chron. Al. p. 734. [k] Zoſ. l. vi. p. 826. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. p. 184.

intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. Conſtans purſued them cloſe; and coming up with them in Luſitania, now Portugal, cut moſt of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives priſoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers Theodoſius or Theodoſiolus, and Lagodus, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned Spain to the uſurper, and retired, the former to the court of Honorius, and the latter to that of Theodoſius, who had ſucceeded his father Arcadius in the empire of the eaſt [l]. Conſtans, having thus reduced all Spain, and appointed Gerontius to command the army and guard the Pyrenees, returned to Gaul, where he preſented the two illuſtrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. To reward his ſon for his eminent ſervices, he created him Auguſtus, honouring him, ſays Zoſimus [m], with a diadem. At the ſame time he ſent a ſolemn deputation to Honorius, excuſing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the ſoldiery to accept of the ſovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. Honorius, not finding himſelf in a condition to make war upon the uſurper, thought it adviſable to comply with his requeſt; and accordingly ſent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the ſame time, with the title of Auguſtus [n]. Italy was at this time threatened with a new invaſion of the barbarians, under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who, at the inſtigation of Stilicho, leaving Pannonia and Dalmatia, where lands had been granted to him and his Goths, paſſed unexpectedly the Alps, and breaking into Noricum, threatened to invade Italy, and lay all waſte before him, unleſs a certain ſum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately ſent him. Upon this demand, Honorius, who was then at Rome, aſſembled the ſenate, when ſeveral ſenators of great diſtinction were for rejecting his demand, and marching the army without delay againſt him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreaſonable demand was not buying a peace, but ſigning a contract of perpetual ſlavery. However Stilicho, who maintained a private correſpondence with Alaric and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four thouſand pounds weight of gold ſhould be ſent him.

He reduces all Spain, and is declared Auguſtus.

Honorius acknowledges Conſtantine for his colleague.

Alaric threatens Italy.

Lampadius,

[l] Zoſ. p. 830. Soz. Phot. Oroſ. ibid. Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. [m] Zoſ. ibid. [n] Idem, p. 831. Phot. p. 180. Greg. Tur. ibid.

Lampadius, who had with great liberty of ſpeech oppoſed this motion, and by that means incurred the diſpleaſure of Stilicho, as ſoon as the ſenate broke up, took ſanctuary in a neighbouring church [o]. A few days after Honorius, leaving Rome, ſet out for Bononia; whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he removed to Ticinum, now Pavia, attended by one Olympius, who, by an outward ſhew of chriſtian piety, ſays Zoſimus, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his perſon. As every one was now well appriſed of the wicked deſigns of Stilicho, Olympius, thought himſelf obliged to diſcloſe them to the emperor, which he did accordingly on the road from Bologna to Pavia, and ſo thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his miniſter, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no ſooner arrived at Pavia, than he diſpatched an expreſs to Ravenna, where Stilicho then was, with two different orders, the one commanding him to be ſecured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the meſſenger, Stilicho took ſanctuary in a church; but the next day, being, in the preſence of the biſhop, aſſured by the ſoldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arreſt him, he left his aſylum, and delivered himſelf into their hands; which he had ſcarce done, when the meſſenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the ſame day, the twenty-third of Auguſt of the preſent year 408 [p]. It was no ſooner known at Pavia, that the emperor had ordered him to be arreſted, than the army encamped there, encouraged by Olympius, ſays Zoſimus [q], flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner ſlew all thoſe who were known to be well-affected to the diſgraced general, and amongſt the reſt Limenius, prefect of Gaul, Chariobaudes, commander of the troops in the ſame province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by Conſtantine, Longinianus, formerly prefect of Italy, Vincentius, general of the horſe, Salvius and Petronius, the one comes domeſticorum, the other comes largitionum, another Salvius, who was quæſtor, Nemorius, then magiſter officiorum, and many other perſons of great diſtinction [r]. All authors, except Zoſimus and the poet Claudian, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, viz. that he maintained a private correſpondence with Alaric; that he invited the barbarians into

Stilicho diſgraced, and put to death.

Several of his friends put to death by the army.

Stilicho ſuppoſed by ſome guilty, without reaſon.

[o] Zoſ. p. 805. Philoſt. l. xii c. 2. p. 522. Rutil l. ii. p. 142.
[p] Zoſ. p. 810 Soz. l. ix. c 4. p. 806. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222
[q] Zoſ p 808, 809. [r] Zoſ Socr. Oroſ ibid.

into Gaul, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent services, after he had driven them out, with assuming him for his collegue; that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes Honorius and Theodosius, and seizing on both empires for himself; that by a potion given to Honorius he prevented his having any issue, &c. But Zosimus pretends these crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice Honorius against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end consented. The same writer adds, that, after his death, several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongst the rest Deuterus, the emperor's great chamberlain, and Peter his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the several charges that were brought against him or them as privy to his wicked designs [s]. Stilicho professed the christian religion; but his son Eucherius was not only a pagan, but a professed enemy to the christians; nay, he used to brag amongst the pagans, says Orosius, who wrote about that time, that if he ever attained the empire, he would signalize the beginning of his reign with the re-establishment of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the christian, ceremonies [t]. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which Zosimus, a zealous patron of paganism, shews for Stilicho and Eucherius, may be easily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year Thermantia, Stilicho's second daughter, Maria, his eldest daughter, whom Honorius had married in 398, being dead some years before [u]; perhaps when the emperor was at Rome, in 404, for her body was discovered in the Vatican church on the fourth of February 1544, with several things of great value; her body, when exposed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the rest fell to ashes, weighed thirty-six pounds [w]. Honorius married Thermantia at Rome, where the match was concluded by Serena, alledging, says Zosimus, to her husband Stilicho, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other sister died a virgin [x]. Upon the death of Stilicho, Honorius divorced his daughter, and sent her back untouched to her mother Serena [y]. Zosimus writes, that she died soon after; but, according to the chronicle of Alexandria,

Honorius divorces his daughter Thermantia.

[s] Zos. p 811, 819. [t] Oros. p. 222. [u] Zos. p. 804. Phot. c. 80. p. 177. [w] Anast. Childerici, p. 53. Aringhii Rom. subterr. l. ii. c 9. p. 173. Mabill. iter. Italic. p. 145. [x] Zos p. 804. [y] Idem, p. 811, 804.

dria, news of her death was brought to Conſtantinople on Friday the thirtieth of July 415 [z]. Her body too was found in the Vatican in 1543, adorned with the imperial robes, and all the enſigns of majeſty [a]. As for Eucherius, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to Rome, and there executed [b]. Thus were the empire, ſays Oroſius [c], and the church, by the death of a few perſons, delivered, from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wiſh for the reputation of Honorius, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for ſuch as ſuffer without being heard, have a right to be deemed innocent. All the eccleſiaſtic writers ſuppoſe Stilicho to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence Zoſimus looks upon them as falſe imputations and groundleſs ſuſpicions. Stilicho's eſtate was confiſcated, and likewiſe the eſtates of all his avowed partizans, and of ſuch as had been preferred by him for money [d], and Heliocrates was ſent to Rome to ſeize them which; commiſſion he diſcharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning underhand thoſe who were the leaſt guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation coſt him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commiſſion, but ſent in bonds to Ravenna, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to eſcape out of priſon, and ſave himſelf in a church [e]. Such was the end of Stilicho, after he had commanded in chief the Roman armies for the ſpace of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a perſon of extraordinary qualities, a great ſtateſman, a valiant ſoldier, and experienced officer. He gained ſuch an aſcendant over Honorius, who was blindly guided by his counſels, that, till the time of his diſgrace, he governed with a more abſolute ſway, than the emperor himſelf. Zoſimus, however partial to his memory, accuſes him of rapine and oppreſſion, of great partiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire [f]. Stilicho was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration by Olympius, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country

Eucherius, his ſon, executed.

Stilicho's eſtate confiſcated.

His character.

Olympius prime miniſter.

[z] Chron. Al. p. 716. [a] Aringh. Mabill. ibid. [b] Philoſ. l. xii, c. 3. p. 533. Zoſ p. 813. [c] Oroſ. p. 222. [d] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319. [e] Zoſ. p. 811, 819. [f] Idem, p 780, 789.

try bordering on the Euxine ſea, and not only profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, ſays Zoſimus [g], inſinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. Auſtin entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he beſtows upon him [h]; as did likewiſe Symmachus, tho' a zealous pagan [i]. Olympiodorus writes, that he owed his firſt preferment to Stilicho, who recommended him to Honorius [k]; which would render the return he made that miniſter highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in Stilicho's life-time a conſiderable employment at court, and was after his death raiſed to the poſt of magiſter officiorum, or ſteward of the emperor's houſhould, one of the greateſt employments in the ſtate [l]. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. Auſtin, deſiring that zealous prelate to ſuggeſt to him from time to time what he thought would conduce to the good of the church [m]. In the very beginning of his adminiſtration, he cauſed ſeveral laws to be enacted againſt the pagans, Jews, and heretics, eſpecially the Donatiſts in Africa [n]. By a law dated the fourteenth of November, all thoſe who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court [o]. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the Roman ſervice, reſigned his command; and his example, if Zoſimus is to be credited [p], was followed by many others, who were either pagans or Arians. Amongſt the ſeveral laws of this year, relating both to civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, one was enacted forbiding all perſons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but becauſe others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redreſs [q].

He favours the church.

The wives and children of the barbarians in the Roman ſervice murdered.

When the Roman ſoldiers, quartered in the cities of Italy, heard of Stilicho's death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the ſervice, and whom they on that account looked upon as privy to his wicked deſigns, and public enemies. The barbarians, highly provoked

[g] Idem, p. 810, 811. [h] Aug. ep. cxxiv, cxxix. p. 242, 245. [i] Symm. l. ix. ep. 60. p. 362. [k] Phot. c. 80. p. 177. [l] Zoſ. p. 808. [m] Aug. ep. cxxix. p. 245. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. [o] Idem ibid. leg. 42. p. 163. [p] Zoſ. l. v. p. [illegible]. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3. p. 365

provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's ſervice, retired, to the number of thirty thouſand and upwards, to Alaric, who, tho' thus reinforced, ſent deputies to Honorius, offering to conclude a laſting peace with him, and never more to diſturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would ſend him a ſufficient ſum to pay his army their arrears [s]. Honorius refuſing to comply with his demand, he diſpatched an expreſs to Athulphus or Athaulphus, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of Pannonia, ordering him to haſten with his troops, conſiſting of Goths and Hunns, into Italy. In the mean time, Alaric himſelf advancing with long marches from Noricum to the Po, croſſed that river without oppoſition; and paſſing in ſight of Ravenna, where the emperor then was, purſued his march almoſt without halting till he arrived at Rome, which he immediately inveſted, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the Tiber, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any ſupplies or proviſions by water [t]. By this means the city, which was crouded with people, was ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs: a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, ariſing from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the ſtreets unburied [u]. Olympiodorus writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal neceſſity of feeding upon human fleſh, and devouring each other [w]; and Zoſimus, that they were almoſt brought to that extremity [x]. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the reſt Pompeianus, prefect of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourſe ought to be had to the gods of their anceſtors, who had ſo often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greateſt dangers. Zoſimus adds, that Innocent, at that time biſhop of Rome, conſented to their offering ſacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithſtanding his conſent, afraid to perform the ceremony [y]. Sozomen writes, that at the inſtigation of ſome Hetruſcan aruſpices, they actually revived the antient ſacrifices; which were ſo far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured under greater difficulties than ever [z]. Be that as it will, the unhpapy citizens were in the end obliged to ſend out deputies to treat with Alaric.

The barbarians join Alaric, who enters Italy, and beſieges Rome.

Which is reduced to great ſtraights.

Theſe

[s] Zoſ. l. v. p. 811. [t] Idem, p. 814, 815. Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. [u] Soz. l. ix. c. 6 p. 807. Aug. ep. cxxiii. p. 248. [w] Phot. p. 180. [x] Zoſ. p. 815. [y] Idem, p. 816. [z] Soz. p. 807, 808.

Theſe were Baſilius, who had been prefect of Rome in 395, and John, the emperor's firſt ſecretary. Alaric hearkened to their propoſals, and agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and ever after continue faithful to the Romans, upon their delivering up hoſtages, and paying to him five thouſand pounds weight of gold, thirty thouſand of ſilver, four thouſand ſilk garments, three thouſand ſkins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper [a]. For the raiſing of the required ſum, the ſenators were taxed according to their eſtates; but as they had not ſo much ready money by them, that wicked genius, ſays Zoſimus [b], which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted thoſe, who were concerned in levying the ſaid ſum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good the deficiency, they had recourſe to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: ſome of the latter, that were of gold or ſilver, they melted down, and among the reſt that of Valour, which being deſtroyed, the antient Roman valour was utterly extinguiſhed, as had been foretold by perſons ſkilled in divine matters, and well verſed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by Honorius, and the ſum thus raiſed ſent to Alaric, who thereupon raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army into Hetruria [c]. When he firſt appeared before Rome, the ſenate, with the conſent and approbation of Placidia, the emperor's ſiſter, then in the city, cauſed Serena, the widow of Stilicho, to be put to death, upon a falſe ſuppoſition, ſays Zoſimus, of her privately correſponding with the enemy [d]. Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, and her mother Piſſamene, ſignalized their good nature during the ſiege, relieving with great generoſity, as Zoſimus himſelf owns [e], the famiſhed citizens.

And complies with the demands of Alaric.

The ſiege raiſed.

Serena, the widow of Stilicho, put to death.

WHILE the weſtern empire was thus miſerably haraſſed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the uſurpation of Conſtantine, whom Honorius had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the ſovereignity, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces ſubject to young Theodoſius, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happineſs they enjoyed to Anthemius, who taking upon him the adminiſtration, diſcharged the office of prime miniſter with an integrity hardly to be matched in hiſtory. He was grandſon to Philippus, who had been prefect of the eaſt

The happy adminiſtration of Anthemius in the eaſt.

[a] Zoſ. p. 815—818. [b] Idem, ibid. [c] Zoſ ibid. Soz. p. 808, Hier. ep. xi. xvi. p. 93, 121. [d] Idem. p. 114, 115. [e] Idem ibid.

eaſt under Conſtantius, which office Anthemius himſelf diſcharged from the year 405, to 414 [h]. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions one Simplicius, the ſon of Anthemius the elder, and probably the father of Anthemius the younger, who was diſgraced in 359 [i]. The latter was magiſter officiorum before the year 404, embaſſador to the king of Perſia before the year 405 [k], conſul in that year, and ſoon after præfectus prætorio [l]. He had at leaſt one daughter, who was married to Procopius, by whom ſhe had Anthemius, advanced to the empire in 465 [m]. Anthemius, who governed the eaſtern empire during the minority of Theodoſius, is commended by all the writers of thoſe times as an experienced commander, an able ſtateſman, a zealous chriſtian, and one who had nothing ſo much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happineſs of the people [n]. He was, ſays Syneſius, who conſtantly ſtyles him the great Anthemius, in my opinion, and in that of all men the greateſt, the beſt, the moſt virtuous, diſintereſted, and well-meaning miniſter, that ever governed a ſtate [o]. Procopius writes, that Arcadius, either diſtruſting his brother Honorius, or appriſed that the diſtracted ſtate of his own affairs would divert him from minding thoſe of the eaſt, begged in his will Iſdegerdes, king of Perſia, with whom he had entered into a ſtrict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the ſame writer adds, that Iſdegerdes, who was a prince of great generoſity, ſent embaſſadors to acquaint the ſenate of Conſtantinople, that he accepted the charge, and was reſolved to make war upon ſuch as ſhould preſume to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [p]. Theophanes, who wrote after Procopius, and has borrowed from him the greateſt part of his hiſtory, adds, that Iſdegerdes, not being at leiſure to attend the adminiſtration in perſon, ſent Antiochus to Conſtantinople in his room, a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemiſhed character, who diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity till the year 414, when Pulcheria taking upon her the adminiſtration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life [q]. Zonaras follows Procopius and Theophanes [r], as does likewiſe Cedrenus [s]. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch an event,

H's character.

Whether Iſdegerdes, king of Perſia, was appointed guardian to the young prince.

one

[h] Socr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [i] Ammian. l. ix. p. 151. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 349. [l] Theod. c. 8. p. 813. [m] Sid. car. ii. p. 291, 292. [n] Chryſ. p. 780. Socr. Syn. ep. lxxv. p. 220. [o] Syn. car p. 299 & ep. lxxii. p. 220, 221. [p] Procop bell Perſ. l. i c. 2. p. 7. [q] Theoph p. 69. [r] Zonar. p. 43. [s] Cedren. p. 334.

one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, ſhould by no hiſtorian be taken notice of before Procopius, who wrote an hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no ſmall miſtakes, being miſled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this ſuppoſed laſt will of Arcadius; for Agathias tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to ſon; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except Procopius, not even by thoſe who had given a particular account of the death of Arcadius [t]. And truly Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Zoſimus, Philoſtorgius, both Proſpers, and Marcellinus, take not the leaſt notice of this memorable tranſaction. Iſidore of Peluſium and Syneſius[u] mention an eunuch, by name Antiochus, who paſſing from the ſervice of a Perſian lord, named Narſes, to that of Theodoſius II. became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave riſe to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the Hunns and Squiri, or Scyri, a northern nation, broke ſuddenly into Thrace, under the conduct of Uldin, of whom we have made mention above; but ſome of their officers abandoning them to join the Romans, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor's troops, coming up with the Squiri before they could reach the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the reſt priſoners. By this overthrow, that nation was almoſt utterly extirpated [w].

The Hunns and the Squiri break into Thrace; but the latter are almoſt entirely cut off.

THE next conſuls were Honorius, the eighth time, and Theodoſius, the third. In Gaul, Conſtantine, who reigned there, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged conſul in the room of Theodoſius [x]. As Honorius, under various pretences, declined delivering up to Alaric the promiſed hoſtages, and executing ſome other articles of the treaty not mentioned by hiſtorians, the ſenate ſent Attalus, Cæcilianus, and Maximianus or Maximilianus, to repreſent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, eſpecially to the capital. But their remonſtrances were utterly diſregarded by the emperor, miſled, ſays Zoſimus, by Olympius and Alaric's enemies at court [y]. However, he raiſed Attalus to the poſt of comes largitionum, and Cæcilianus to that of præfectus prætorio [z]. In the mean time, Alaric, provoked at the emperor's backwardneſs in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left Hetruria, and approaching Rome, blocked

Alaric returns before Rome.

[t] Agath. l. iv. p. 137. [u] Iſidor. Pel. l. i. ep. 39. p. 11. Syn. p. 84. [w] Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807, 809. [x] Gruter. p. 252. [y] Zoſ. l. v. p. 817—819. [z] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 153.

blocked it up a ſecond time, his army being reinforced with forty thouſand ſlaves, who had made their eſcape out of the city [a]. Honorius ſent ſix thouſand choſen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by Alaric's parties, and all either cut off, or taken priſoners, except Valens, their commander, Attalus, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into Rome [b]. Maximilianus, one of the priſoners, was ranſomed by his father with thirty thouſand pieces of gold. Zoſimus writes, that the ſix thouſand men ſent by Honorius to defend the city, made up five legions [c]; ſo that a legion at this time conſiſted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, Ataulphus, whom Alaric had ſent for, as we have obſerved above, was advancing to join him; and had already paſſed the Julian Alps, and entered the province of Venetia, when Honorius diſpatched againſt him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loſs only of fifteen; but notwithſtanding this check, Ataulphus purſued his march, and joined Alaric [d]. About this time, Olympius, the prime miniſter, was diſgraced, deveſted of all his honours, and diſcharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the preſent calamities. He was ſucceeded by Jovius, then prefect of Italy, a perſon highly commended by Zoſimus [e], which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is ſcarce ever ſo laviſh of his praiſes on thoſe who profeſſed the chriſtian religion. With Olympius ſeveral other officers were changed. Attalus was made prefect of Rome, and Demetrius comes largitionum, or treaſurer, in his place. The ſoldiers, mutinying at Ravenna, demanded the heads of the two generals Turpilio and Vigilantius, and likewiſe of Terentius and Arſacius, the emperor's two firſt chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the inſtigation of Jovius, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a veſſel, in order to be ſent into exile; but the ſoldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. Terentius was baniſhed into the eaſt, and Arſacius confined to the city of Milan [f]. Euſebius was made great chamberlain in the room of Terentius; Valens ſucceeded Turpilio in the poſt of general of the horſe; and the office of comes domeſticorum, held by Vigilantius,

Ataulphus enters Italy.

Olympius diſgraced.

The generals Turpilio and Vigilantius put to death.

was

[a] Zoſ. p. 819. [b] Idem. ibid. [c] Idem. ibid. [d] Idem, p. 820. [e] Idem, p. 824. [f] Idem, p. 825, 821.

was given to Ellebichus or Allobichus. Theſe were all creatures of Jovius, whoſe authority was thus thoroughly eſtabliſhed [g]. At the ſame time, Generides, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in Rhœtia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia; which countries he protected with great fidelity againſt the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. Zoſimus writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his ſake Honorius revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments [h]. The ſame law was revoked with reſpect to heretics, eſpecially the Donatiſts, to whom ſome churches were reſtored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of Jovius, of Heraclianus, count of Africa, and of Macrobius, the author of the Saturnalia, as is commonly believed, at that time proconſul of Africa [i].

ALARIC being returned before Rome, as we have obſerved above, the ſenate ſent a ſecond deputation to the emperor, preſſing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himſelf had ratified. Alaric approved of this ſtep, and appointed a body of Goths to eſcort the deputies, among whom was Innocent, biſhop of the city. At the ſame time, Alaric, by the advice of Jovius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in Epirus, advanced with part of his army to Ariminum or Rimini, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at Ravenna. Jovius himſelf met him at Rimini; and, after ſome conferences with him, wrote to court, adviſing the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought them unreaſonable, to ſatisfy Alaric by preferring him to the poſt of commander in chief of all the Roman forces. To this letter the emperor anſwered, that he was reſolved never to prefer Alaric, nor any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to Jovius, while he was in Alaric's tent, and he with the utmoſt imprudence reading it aloud, Alaric was ſo provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards Rome: but ſoon after, changing his mind, he ſent ſome biſhops to Honorius, with very moderate propoſals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with Honorius, and to defend the empire againſt all invaders, provided he would only ſend him a ſmall ſum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when diſbanded, and

Honorius refuſes to comply with the propoſals of Alaric.

[g] Idem, ibid. Phot. p. 181. [h] Zoſ. ibid. [i] Hier. ep. viii. p. 65. Cod Theod. tit. 4. p. 199.

and allow them to ſettle in Rhœtia and Noricum, which provinces paid but an inconſiderable tribute, and nevertheleſs obliged the emperor, as they were expoſed to the incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himſelf to do, without putting the empire to the leaſt charge. Theſe propoſals, however reaſonable, were rejected. Jovius having, by a ſecond fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, ſuſpect him of privately favouring Alaric, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to ſwear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with Alaric: this he ſwore himſelf by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the ſame oath [k]. Alaric, tho' informed of theſe unaccountable proceedings, ſent back the biſhops to Ravenna, earneſtly entreating the emperor, who had not ſufficient forces to withſtand him, not to ſuffer that ſtately metropolis, which for ſo many ages had been revered by all nations as miſtreſs of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the emperor continuing obſtinate in his former reſolution, Alaric purſued his march to Rome; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obſtinacy, inviting them at the ſame time to conſult their own ſafety by joining him againſt Honorius. This propoſal they rejected at firſt with indignation; but Alaric having, after a few days ſiege, taken the caſtle at the mouth of the Tiber, in which all the public proviſions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a ſmall guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge, not himſelf, as he might have eaſily done, but Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperor [l]. Attalus was a native of Ionia, and greatly beloved by Alaric and his Goths, becauſe he had been baptized by Segiſarius their biſhop [m], and conſequently profeſſed the doctrine of Arius, tho' he was in his heart a pagan, according to Philoſtorgius [n]. Attalus, thus created emperor by Alaric, made him in return commander in chief of all his forces, and Ataulphus his comes domeſticorum, diſtributing the other great employments amongſt

And ſwears never to make peace with him.

Alaric's moderation.

He beſieges Rome, which ſubmits, and acknowledges Attalus for emperor.

[k] Soz. l ix c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zoſ. p, 822-- 824. [l] Soz. Zoſ. ibid. [m] Soz c. 9. p. 111. [n] Philoſt. l. xii. c. c. p. 533.

mongſt pagans and Arians. At it was a matter of the utmoſt importance to ſecure Africa, whence Rome was ſupplied with proviſions, Alaric adviſed the new emperor to ſend thither without delay a conſiderable body of troops under the conduct of Drumas, who was by nation a Goth, but an officer of great experience and addreſs: but Attalus, contrary to the advice of Alaric, ſent one Conſtantine or Conſtans, a perſon quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a ſmall number of troops, being aſſured by the aruſpices, ſays Sozomen, that Africa would immediately ſubmit[o]. But Conſtantine was upon his firſt landing cut off with all his men by Heraclianus, who took care to place guards in all the ports of Africa, that no corn might be thence conveyed to Rome, which by that means was ſoon reduced to great ſtreights [p]. In the mean time, Attalus, without waiting for news from Africa, ſet out from Rome with the ſuccours he received from Alaric, with a deſign to beſiege the emperor in Ravenna, who, alarmed at his motions, diſpatched Jovius, the prime miniſter, Valens, general of the foot, Potamus, the quæſtor, and Julian, his firſt ſecretary, to wait his arrival at Rimina, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But Attalus would only grant Honorius his life, and the liberty of retiring to what iſland he pleaſed [q]. Jovius, in a private conference with Attalus, not only adviſed him to inſiſt upon theſe terms, but ſuggeſted to him, that he ought to maim the emperor ſo as to prevent his having iſſue; which wicked ſuggeſtion was rejected with horror, if Olympiodorus is to be credited, by Attalus himſelf [r]. That treacherous miniſter returned to court; but being ſent back to the uſurper with new propoſals, he continued with him. Honorius, finding himſelf thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to abandon Ravenna and retire by ſea into the eaſt; but was diverted from that reſolution by the ſeaſonable arrival of four thouſand men, ſent him by his nephew Theodoſius, which encouraged him to continue at Ravenna, and there wait the iſſue of the war in Africa. And truly his arms were attended there with uncommon ſucceſs; for Attalus having, after the death of Conſtans, ſent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the firſt, Heraclianus cut them likewiſe in pieces; and not

The uſurpers troops defeated by Heraclianus in Africa.

Honorius offers to acknowledge Attalus; Who inſiſts upon his reſigning.

Honorius receives a ſeaſonable ſupply from Theodoſius.

[o] Soz. p 810. [p] Zoſ p. 829. Soz. ibid. [q] Zoſ. p. 828. Phot. p. 181. [r] Phot. ibid.

not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to Rome, but sent a seasonable supply of money to Honorius, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and by that means re-established his affairs [s]. In the mean time, Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He caused Attalus to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to swear allegiance to him [t].

WHILE these things passed in Italy, Geroncius, to whom Constans the son of Constantine, had committed the government of Spain, as we have related above, revolting, upon some disgust, from Constantine, set up one Maximus for emperor, whom Olympiodorus supposes to have been his son [u], while other writers style him his client or creature [w]. Orosius speaks of him as a person of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown [x]. It was no sooner known in Gaul, that Geroncius had revolted, than the Vandals, Suevians, Alans, and other barbarians, whom Constantine had suffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harassed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves. The Britons were the first, who, falling off from the empire, established a new form of government among themselves, after having driven out the barbarians, the Germans, according to Zosimus, but more likely the Scots, or Irish, who had invaded their country [y]. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, 422, when, overpowered by their warlike neighbours the Scots, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the Armorici, says Zosimus, that is, in the language of the Gauls, the maritime people, followed the example of the Britons, and, shaking off the Roman yoke, gave rise to a new state and government [z], which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of Gaul, who had taken arms in their

Maximus set up in Spain by Geroncius.

The Britons fall off from the empire.

And the Armorici

[s] Zos. p. 829. Oros. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Phot. c. 80. p. 184. [w] Soz. p. 814. Greg. Tur. p. 63. Oros. p. 224 Prosp. ann. 412. [x] Oros. ibid. [y] Zos. l. vi. p. 827. [z] Idem ibid.

own defence, and acquainted with the diſtracted ſtate of Spain, which was repreſented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, reſolved to try whether they could ſettle there. With this deſign, the Vandals, the Alans and Suevians bent their march towards the Pyrenees, which they paſſed without oppoſition, the guards, who had been placed there by Geroncius to defend the narrow paſſes, either retiring at the approach of ſuch multitudes, or joining them [a]. Thus the barbarians firſt entered Spain in 409, on a Tueſday, ſays Idatius, the twenty-eighth of September, or the thirteenth of October [b]; but in the year 409, the 13th of October fell on a Wedneſday. The paſſes of the Pyrenees being once opened, the barbarians, who had over-run Gaul, powered in ſwarms into Spain, and there made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, defeated the troops which Conſtantine had ſent, under the conduct of his ſon Conſtans, to ſuppreſs the rebellion of Geroncius, and obliged Conſtans himſelf to abandon the country, and retire to his father at Arles [c]. As for Geroncius, they entered into a kind of alliance with him againſt their common enemy Conſtantine [d]. The barbarians, having no enemy to oppoſe them, after the retreat of Conſtans, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find deſcribed at length by Idatius, who, in this very century, was biſhop of a city in Spain [e]. Olympiodorus writes, that the Romans, who had taken refuge in ſome ſtrong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty ſhe was ſtoned to death by the populace [f]. The barbarians continued their ravages, putting all to fire and ſword, till the year 411, when, being abſolute maſters of the country, they applied themſelves to the tilling of the ground, and other works of agriculture, after having divided among themſelves by lot the Spaniſh provinces. In that diviſion Galicia fell to the Vandals and Suevians, the former having Gonderic for their king, and the latter Ermeric; Luſitania, and the province of Carthagena, to the Alans; Bœtica to the Silingi, who were likewiſe Vandals, and are ſuppoſed to have given to their lot the name of Wandaluſia, which

The Vandals, Alans and Suevians enter Spain.

And over-run the whole country.

And divide the Spaniſh provinces among themſelves.

[a] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. [b] Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. [c] Idat. chron. [d] Zoſ. Oroſ. Greg. Tur. ibid. [d] Phot. c. 80. p. 184. [e] Idat. chron. p. 10, 11. [f] Phot. c. 80. p. 180.

which was afterwards changed into that of Andaluſia [g]. Such of the natives as had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, ſubmitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the goſpels, ſwore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they obſerved ſo religiouſly, that the Romans choſe to live in poverty, ſays Oroſius, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire [h]. The inhabitants of Galicia, however, maintained their liberty, and formed a new ſtate in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked, but without ſucceſs, by Emeric or Ermeric, king of the Suevians [i]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except a tumult at Conſtantinople, where the people, riſing on account of the ſcarcity of bread, burnt the houſe of Monaxes, prefect of the city; but the ſenators and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raiſed a large ſum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practiſed when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled [k].

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

The following year 410, when Varanes alone was conſul, is remarkable for the taking of Rome by Alaric. Varanes began his conſulſhip at Conſtantinople; but the weſtern empire, eſpecially the city of Rome, was involved in ſuch troubles, that Honorius was not at leiſure to think of a conſul. Attalus, however, raiſed Tertullus, a pagan, to that dignity: but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the uſurper: whence Varanes alone is named conſul in the faſti and in the laws, ſome of which are dated thus; the year after the eighth conſulſhip of Honorius, and the third of Theodoſius [l]. As Heraclian continued to keep the ports of Africa blocked up, and the lands in Italy had not been tilled for ſeveral years, by reaſon of the wars, the Roman people were reduced to feed upon cheſnuts; nay, human fleſh was publicly ſold, and ſeveral mothers were ſaid to have devoured their children [m]. This obliged both Alaric and Attalus to haſten to Rome, in order to adviſe with the ſenate about the proper means of ſupplying the city. Moſt part of the ſenators were for ſending into Africa a body of Goths, Alaric engaging, that

A great famine rages in Rome.

[g] Oroſ. c. 41. p. 223. Idat. Iſid. chron. [h] Oroſ. l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 5 p. 84. Lib. orat. i. p. 64. Chron Alex. p. 716. [l] Cod. Theod. chron. 156. [m] Socr. l. ix. p. 810. Zoſ. l. vi. p 830.

that Drumas, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but Attalus openly declared, that he would not by any means employ Goths in that war; which ſo piqued Alaric, who had already began to look upon Attalus as one no-ways qualified for the high ſtation to which he had raiſed him, that he reſolved to depoſe him, leſt, by his obſtinacy and imprudence, he ſhould quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this reſolution by Jovius, who perſuaded him, that Attalus, ſcorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to deſtroy him. This conduct of Jovius has induced ſome writers to believe, that he maintained a private correſpondence with Honorius; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray Attalus [n]. Be that as it will, Alaric, finding the new emperor unequal to ſo great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and miſconduct with reſpect to the affairs of Africa, ſent deputies once more to Honorius, with very reaſonable terms; which the emperor ſeeming inclined to comply with, Alaric publicly ſtripped the mock prince of all the badges of ſovereignty, and ſent them to Honorius. He would not, however, deliver up either Attalus, or his ſon Ampelius; but inſiſted upon their being pardoned, ſince their crime was owing more to him than to them [o]. Attalus being thus depoſed, Alaric approached Ravenna, and ſtopped at a place called the Alps, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor [p]. But this peaceable face of affairs was ſoon changed by an unlucky and unforeſeen accident: Sarus the Goth, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring either for Honorius or Alaric. However, Ataulphus, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, reſolved to deſtroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a ſtrong party againſt him; which obliged him to declare for Honorius, and retire to Ravenna. Olympiodorus writes, that Alaric was ſo provoked at the kind reception Sarus met with from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms [q]. On the other hand, Sozomen tells us, that Sarus, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, and put ſome of them to the ſword [r]. However

Alaric deroſes Attalus.

And attempts an accommodation with Honorius.

Which unhappily broke off.

[n] Philoſt. p. 181. [o] Phot. c. 80. p. 181. Zoſ. p. 830. Soz. p. 810. Philoſt. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. [p] Soz. p. 809. Zoſ. p. 831. [q] Phot. p. 180. [r] Soz. p. 811.

ever that be, it is certain, that Alaric departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and returned to his army, encamped near Rome, as ſoon as Sarus had joined the emperor [s], reſtoring the purple, and other badges of majeſty, to Attalus; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he deſigned to traduce and expoſe to ridicule the imperial dignity [t]. Socrates writes, that having ſhewed him to the ſoldiery, with all the enſigns of ſovereignty, he expoſed him the very next day to public view in the dreſs of a ſlave [u]. To this was the majeſty of the Roman empire now reduced. Alaric no ſooner arrived before Rome, than he blocked it up on all ſides, and by that means, as proviſions were already very ſcarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmoſt extremity. Some authors, and among the reſt, St. Jerom [w] write, that it held out a long time; while others ſay, Alaric reduced it with ſuch expedition, that Honorius, when told by one of his courtiers, that Rome was loſt, underſtood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of Rome was beſieged [x]. There is likewiſe a diſagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. Procopius writes, that Proba, an illuſtrious Roman matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the nighttime to the enemy [y]. Sozomen ſays it was taken by treachery, without explaining himſelf farther [z]; but Oroſius uſes the word irrumpit [a], which ſeems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by aſſault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, ſtyled the metropolis of the univerſe, after having triumphed over ſo many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt of the preſent year 410, taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As ſhe had, for the ſpace of one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three years, pillaged the reſt of the world, and enriched herſelf with the ſpoils of the plundered nations, ſhe underwent in the end the ſame fate, and ſuffered in her turn the ſame calamities, which ſhe had brought upon others. Alaric, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addreſſing his

And Rome anew beſieged, taken, and plundered.

[s] Idem. ibid. Philoſt. p. 534. [t] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 42. p. 234. [u] Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346, 347. [w] Hier ep. 16. p. 121. [x] Proſp. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. p 180. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. [a] Oroſ. p 222.

Alaric orders his men to ſpare the lives of the citizens, eſpecially of ſuch as ſhould fly to the churches.

ſoldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to ſeize it; but at the ſame time he ſtrictly enjoined them to ſhed the blood of none but ſuch as they ſhould find in arms, and above all to ſpare thoſe who ſhould take ſanctuary in the holy places, eſpecially in the churches of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, which he named, becauſe they were more ſpacious, and conſequently capable of affording an aſylum to great numbers of people. Having given theſe orders, he abandoned the city to the Goths, who treated it no better, according to St. Jerom, than the Greeks are ſaid to have treated antient Troy [b]; for, after having plundered it for the ſpace of three, or, as others will have it, of ſix, days, they ſet fire to it in ſeveral places; ſo that the ſtately palace of Salluſt, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to aſhes; nay Procopius writes, that there was not in the whole city one houſe left entire [c]; and both St. Jerom [d] and Philoſtorgius [e], that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to an heap of aſhes and ruins.

The miſerable condition to which the city was reduced.

Tho' many of the Goths, purſuant to the orders of their general, refrained from ſhedding the blood of ſuch as made no reſiſtance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirſty, maſſacred all they met; ſo that the ſtreets in ſome quarters of the city were ſeen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and ſwimming in blood [f]. However, not the leaſt injury was offered to thoſe who had fled to the churches; nay, the Goths themſelves conveyed thither, as to places of ſafety, ſuch as they were deſirous ſhould be ſpared [g]. Many of the ſtatues of the gods that had been left entire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occaſion deſtroyed, either by the Goths, who, tho' moſtly Arians, were zealous chriſtians, or by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the ſame time upon the city, as if it had been ſent on purpoſe to complete, with them, the deſtruction of idolatry, and aboliſh the ſmall remains of pagan ſuperſtition [h]. The learned biſhop of Meaux wrote a famous treatiſe, ſhewing, that the taking of Rome by Alaric may be looked upon as one of the chief myſteries foretold by John in his revelations [i]. The pagans aſcribed the calamities which Rome ſuffered on this occaſion, to its having baniſhed the gods, by whom it had been often protected againſt far more

[b] Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. [c] Procop. p. 179. [d] Hier. ep. 12. p. 100. [e] Philoſt. p. 534. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. & Soz. ibid. [h] Oroſ. l. vii c. 39. p. 222. & l. ii. c 19. p. 164. [i] Explication de l' apocalypſe.

more powerful enemies. Theſe calumnies St. Auſtin fully confuted in his 81ſt, 105th and 106th ſermons, in another intitled of the deſtruction of the city of Rome [k], and in his great work de civitate Dei, wherein he ſhews, that Rome had ſuffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preſerved by the chriſtian religion from utter deſtruction [l].

[k] Auger. Sym. p. 546. & Rom. excid. p. 330. [l] Idem de civ. Dei.

CHAP. XXX.

The hiſtory of Rome, from the taking of the city by the Goths, to the death of Theodoſius II.

ALARIC, having ſtaid, according to ſome, ſix, according to others, only three, days in Rome, retired from thence into Campania, carrying with him immenſe wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was Placidia, the ſiſter of Honorius, whom he treated with all the reſpect due to her rank and ſex. After he ravaged and laid waſte Campania, Lucania, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Brutii, he approached the ſtreights of Sicily, with a deſign to paſs over into that iſland, and thence into Africa, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpoſe being ſhipwrecked in the ſtreights, he continued in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, deliberating what further meaſures he was to take; but before he came to any reſolution, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, which carried him off in a few days [l]. The Goths were deeply concerned for the death of their king, (for they had given him that title, as we have obſerved above) and fearing the Romans ſhould offer ſome indignity to his bones, they turned the courſe of the Buſento near Coſenza in the Farther Calabria; and having buried him, with many rich ſpoils brought from Rome, in the bed of the river,

Alaric retires, with the wealth of Rome, into Campania.

He dies in the neighbourhood of Rhegium.

[l] Oroſ. ii. c. 19. p. 164. Socr l. vii c. 10. p. 347 Philoſt. l. xii. c. 3. 534. Aug civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. p. 8. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653.

river, they reſtored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the ſlaves they had employed in the work [m]. After this they choſe Ataulphus king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceaſed prince, who had married his ſiſter. Jornandes writes, that he returned to Rome, and pillaged that city a ſecond time [n]. But of this ſecond deſtruction of Rome, as he ſtyles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who flouriſhed at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging Italy on one ſide, Conſtantine, leaving Gaul, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the aſſiſtance of Honorius, tho' his real deſign was to ſtrip him of the few provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as Verona; but while he was preparing to paſs the Po, in order to march to Ravenna, and there conſer as he pretended, with the emperor about the moſt proper meaſures in the preſent juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deſerved, end of Alabicus or Allobicus, one of Honorius's generals, whom that prince had cauſed to be put to death, upon a well grounded ſuſpicion of his privately correſponding with the uſurper [o]. This Conſtantine no ſooner underſtood, than he repaſſed in great haſte the Alps, and retired to Arles, where he found his ſon Conſtans driven out of Spain by the above-mentioned barbarians. Geroncius, who had joined them againſt him purſued him into Gaul; which obliged Conſtantine to ſend Edobicus, one of his generals, to procure ſupplies among the Franks and Germans, and to commit the guard of Vienne, and the other cities on the Rhone, to his ſon Conſtans. But Geroncius, arriving in the mean time before Vienne, took the place; and having put Conſtans, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without oppoſition to Arles, and there cloſely beſieged Conſtantine himſelf [p]. While the weſtern empire was thus involved in endleſs calamities, the provinces all over the eaſt enjoyed a profound peace under the wiſe adminiſtration of Anthemius; ſo that nothing remarkable happened there, except the diſgrace of one Andronicus, governor of the Pentapolis, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deſerved to be firſt excommunicated by Syneſius biſhop of Ptolemais, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by Anthemius from his government [q].

Ataulphus choſen king in his room.

Conſtantine invades Italy.

But repaſſes the Alps in great haſte, and retires to Arles.

Conſtans taken, and put to death by Geroncius who beſieges Conſtantine in Arles.

THE

[m] Jorn. ibid. [n] Idem, p. 654. [o] Soz. l. ix. c. 12 p. 814. Phot. c. 80 p. 181. Zoſ. l. v. p. 821. [p] Soz. ibid. Phot. p. 184. Oroſ p. 224. [q] Syneſ. c. 74. p. 220.

THE following year 411, Theodosius alone was the fourth time consul, Honorius being diverted, by the troubles in the west, from naming any one to that dignity [r]. This year Honorius sent Constantius, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into Gaul, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon Constantine, whom, after his entering Italy, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. Constantius was not by birth a barbarian, but a Roman; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to Olympiodorus, in the city of Panaisa in Illyricum [s]. Valesius, supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of Naissus in Dacia, the birth-place of Constantine the Great [t]. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped in his person, agreeable in conversation, frank, generous, an enemy to all dissimulation and restraint, disinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the state [u]. He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he set out at the head of a considerable army from Gaul, where he was joined upon his first arrival by most of the troops of Geroncius, then busied in reducing the city of Arles, in which was Constantine himself, as we have related above. Geroncius, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege in great haste, and fled into Spain, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged; which he defended, tho' assisted only by one friend, and a few slaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggressors. In the end the slaves, consulting their own safety, made their escape, which Geroncius too might have easily done, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himself overpowered, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife, by name Nonnichia, apprised of this resolution, earnestly entreated him to put her to death rather than suffer her to fall into the hands of the incensed soldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself [w]. It is surprising, that Sozomen should commend this in Nonnichia, as an action worthy of the christian religion,

Constantius sent against Constantine.

His character.

Geroncius raises the siege of Arles, and flies into Spain.

Where he lays violent hands on himself.

[r] Idat. Prosp. Cassiod. &c. [s] Phot. c 80. p. 193. [t] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107. [u] Phot. p. 185. Oros c. 43. p 224. Soz. l ix. c. 16. p. 815. [w] Oros. p 224. Soz. p. 815. Phot. ibid.

religion, which she professed [x]. As for Maximus, whom Geroncius had set up for emperor, as we have related above, he was secured by his own men, and brought to Constantius, who stripped him of his ensigns of majesty, but spared his life, looking upon him as a person of himself inoffensive, and incapable of giving the least umbrage [y]. He retired into Spain amongst the barbarians, and was still alive when Orosius wrote his history, that is, in 417 [z]. To return to Constantius: he pursued the siege of Arles, which Geroncius had begun. Constantine, who was in the place with his second son, by name Julian, held out for the space of four months, in expectation of the succours which Edobicus was sent to procure amongst the Franks, and other German nations. Edobichus arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of Constantius; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the siege, and retiring into Italy. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the issue of a battle. Ulphilas therefore, who commanded under Constantius, passing the Rhone with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage Constantius; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while Constantius charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. Edobichus fled to the house of a Gaulish lord, by name Ecdices, who, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to Constantius, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from heaven some misfortune upon the whole army [a]. Constantius returned without loss of time before Arles, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news being brought to the Roman camp that Jovinus, having usurped the imperial title in Farther Gaul, was advancing full march to Arles, at the head of a formidable army, consisting of Alemans, Franks, Burgundians, and Alans, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, Constantius thought it adviseable to comply with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him, viz. to grant a general indemnity, and to promise upon oath, that the lives of Constantine and Julian should be spared. Hereupon the gates were opened,

Maximus taken; but his life spared.

The Germans coming to the assistance of Constantine defeated.

Arles surrendered to Constantius.

[x] Soz. ibid. [y] Oros. ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, p. 223 Phot. c. 80. p. 184. Greg. Tur. l. i. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. Soz. l. ix. c. 14. p. 815.

opened, and the victorious army received into the town. Conſtantine had ſome time before deveſted himſelf of the purple, and taking ſanctuary in a church, cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt, thinking that character would ſcreen him from the emperor's juſt reſentment. Conſtantius nevertheleſs cauſed both him and his ſon to be ſecured, and ſent into Italy, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from Ravenna [b]. Honorius would not grant them their lives, becauſe they had put to death his two couſins Didymius and Verinianus; but as they had been promiſed indemnity by his lieutenant, the chriſtian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the ſame time that Conſtantine deveſted himſelf of the purple, Jovinus, or, as he is ſtyled by Sozomen and Philoſtorgius, Jovianus, aſſumed it at Mundiacum, ſays Olympiodorus [c]; which ſome take to be Mentz. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Gaul, and is ſaid to have cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at the inſtigation of Goar king of the Alans, and Guntarius, or Gondicarius prince of the Burgundians [d]. It appears from his medals, that he made himſelf maſter of Treves [e]; but his reign was ſhort-lived, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the eaſt, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was diſturbed this year by the Auſurians, a Mooriſh nation, who, breaking into the Pentapolis, laid waſte that province; but were ſoon driven out by Anyſius, who had ſucceeded Andronicus in that government. The Saracens likewiſe committed great diſorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Paleſtine, Phœnicia, and Syria; but retired of their own accord.

Conſtantine and his ſon beheaded.

Jovinus cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

The following year 412, when Honorius was conſul the ninth time, and Theodoſius the fifth, the Goths at length left Italy, either in virtue of a treaty between Honorius and Ataulphus their new king, as Jornandes ſeems to ſuppoſe [f], or becauſe they had already quite drained that country of its wealth, which from the ſequel of the hiſtory, appears more probable. However that be, quitting Italy, they broke into Gaul, ravaging the countries through which they paſſed. Upon their arrival in that province, Attalus, whom Ataulphus had brought thither with him, adviſed the Goth to join Jovinus againſt Honorius, and divide Gaul between them.

The Goths leave Italy, and break into Gaul.

Ataulphus

[b] Phot Soz. Greg. Tur. ibid. [c] Phot. c. 80. [d] Soz. p. 816, 817 Oroſ. p. 224. Phot. p. 184. [e] Syneſ. catait p. 299. & ep. 78. p. 223 224. [f] Jorn rer. Goth. c 31. p. 655.

Ataulphus and Jovinus met upon that propoſal; but all we know of their interview is, that Jovinus was not at all pleaſed to ſee Ataulphus and his Goths in Gaul [g]. Sarus, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from Honorius, becauſe he refuſed to puniſh the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name Bellerid, was going into Gaul, to offer his ſervice to Jovinus; which coming to the ears of Ataulphus, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him at the head of a thouſand men. Sarus, tho' attended only by twenty perſons, defended himſelf with ſuch reſolution, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. Ataulphus cauſed him ſoon after to be put to death, which as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a miſunderſtanding between Jovinus and Ataulphus. Jovinus ſoon after took his brother Sebaſtian for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of Ataulphus, who was ſo provoked at his promotion, that he diſpatched privately deputies to Honorius, offering to reſtore to him his ſiſter Placidia, and to ſend him the heads of the two uſurpers, provided he would ſupply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, Ataulphus ſoon found an opportunity of diſpatching Sebaſtian; but Jovinus, upon the news of his death, fled to Valence, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſubmit to Ataulphus, who delivered him up to Dardanus, prefect of Gaul, by whoſe orders he was put to death at Narbonne [h]. Idatius aſcribes the defeat of the two uſurpers to the generals of Honorius, who had perhaps joined Ataulphus. Dardanus, at this time prefect of Gaul, is highly commended by St. Jerom and St. Auſtin, who wrote ſeveral letters to him; but Apollinaris Sidonius, who is likewiſe honoured with the title of ſaint, paints him as a perſon of a moſt infamous character, in whom centered all the vices of the three uſurpers Conſtantine, Jovinus and Geroncius [i] (O). This year Theodoſius, or rather Anthemius, cauſed the walls of the frontier towns of Illyricum to be repaired [k],

Sarus taken priſoner by Ataulphus, and put to death.

Jovinus is taken, and put to death.

The

[g] Oroſ. p. 624. Phot. ibid. [h] Oroſ. ibid. Phot. p. 184. Soz. l. ix. c. 15. p. 817. [i] Sid. l. v. ep. 9. p. 139. [k] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 29. p. 342.

(O) From an antient inſcription diſcovered near Siſteron in Provence, it appears, that Dardanus, or Claudius Poſtumius Dardanus, as he is ſtyled there, had been governor of Vienne, and

THE next conſuls were Lucius and Heraclianus: but the name of the latter was eraſed out of the faſti; for he revolted this very year from Honorius, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in Africa, which he had with ſo much bravery defended againſt Attalus, he equipped a fleet there of ſeven hundred ſail, according to ſome, of three thouſand ſeven hundred, according to others, if there is no miſtake in the numbers [l]. Oroſius writes, that his fleet was more numerous than thoſe of Xerxes, of Alexander, or any other monarch mentioned in hiſtory [m]. With this formidable armada he ſailed from Africa, and landing ſafe in Italy, marched ſtrait to Rome, which his approach threw into the utmoſt conſternation; but count Marinus marching out to meet him at the head of all the troops he could aſſemble, the uſurper, ſeized with a ſudden panic, betook himſelf to flight, and haſtening on board one of his veſſels, returned alone to Carthage. Upon his flight, his men immediately ſubmitted, and were received into favour by Honorius, who ſoon after publiſhed a law, dated the fifth of July, and addreſſed to the people of Africa, wherein he declared Heraclianus a public enemy, and impowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found him [n]. He was, ſoon after his return to Carthage, diſcovered by ſome ſoldiers in an antient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces [o]. His eſtate was confiſcated, and beſtowed upon Conſtantius [p]. The ſame year the Franks made an irruption into Gaul, ſet fire to the city of Treves, and laid waſte the neighbouring country [q]. The Burgundians, who had entered Gaul in 407, with the Vandals and Alans, made themſelves this year maſters

Heraclianus revolts in Africa.

Lands in Italy; but, ſeized with a ſudden panic, returns to Africa.

Where he is diſcovered and cut in pieces by the ſoldiery.

[l] Marc. chron. [m] Oroſ p. 224. [n] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 21. p. 320. [o] Oroſ. ibid. Idat. chron. [p] Phot. c. 80. p. 185. [q] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63.

and its territory, preſect of Gaul, quæſtor, and in the end raiſed to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was Nevia Galla; and that his brother, Claudius Lepidus, who is diſtinguiſhed in the inſcription with the title of count, had been governor of Germania Prima, and treaſurer. This inſcription was made in honour of Dardanus, and his wife Galla, for having built a caſtle on a ſteep rock which ſtood on their eſtate, that the country-people, in the ſudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a ſafe place to retire to with their families and effects. This caſtle was then called Theopolis; but is known at preſent by the name of Rochetaillée.

maſters of the country now known by the name of Alſace, or Alſatia. Conſtantius, who had reduced the reſt of Gaul after the death of the two uſurpers Conſtantine and Jovinus, marched againſt them; but they demanding leave to ſettle in Gaul, as friends and allies of the Roman people, the Roman general, not caring to reduce them to deſpair, perſuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered [r]. Such was the riſe of the kingdom of the Burgundians in Gaul, under the conduct of Gondicarius or Guntiarius. Socrates commends them as a peaceable people, for the moſt part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour [s]. Oroſius writes, that in 417, they had all embraced already the chriſtian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the Gauls, who lived under them, not as their vaſſals, but their friends [t]. About the year 440, the hereſy of Arius began to prevail among them [u], which was probably owing to their intercourſe with the Goths. Ataulphus had promiſed, as we have obſerved above, to reſtore to Honorius his ſiſter Placidia, taken priſoner in Rome, but treated by him, as ſhe had been by Alaric, with the utmoſt reſpect. Conſtantius, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually preſſing Ataulphus to comply with this article; but as Honorius had not yet ſent to the Goths the corn he had promiſed them, Ataulphus, who deſired to marry Placidia himſelf, refuſed to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promiſe which he was not at that time in a condition to do: however, the Romans promiſed to ſend the corn as ſoon as Placidia was reſtored; and Ataulphus to reſtore Placidia as ſoon as the corn was ſpent [x]. After matters had continued for ſome time in this ſituation, Ataulphus, at laſt thinking himſelf deluded by the Romans, began hoſtilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of Narbonne and Toulouſe, advanced as far as Marſeilles; but met there with ſuch vigorous reſiſtance from count Bonifacius, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire, after having loſt great numbers of his men, and been himſelf wounded. From Marſeilles he bent his march to Bourdeaux, where he was received as a friend [y]. In the eaſt, one Lucius, a pagan who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young Theodoſius in extirpating idolatry, reſolved to ſave it from utter ruin

The Burgundians allowed to ſettle in Gaul.

Ataulphus makes himſelf maſter of Narbonne and Toulouſe.

[r] Oroſ c. 43. p. 224. Val. p. 136. Euch. de Belg. p. 440 Coint. annal. eccleſ. Fran. ann. 407. [s] Socr. l. vii. c. 30 p. 371. [t] Oroſ. p. 219. [u] Socr. p. 372. [x] Phot c 80 p. 185. [y] Rutil. l. i. p. 137. Phot. p. 185. Val. ibid. p. 115. Hier. ep. xi. p. 39.

ruin by aſſaſſinating his prince. With this deſign he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his ſword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpoſe by a woman of an extraordinary ſtature, and a threatening aſpect, who, as often as he put his hand to his ſword, appeared to him holding the emperor in her arms. Thus Damaſcus, a pagan writer, who flouriſhed about the latter end of the preſent century. Photius, who copied it from him, calls it a moſt remarkable event, and not to be queſtioned, ſince related by a pagan writer [w], but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other hiſtorian. This year the city of Conſtantinople was ſurrounded with the walls, which Socrates ſtyles the great walls [x]. Thoſe which had been built by Conſtantine the Great were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, completed in two months [y]. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of Nicephorus, an hiſtorian not much to be relied on. It was called the new wall, and the wall of Theodoſius [z]. The emperor publiſhed this year ſeveral laws againſt the Re-baptizers, the Eunomians, the Sabbatians, and the Protopaſchites, that is, againſt thoſe, who, in the celebration of Eaſter, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore ſtyled themſelves Protopaſchites, as if they followed the primitive practice and inſtitution.

Lucius attempts upon the life of Theodoſius.

Conſtantinople ſurrounded with new walls.

THE next conſuls were Conſtantius and Conſtans, both generals, the former in the weſt, and the latter in the eaſt. This year the negotiations between Honorius and Ataulphus, interrupted by the taking of Narbonne and Toulouſe, were reſumed. But the more the Goth was preſſed by Conſtantius to ſend back Placidia, the higher he raiſed his demands, that, the emperor refuſing to comply with them, he might have a more plauſible excuſe for detaining her. In the end, by means of one Candidianus, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at Narbonne, in the month of January of this year 414, with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity. Placidia appeared on that occaſion ſitting on a bed of ſtate, and Ataulphus in the Roman dreſs. He yielded to the royal bride the moſt honourable place, and preſented her with fifty baſons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, part of the ſpoils brought from Rome. Attalus aſſiſted at the ceremony, and ſung the epithalamium or nuptial ſong [a]; a degrading

Ataulphus marries Placidia.

 function

[w] Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. [x] Socr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [y] Niceph. l. xiv. c. 1. p. 438. [z] Cange de Conſt. p. 38—40. [a] Olymp. apud. Phot p. 181. Idat. chron.

function for one who had been veſted with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accompliſhment of Daniel's prophecy, that the king of the north ſhould marry the daughter of the king of the ſouth [b] (P). Honorius did not, it ſeems, conſent to this marriage; for ſoon after Ataulphus obliged Attalus to reſume the purple, and cauſed him to be acknowledged emperor by his Goths. However, he wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to conclude a laſting peace with Honorius, and ſeems to have ſet up Attalus anew, with no other deſign but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his Goths more favourable terms [c]. Oroſius writes, that at firſt he had nothing elſe in view than the utter ruin of the Roman empire, and the eſtabliſhing the empire of the Goths in its room; of giving the name of Gothia to that country, which was then called Romania; and founding ſuch a monarchy among his countrymen as Auguſtus Cæſar had introduced among the Romans: but being by long experience convinced, that the Goths were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to reſtore, inſtead of deſtroying, the Roman empire; and with this view he courted the friendſhip of Honorius, eſpecially after he had by Placidia a ſon to whom he gave the name of Theodoſius [d]. But Conſtantius, and his party at court, defeated all the meaſures taken by Ataulphus and Placidia to bring about an accommodation: they would not ſuffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reaſonable; ſo that the war being renewed, Ataulphus was in the end obliged to quit Gaul, and retire to Spain [e]. Valeſius is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and Conſtantius [f]; but

He obliges Attalus to reſume the purple.

Ataulphus obliged to quit Gaul, and retire into Spain.

[b] Idat. ibid. [c] Olymp. ibid. [d] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 43. p. 324. [e] Olymp. ibid. p. 184. [f] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 110.

(P) At St. Gille in Languedoc was found an inſcription made by the neighbouring people in honour of Ataulphus and Placidia, their princes and ſovereigns, as they are ſtyled, for having choſen Heraclea, that is, according to ſome, the preſent St. Gille, for the place of their reſidence (1). In this inſcription, which both Spon and du Cange look upon as genuine, Ataulphus is ſtyled the moſt powerful king of kings, and the moſt juſt conqueror of conquerors: he is likewiſe commended for having driven out the Vandals, probably ſome of that nation, who had remained in Gaul. Placidia is ſtyled Cæſarea, as if ſhe had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the Cæſars.

(1) Spon. p. 137.

but the expreſſion of Oroſius, that he was forced to quit Gaul, ſeems to import, that he was driven out by force [g]. Honorius publiſhed a law this year, dated the twenty-third of March, forbidding any one to moleſt ſuch as ſhould take ſanctuary in churches, on pain of being proſecuted and puniſhed as guilty of high treaſon [h]. The law dated the twentieth of May allows every one full liberty to kill ſuch lions as they ſhould find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and ſell them. Theſe lions were kept for the public ſhews; but the intereſt of our people, ſays the emperor in that law, muſt be preferred to our diverſion [i].

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the weſt, Pulcheria, ſiſter to the emperor Theodoſius, being declared Auguſta in the eaſt, on account of her extraordinary wiſdom and piety, took upon her the adminiſtration, Athemius thinking her better qualified for it than himſelf, though ſhe had juſt then entered only the ſixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as ſhe was endowed with moſt extraordinary parts and eminent for piety, her adminiſtration proved equally advantageous to the ſtate and the church. Theodoſius II. excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather Theodoſius the Great, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care Pulcheria took in inſpiring him with thoſe religious maxims, by which ſhe ruled her own actions [k]. In the very beginning of her adminiſtration, ſhe perſuaded the young prince to diſmiſs the eunuch Antiochus, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368, to 407 [l].

Pulcheria is declared Auguſta, and takes upon her the adminiſtration in the eaſt.

THE following year, when Honorius was conſul the tenth time, and Theodoſius the third, Theodoſius the ſon of Ataulphus and Placidia, died in Spain, whither his father had retired with his Goths; and was buried in a ſilver coffin near Barcelona, in a place of prayer, ſays Olympiodorus [m], that is, in a church. Ataulphus himſelf did not long ſurvive him; for he was killed this very year at Barcelona, in the month of Auguſt or September, ſince the news of his death was brought to Conſtantinople on a Friday the twenty-fourth of the latter month [n]. He was ſtabbed in his ſtable by one of his own

Ataulphus murdered in Spain.

[g] Oroſ. ibid. [h] Cod, Juſt. l. i tit. 12. leg 2. p. 107. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. [k] Soz. p. 800. [l] Theoph. p. 70. Iſid. Peluſ l. i. ep. 36. p. 11. Cod. Theod. l. xi tit. 28. p. 203. [m] Olym. apud Phot. p. 88. [n] Idem ibid. Philoſtorg. l. xii c. 4. p. 534.

countrymen and domeſtics, named Dobbius, whoſe former maſter, a leading man among the Goths, Ataulphus had cauſed to be murdered ſeveral years before [o]. Jornandes ſuppoſes him to have waged a long war with the Vandals in Spain, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one Vernulphus, whoſe former maſter Ataulphus had murdered [p]. But in what relates to Ataulphus, we have all along followed Olympiodorus, a contemporary hiſtorian, who, generally ſpeaking, agrees with the other writers of thoſe times. Photius has tranſmitted to us an abſtract of his work. We are ſurprized, that Giannone, in his hiſtory of the kingdom of Naples, ſhould to his authority prefer that of Jornandes, a writer of a much later date, who ſeldom agrees with other hiſtorians, and often diſagrees with himſelf. Ataulphus, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our hiſtorian, to ſend back Placidia to the Romans, and to live in friendſhip with them [q]. But the Goths, inſtead of his brother, choſe for their king Sigeric, the brother of Sarus, who immediately ordered the ſix children that Ataulphus had had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother [r]. He even obliged Placidia to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was aſſaſſinated by his own people the ſeventh day after his election [s], and Vallia choſen in his room, after he had cauſed all thoſe to be murdered who ſtood in competition with him for the crown [t]. This year a great tumult happened at Alexandria; the chriſtians and Jews, who were very numerous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain ſports exhibited on a Saturday, St. Cyril, biſhop of the place, threatened to drive the Jews out of the city; which exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to vent their rage upon his whole flock, the more becauſe they were favoured by Oreſtes, prefect of the city, then at variance with the biſhop. Accordingly having provided themſelves with arms, ſome of them in the dead of the night began to cry fire, giving out at the ſame time, that the great church was in flames. Hereupon, the chriſtians, haſtening out of their houſes to ſave the church, were maſſacred in great numbers by the Jews, who lay in ambuſh for them, and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they

He is ſucceeded by Sigeric, who cauſes all his children to be murdered, and is murdered himſelf.

A great tumult at Alexandria, between the chriſtians and Jews.

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c 31. p. 655. [q] Olymp. apud Phot. p. 188. [r] Idem ibid. Oroſ. p. 224. Soz. l ix. c. 9. p. 811. [s] Olymp. ibid. Oroſ. p. 224. [t] Oroſ. ibid. Proſp chron.

they wore for that purpoſe. The biſhop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the Jews out of the city; which the governor reſenting as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the biſhop was widened, and they both wrote to court complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, being told, that Oreſtes had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Jews againſt Cyril and the chriſtians, flew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. Oreſtes, to appeaſe them, told them, that he was a chriſtian, and had been baptized by Atticus, biſhop of Conſtantinople. But while he was yet ſpeaking, one of the monks, by name Ammonius, wounded him on the head with a ſtone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an inſtant covered all over with blood, betook themſelves to flight, but ſome of the citizens coming to his reſcue, ſeized the monk, and delivered him up to the prefect, who cauſed him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace reſolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great ſcandal of the chriſtian name and profeſſion. At that time lived in Alexandria, Hypatia, the daughter of the celebrated philoſopher Theon, who had been brought up and inſtructed by her father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickneſs of apprehenſion all the philoſophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted with the different doctrines of the various ſects of philoſophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of diſciples, who flocked from all parts to hear her. She was no leſs remarkable for her chaſtity and modeſt carriage, tho' her friendſhip was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As ſhe was in great favour and eſteem with the prefect Oreſtes, the populace, partly to revenge the death of Ammonius, and partly becauſe they imagined, as ſhe was a pagan, that ſhe incenſed the prefect againſt the biſhop and his friends, roſe ſuddenly in a tumultuous manner: and being headed by one Peter, a reader in a church, they ſtopped her as ſhe was returning to her houſe, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt them to aſhes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great ſcandal on the chriſtian name, eſpecially on the church of

The celebrated Hypatia inhumanly murdered, by the chriſtians.

Alexandria. Thus Socrates [u], whoſe authority is queſtioned by moſt eccleſiaſtic writers, who ſuppoſe him to have been a zealous Novatian, and conſequently an enemy to St. Cyril, who, upon his firſt coming to the ſee of Alexandria, had cauſed the penal laws againſt thoſe and all other ſectaries to be ſtrictly executed. This year, Theodoſius, by a law dated the ſeventh of December, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military [w]. By another law, dated the nineteenth of October, he depoſed Gamaliel, patriarch of the Jews, for having abuſed his authority [x]. Gamaliel is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates choſen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

The pagans excluded from all employments both civil and military.

THE next conſuls were Theodoſius, the ſeventh time, and Junius Quartus Palladius, who was prefect of Italy this and the five following years [y]. Vallia, lately created king of the Goths in Spain, reſolved to purſue the war againſt the Romans, and attempt the reduction of Africa; but the fleet he was ſending thither being ſhipwrecked near the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and moſt of the Goths on board of it drowned, he entered into a treaty with Conſtantius, and in the end concluded a peace with Honorius, delivered up hoſtages, and, upon his receiving ſix hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, ſent back Placidia to her brother [z]. Vallia not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the Romans againſt the barbarians, who had ſettled in Spain, adviſing the emperor to let them fight it out amongſt themſelves, ſince whatever ſide prevailed, he was ſure to be a gainer [b]. This advice Honorius followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we ſhall ſee anon. Attalus, whom the Goths had carried with them into Spain, ſeeing a peace concluded between them and the Romans, endeavoured to make his eſcape by ſea; but the ſhip was taken, and carried to Conſtantius, then in Gaul, who ſent him to the emperor, by whoſe orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the iſland of Lipari, where the good-natured emperor cauſed him to be treated with great

Vallia, king of the Goths in Spain, concludes a peace with Honorius.

Attalus taken and confined to the iſland of Lipari.

[u] Socr. l. vii. c. 13. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit 10. leg. 21. p 293. [x] Idem, tit. 8. leg. 22. p. 239. [y] Idat. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376. [z] Oroſ p. 224. Philoſt. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. Olymp. ibid. p. 189. [b] Oroſ. ibid.

great humanity [c]. This year, Theodoſius, leaving Conſtantinople for the firſt time after the twenty-ſecond of July, retired to Eudoxiopolis, called formerly Selymbria, on the ſea-coaſt between Conſtantinople and Heraclea, and continued partly there, partly at Heraclea, till the twenty-ninth of September [d]. The following year 417, when Honorius was conſul the eleventh time, and Conſtantius the ſecond, the emperor, to reward the ſervices of that brave general, gave him in marriage his ſiſter Placidia, an honour at which he had been long aſpiring. Placidia could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her conſent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in ſpite of her to Conſtantius [e]. They were thus married on the firſt of January of the preſent year, when Conſtantius entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip. A few months after, Honorius, leaving Ravenna, repaired to Rome, which he entered in triumph, cauſing Attalus, brought for that purpoſe from Lipari, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, Attalus was remanded to the place of his exile, and Honorius returned ſoon after to Ravenna [f]. The Armorici, who had revolted in 409, and introduced a new form of government among themſelves, were this year brought again under ſubjection by Conſtantius [g]. About this time the Franks, after having dwelt for the ſpace of near two hundred years on the German ſide of the Rhine, were allowed to paſs that river, and ſettle in Thongria, that is, in the territory of Tongres, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons [h]. But whether Faramond, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the reſt, is what we are no where told. He was the ſon of Marcomir, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere [i], and the grandſon of Priamus, whom Tiro Proſper calls the firſt king of the Franks mentioned in hiſtory [k]. In the eaſt nothing remarkable happened this year beſides an earthquake, which overturned ſeveral houſes at Conſtantinople, and the city of Cybyra in Phrygia [l].

Placidia married to Conſtantius.

The Franks allowed to ſettle in Thongria.

THE following year, Honorius being conſul the twelfth time, and Theodoſius the eighth, Vallia, making war upon the

Vallia gains great advantages over the Vandals in Spain.

[c] Olymp. Philoſt. Oroſ. ibid. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163. [e] Olymp. p. 192. [f] Cod. Theod, chron. p. 164. [g] Rut. l. i. p. 132. [h] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 3. p. 64. Buch. de Belg. p. 453. Coint. tom. i. p. 44. [i] P. 122. & ſeq. [k] Proſp. chron. [l] Chron. Al p 718.

the barbarians in Spain, cut off all the Vandals called Silingi, who had ſettled in Bœtica or Andaluſia. He likewiſe made ſuch a dreadful havock of the Alans, who had hitherto ruled over the Vandals and Suevians, that their king Ata being killed among the reſt, they fled for protection to Gonderic, king of the Vandals, who had ſettled in Galicia, and ſubmitted to him. Hence the ſucceſſors of Gonderic uſed to ſtyle themſelves kings of the Vandals and Alans [m]. Conſtantius, to reward theſe eminent ſervices of Vallia and his Goths, gave them Aquitania Secunda, comprizing the preſent archbiſhoprick of Bourdeaux, and ſome neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from Toulouſe to the ſea, to which he added ſoon after Novempopulania or Aquitania Tertia, that is, the province of Auch, and Gaſcony. Vallia fixed his reſidence at Toulouſe, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the Goths [n]. Vallia on the other hand yielded to the Romans the countries he had taken from the Vandals and Alans in Spain [o]. He died ſoon after, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a Suevian, by whom ſhe had Ricimer, who completed the ruin of the weſtern empire. The deceaſed prince was ſucceeded by Theodoric, called by ſome Theodorus, and by others Theodorides [p]. In the eaſt one Plintha, by nation a Goth, revolted, but was defeated in Paleſtine [q]; which is all we know of this war. Plintha, notwithſtanding his defeat, muſt have concluded an advantageous peace with Theodoſius; for he was raiſed the following year to the conſular dignity, and preferred to the poſt of general of the Roman horſe and foot in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and fidelity [r]. In the conſulſhip he had Monaxius for his collegue, another of Theodoſius's officers; ſo that both conſuls were in 419, ſubjects of the eaſtern empire, as they had been in 417, of the weſtern. Of the two conſuls, one was, generally ſpeaking, choſen in the eaſt, the other in the weſt; and he named the firſt, who was firſt in rank: if they were equal, each named in the firſt place his own conſul. This year Honorius, by a law dated from Ravenna the twenty-ſecond of November, extended the right and privileges of an aſylum to all places within fifty paces of the church, declaring thoſe guilty of ſacrilege, who

Vallia and his Goths allowed to ſettle in Aquitain.

He dies, and is ſucceeded by Theodoric.

[m] Idat. chron. Sid. carm ii p. 300. [n] Idat. Proſp. chron. [o] Jorn c. 33. p. 655. Idat. p. 32, 33. [p] John. p. 659. Olymp. p. 193. [q] Philoſt. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166 [r] Soz. l. ix. c. 15. p. 398.

who ſhould arreſt any one within that ſpace [s], On the ſecond or third of July of this year, Placidia was delivered at Ravenna of a ſon, who was named Valentinian, and ſucceeded Honorius in the empire [t]. The barbarians in Spain being no longer harraſſed by the Goths, who had retired to Gaul, as we have related above, and ſettled there, began to quarrel among themſelves. Gonderic, king of the Vandals, having gained great advantages over Eremeric, king of the Suevians, obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of Biſcay, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, Aſterius, count of Spain, and the vicar Maurocelus, falling unexpectedly upon Gonderic, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon Biſcay and Galicia, and retire into Bœtica [u]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt, which hiſtorians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of Aetius, prefect of Conſtantinople, who was attacked by an aſſaſſin, named Ceryachus, as he was returning from the great church [w]. We are not told what gave occaſion to this attempt, nor what became of the aſſaſſin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of September, Theodoſius declared thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould teach the barbarians the art of building ſhips, to which they were yet ſtrangers [x]. The following year, when Theodoſius was conſul the eighth time, and Conſtantius the third, the army mutinied in the eaſt, and put to death their general, by name Maximinus, as we read in the cronicle of Marcellinus: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the weſt nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following conſuls Agricola and Euſtatius, the emperor Honorius, on the eight of February, raiſed Conſtantius to the imperial dignity, declared him his collegue, and gave the title of Auguſta to his wife Placidia [y]. The images of Conſtantius and Placidia were ſent to Conſtantinople, with the news of their promotion; but Theodoſius refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not Conſtantius died ſoon after, that is, on the ſecond of September, after having reigned ſeven months wanting ſix days. He was buried at Ravenna, where he died of a pleuriſy, in a mauſoleum,

Valentinian III. born.

Gonderic, king of the Vandals, driven by the Romans out of Biſcay and Galicia, retires into Andaluſia.

Conſtantius is raiſed to the empire, but dies ſoon after.

[s] Cod. Theod. p. 36. [t] Idat. Marc. Proſp. Olymp. p. 192. Cange Byz. fam p. 66, 67. [u] Idat. chron. [w] Chron. Al. p. 720. [x] Cod. Theod l. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24. p. 322. [y] Theoph. p 72. Olymp. p. 192. Mar. chron.

ſoleum, built by his widow Placidia, near the church of St. Vitalis [z]. The ſame year the emperor Theodoſius married Eudocia on the ſeventh of June, on which occaſion there were great rejoicings at Conſtantinople [a]. Euodocia was the daughter of an Athenian philoſopher, by name Heraclitus, upon whoſe death her two brothers Geſius and Aurelianus defrauding her of the ſhare that was due to her of her father's eſtate, ſhe went to Conſtantinople to implore the protection of Pulcheria. As ſhe had been inſtructed by her father with extraordinary care in ſeveral languages, and in every branch of literature, and was beſides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, Pulcheria, after ſeveral conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother Theodoſius, whom accordingly ſhe perſuaded to marry her. Thus the modern Greeks; but the antient writers tell us, that ſhe was the daughter, not of the philoſopher Heraclitus, but of Leontius, an Athenian ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence at Athens [b]. Before the nuptials were celebrated Theodoſius cauſed her to be baptized by Atticus, biſhop of Conſtantinople, who changed the name of Athenais, which ſhe bore before, into that of Eudocia [c]. As Eudocia had been brought up to letters, ſhe uſed to divert herſelf with making verſes, and this very year ſhe compoſed a poem on the victory gained by the Romans over the Perſians [d], of which anon (Q). The two brothers of Eudocia, informed

Theodoſius marries Eudocia.

Her birth, education, &c.

[z] Philoſt. l xii. c. 12. p. 537. Olymp. p. 193. Idat. chron. Mabil it. Ital. p 39, 40. [a] Chron. Al. p. 724. [b] Socr. l. vii. p. 360. [c] Evag. l. 1. c. 20. p. 297. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360.

(Q) She likewiſe put into hexameter verſe the five books of Moſes, with thoſe of Joſhua, of the Judges, and of Ruth. This performance, which conſiſted of eight books, is highly commended by Photius, as is likewiſe the paraphraſe, which the ſame princeſs wrote in verſe upon the prophecies of Zachariah and Daniel, and Photius found with a poem on St. Cyprin and St. Juſtin, done without all doubt, ſays that writer, by the ſame hand (3). The reader will find in Photius a long abſtract of that poem (4) Zonaras mentions another work of the ſame empreſs, which he calls Homer's rhapſody. It contained the hiſtory of our Saviour, and entirely conſiſted of verſes borrowed from Homer. It was

(3) Phot. c. 183. p. 413—416. (4) Idem, p 420

informed of her good fortune, and conſcious to themſelves of their behaviour towards her, abſconded; but ſhe, inſtead of reſenting the injury they had done her, invited both to court, and raiſed them to great preferments [e]. What Codinus, a modern Greek author, writes of the ſeven philoſophers, who, he ſays, attended Eudocia to Conſtantinople, has the air of a fable [f]. This year the peace, which had long ſubſiſted between the Romans and Perſians, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occaſion. Vararanes V. who in 420, had ſucceeded his father Iſdegerdes in the kingdom of Perſia, having, at the inſtigation of the Magi, raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the Roman territories, and repaired to Conſtantinople, where they were received with great kindneſs by Atticus, biſhop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was ſo far from delivering them up when redemanded by the Perſian embaſſadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his reſolution of defending them, and the religion they profeſſed, with the whole ſtrength of the empire. Some miſunderſtanding had ariſen before between the two princes, the Perſian king refuſing to ſend back ſome workmen, whom he had hired out of the Roman territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately diſcovered. Beſides the Perſians had plundered and inſulted ſome Roman merchants trading to cheir country [g]. Upon theſe provocations, as Vararanes continued to perſecute the chriſtians in his dominions, Theodoſius proclaimed war with the Perſians, and, without loſs of time, diſpatched Ardaburius, an Alan by nation, at the head of a conſiderable army, into Azazene, a Perſian province beyond the Tigris, which he laid waſte, after having gained a complete victory over Narſes, whom the king of

War between the Perſians and Romans.

Narſes, the Perſian general, defeated by Ardaburius.

[e] Zonar. p. 44. Chron. Al. p. 724. [f] Vide Codin. de off. Conſtantin. eccleſ. p. 30, 31. [g] Socr. l. vii. c. 18, p 353.

was begun by a patrician, ſays Zonaras, but ended by Eudocia (5). Some take this patrician to have been one Pelagius, who was killed in the reign of Zeno, about the year 480, and is ſaid to have been the author of a rhapſody (6). But he was a pagan as appears from Cedrenus (7), and conſequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work or any part of it.

(5) Zon. tom. iii p. 37. Cange Byz. fam. p 71. (6) Voſſ. poet. Græc. p 78. (7) Cedr. p. 354.

of Perſia had ſent with a numerous army to oppoſe him. The battle was fought on the third of September, and the news of the victory brought on the ſixth of the ſame month to Conſtantinople, tho' ſeven hundred miles diſtant from the borders of Perſia, by a famous courier of thoſe times, named Palladius. He travelled with the ſame ſurprizing expedition to what part ſoever he was ſent; whence of him it was pleaſantly ſaid, that he had found means to reduce the Roman empire to a petty ſtate [h]. Narſes, after his defeat, abandoning the province of Azazene to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into Meſopotamia, with a deſign to invade the empire on that ſide, which was then deſtitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But Ardaburius, aware of his deſign, followed him cloſe, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of Niſibis, which place he immediately beſieged. In the mean time the king of Perſia having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of Niſibis were in, aſſembled all his forces; and entering Meſopotamia, laid ſiege to Theodoſiopolis, with a deſign to divert Ardaburius from that of Niſibis. But the beſieged, having at their head Eunomius, biſhop of the place, defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the Perſians, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermiſſion, were obliged to drop the enterprize and retire [i]. The enemy were ſoon after reinforced with a numberleſs multitude of Saracens, under the conduct of Alamundarus, a renowned warriour, who to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the Perſian monarch, bragged, that in a ſhort time he would deliver into his hands, not only the Romans who beſieged Niſibis, but Antioch itſelf, the metropolis of Syria. But not long after, his men, being ſeized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themſelves headlong into the Euphrates, where an hundred thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The Romans, ſeized at the ſame time with the like fear, upon a falſe report, that the king of Perſia was advancing to the relief of Niſibis with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raiſed the ſiege, and retired in the utmoſt confuſion into the Roman dominions [k].

Ardaburius beſieges Niſibis.

And the king of Perſia Theodoſiopolis.

But are both ſeized with a panic, and retire.

THE following year, when Honorius was conſul the thirteenth time, and Theodoſius the tenth, the war was purſued

[h] Socr. c. 19. p. 557, 558. [i] Idem ibid. Theodoret. l. v. c. 37. p. 243. [k] Socr. ibid. p. 559—560.

ſued with uncommon ſucceſs againſt the Perſians. From Socrates, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpoſe, it appears, that Ariobindus, one of the Roman generals, killed in a ſingle combat a Perſian famed for his valour; that Ardaburius put to the ſword ſeven Perſian commanders, ſurprized in an ambuſcade; and that Avitianus cut in pieces the few Saracens who had eſcaped being drowned in the Euphrates [i]. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, Theodoſius, imagining the Perſians, thus weakened and diſheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over perſecuting the chriſtians, in whoſe defence he had taken arms, ſent embaſſadors to Vararanes, with very reaſonable propoſals, which the Perſian would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the immortals, that is, a corps of ten thouſand choſen men, ſo called becauſe they had never been conquered. Theſe perſuaded the king to keep the Romans in ſuſpenſe, with a deſign to ſurprize them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuſcade; but Procopius, who commanded a ſeparate body of Romans, obſerving their motions from an eminence where he was poſted, and appriſed of their deſign, attacked them in the rear, while Ardaburius charged them in front; by which means they were ſurrounded, and all to a man put to the ſword. Vararanes was no ſooner informed of this new calamity, than calling to the Roman embaſſadors, he agreed to the terms they had propoſed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years, which laſted, according to Evagrius, till the twelfth year of the reign of Anaſtatius; that is to the year 502 [k]. The chief article of this treaty was, that the Perſian king ſhould recal the baniſhed chriſtians, reſtore them to their eſtates, and put a ſtop to the cruel perſecution he had raiſed againſt them. While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, Honorius attempted in the weſt to recover Spain out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their inteſtine wars. With this view he ordered Caſtinus, general of the foot, and comes domeſticorum, or captain of the guards, to march againſt them, at the head of a very numerous

The Romans gain great advantages over the Perſians.

A peace concluded between the Romans and Perſians for 100 years.

[i] Idem c. 18. p. 357. [k] Evagr. l. i. c. 19 p. 276. Theodor. l. v. c 39. p. 245. Socr. c. 21. p. 359.

numerous and powerful army. Caſtinus ſoon reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they were preparing to ſubmit, and abandon the country which they had ſeized; but the Roman general having unſeaſonably ventured an engagement, twenty thouſand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged with the reſt to take refuge in Tarraco [l]. Idatius aſcribes this defeat to the treachery of the Goths, who ſerved in the Roman army; but all other writers to the raſh and imprudent conduct of Caſtinus.

The Romans receive a great overthrow in Spain.

THE following year, when Marinianus and Aſclepiodotus were conſuls, a miſunderſtanding aroſe between Honorius and his ſiſter Placidia, whom the emperor had entertained at court, ever ſince the death of her husband Conſtantius, with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as gave occaſion to ſome very ſcandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great ſway ſhe bore in the adminiſtration giving no ſmall jealouſy to the other courtiers, they perſuaded the emperor, that ſhe correſponded privately with the Goths who ſtill looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his counſels [m]. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto ſhewn her being this year changed into an averſion no leſs extraordinary, Placidia thought it adviſeable to quit the court, and retire, with her ſon Valentinian, and her daughter Honoria, to Conſtantinople, where ſhe was kindly received by her nephew Theodoſius, tho' he had formerly refuſed to acknowledge her husband Conſtantius for emperor, and to give her the title of Auguſta [n]. Soon after, Honorius died at Ravenna of a dropſy, having reigned twenty eight years ſince the death of his father Theodoſius, and thirty-one ſince the time he was firſt created Auguſtus. He died, according to Theopharnes, on the fifteenth, according to Olympiodorus, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt of the preſent year 423 [o]. His body is ſaid to have been found in 1542, with thoſe of his two wives, Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho, in the church of St. Peter at Rome [p]. If ſo, it muſt have been conveyed thither from Ravenna, where his mauſoleum, ſuppoſed to have been built by his ſiſter Placidia, is ſtill to be ſeen. Of the writers who flouriſhed

Placidia obliged to quit the court and retire into the eaſt with her ſon Valentinian.

Honorius dies.

[l] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. 64. Salvian. l. vii. p. 165—168.
[m] Olymp p. 196. [n] Idem ibid. Caſſiod. chron. [o] Theoph. p. 72. Olymp. ibid. [p] Mabill. it. Ital. p. 145.

flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note (R). Honorius no ſooner expired, than an expreſs was diſpatch'd to Theodoſius with

(R) Under Honorius flouriſhed Olympiodorus, who wrote in Greek the hiſtory of that prince, from the year 407, the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work conſiſted of twenty-two books, and was inſcribed to Theodoſius II. or the younger (8). The reader will find an abſtract of it in Photius (9), who cenſures the ſtyle as low, and altogether unworthy of an hiſtorian. However, both Zoſimus and Sozomen ſeem to have copied it in ſeveral places, with ſome alteration in the phraſe and expreſſion. The author was a native of Thebes in Egypt, and a pagan by religion. He was ſent, with others, in 412, on an embaſſy to a king of the Hunns, named Donatus. Of this voyage (for he went by ſea) he gives us an account, and likewiſe of his journey to Athens, and of another to Syene in Egypt, and to the country of the Blemmyes (10). This is all we know of him. Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of Honorius, from the year 406, to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few paſſages have reached our times, quoted by Gregory of Tours (11). Claudian may be ranked among the hiſtorians who have written of Honorius; for of him we have learnt ſeveral particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of Alexandria in Egypt, as he himſelf tells us in different places (12), and not the ſon of a merchant at Florence, as ſome modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He firſt applied himſelf to Greek poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants has reached our times (13). His firſt Latin poem was on the conſulſhip of the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus, who were conſuls in 395. He continued to write on different ſubjects till the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius in 404, he was ſent by the citizens of Rome in 396, to congratulate Honorius on his third conſulſhip (14). He was honoured by the Roman ſenate with a ſtatue, which, in conſideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the ſquare of Trajan (15). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of Pollentia, fought in 403 (16). He was then tribune and notary, or ſecretary of ſtate, and enjoyed the title of clariſſimus, which was given to the Roman ſenators. Having, by means of Serena, Stilicho's wife, married a lady poſſeſſed of great wealth in Africa, he thenceforth became

(8) Phot. c. 80. p, 177. (9) Idem ibid. (10) Idem. p. 177—193. (11) Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62--64. (12) Claud. ep. 1. p. 238. ep. 4. p. 241. ep. 5. p. 11, 15, &c. (13) Claud. p. 236. (14) Idem, epig. 9. p. 140. (15) Idem, conſ. Hon. 3. p. 39. (16) Bell. Goth. p. 156.

with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for ſome days, and in the mean time gave private orders to a body of

became a profeſſed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and ſtateſman, inveighing at the ſame time with much bitterneſs againſt his rivals Rufinus and Eutropius (17); neither does he ſpare his countryman Adrian, who was prefectus prætorio in 405, and 412, having probably been ill-uſed by him; for in an epiſtle addreſſed to him to appeaſe his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends ſome had been put to the rack, and others baniſhed; and that he himſelf was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from Adrian, he retired, perhaps to the eaſt; for Evagrius ranks him among the poets who flouriſhed under Theodoſius II (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of Jupiter, and all the other pagan gods. Oroſius calls him a moſt obſtinate pagan; but at the ſame time commends him as an excellent poet (20). St. Auſtin likewiſe ſpeaks of him as a perſon greatly attached to the pagan ſuperſtition (21). Hence ſuch pieces as contain chriſtian ſentiments are by the beſt critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they paſs under his name, but perhaps by Claudian Mamertus, a chriſtian poet of Vienne in Gaul. Baillet prefers Claudian to all the poets who have written ever ſince the age of Auguſtus, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without ſome faults. His ſtyle is ſometimes flat, and ſometimes ſublime, and moſt of his poems filled with youthful ſallies (22). In all his poems there are ſeveral moſt beautiful paſſages. His invectives, eſpecially the two books againſt Eutropius, are moſt eſteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount Ætna was written by him. Rutilius, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his poem, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus, flouriſhed in the reign of Honorius. He was a native of Gaul, according to ſome, of Toulouſe. His father had been governor of Hetruria, quæſtor, comes largitionum, and prefect (24). The Hetruſcans, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, erected ſeveral ſtatues to his honour at Piſa, and in other places. He was dead when his ſon wrote his poem. Rutilius bore two of the greateſt employments in the ſtate, viz. the office of magiſter officiorum, and that of prefect of Rome (25). In his poem he declares himſelf a pagan, and a ſworn enemy to the monks

(17) Idem, ep. 2. p. 239, 240. (18) Idem, epig. 29. p. 261. & ep. 1. p. 257. (19) Evag. l. i c. 19. p. 278. (20) Oroſ. l. vii c. 35 p. 221 (21) Aug. civ. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 142. (22) Baill. jugemens de ſçavans. tom. 6. p. 485–492. (23) Idem p. 490, 491. (24) Rut. p. 128, 137, 139. (25) Idem, p. 131, 138.

of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of Salonæ in Dalmatia, that they may be ready at hand, to prevent the diſturbances,

monks, eſpecially to thoſe who lived in the iſland of Capraria or Capraia, on the coaſt of Tuſcany, a young nobleman of his acquaintance having renounced a plentiful eſtate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (26). Rutilius left Rome, where he had lived many years to return to Gaul, where he had not been ever ſince the barbarians entered that country in 407. He ſet out from Rome in 417, or 420 about the month of October, and embarquing on the Tiber, repaired to Porto, where he waited a whole fortnight for the new moon, and the ſetting of the Pleiades (27). Thoſe who are ſkilled in aſtronomy, may learn from thence the preciſe year and day of his departure. In 417, and 420, it was new moon in the latter end of October. At Porto, twelve miles diſtant from Rome, he heard, or imagined to hear, the ſhouts of the people in the circus. He embarqued there on board a ſmall veſſel, for the convenience of landing when he pleaſed to viſit his friends, and of lying every night aſhore (28). He landed at Circumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence called the baths of Taurus. Putting to ſea again, he diſcovered the ruins of Graviſcæ, and Coſa or Coſſa, two cities famous in former ages, The inhabitants of the latter are ſaid to have been forced, by prodigious ſwarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came aſhore likewiſe at Port-Ercole, beyond which he ſaw the iſland of Elba, more uſeful, ſays he, on account of its iron-mines, than the Tagus for its golden ſands. From Port-Ercole he purſued his voyage to Piombino, and from thence to Volterra, where he went to ſee the fine houſe of Albinus prefect of Rome, and the ſalt-pits at a ſmall diſtance from it At Volterra he found Victorinus his intimate friend, who, having abandoned Toulouſe, the place of his nativity, after the ſettling of the Goths there, had retired to Italy, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of Volterra. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of Britain, which office he diſcharged to the great ſatisfaction of the people. Honorius, upon his retiring from Touloſe, had invited him to court, giving him the title of count; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From Volterra he ſailed to the iſland of Gorgona, and from thence to the port of Piſa, where he landed, and went to the city of Piſa, to ſee one of his old friends, by name Protadius,

(26) Idem, p. 137. (27) Idem, p. 131, 132. (28) Idem ibid. (29) Idem, p. 133. (30) Idem, p. 137.

diſturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raiſed in the weſt by the death of Honorius, who had left no children to ſucceed

us, who, having loſt a great eſtate in Gaul, ſeized, no doubt, by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happineſs on a ſmall farm he had in Umbria, than he had ever done when poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of Rome, and had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by Symmachus have reached our times (32). From the port of Piſa, where Rutilius was obliged to continue ſome time, by reaſon of the bad weather, he purſued his voyage to Portus Lunæ, now Lerice, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his itinerary, that is, the poem in which he deſcribes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almoſt entirely loſt. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpoliſhed age, and informs us of ſeveral things relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times (34). Some groſs miſtakes that are to be found in it are, without all doubt, owing partly to the tranſcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have ſtrangely mangled and confounded ſeveral paſſages. The author betrays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the Jews and chriſtians; whence we may conclude Lachalius, Lucilius, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. Lucilius wrote ſome ſatires, in no reſpect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of Rutilius, to thoſe of Turnus and Juvenal (35); but none of them have reached our times. One Flavius, ſaid by St. Jerom to have wrote in verſe a treatiſe on phyſic, is ſuppoſed by Voſſius to have flouriſhed in the reign of Honorius, and likewiſe the author of a comedy, ſtyled Querulus Plauti, which is inſcribed to one Rutilius (36). About this time flouriſhed Macrobius, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his works, Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius; for all the perſons he introduces in his ſaturnalia, lived under Theodoſius I. and his ſon Honorius. He was born in a country where the Latin tongue was not common, that is, in Greece, or in the eaſt (37). To his name is added, in an antient manuſcript, the word Sicetinus, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is diſtinguiſhed with the title of illuſtrious, peculiar to the firſt officers of the empire (39). Hence moſt writers conclude him to be the Macrobius who was great chamberlain to Theodoſius II. in 422, for whoſe ſake that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to

(31) Idem, p. 138. (32) Sym. l. iv. ep. 17, 34, 57. p. 150, 174. ep 30, 32, &c. (33) Rut. p. 141. (34) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 2. p. 746. (35) Rut. p 137. (36) Voſſ. ibid. (37) Macrob. ſat. l. i. c. 8. p. 161. (38) Wilth append. ad dypt. Leod. p. 4. (39) Macrob. p. 159.

ſucceed him. Having taken this ſtep, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the ſame time cauſed himſelf to be

 proclaimed

to thoſe of the præfectus prætorio and the magiſter militiæ (40). But againſt this opinion may be objected, that Macrobius, the author of the ſaturnalia had a ſon, by name Euſtathius; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally ſpeaking, eunuchs. Beſides, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that Theodoſius II. would have ſuffered a pagan (for ſuch was the writer we are ſpeaking of) to enjoy that office, which obliged him to be always about the emperor's perſon. The opinion of thoſe is better founded, who ſuppoſe the Macrobius, who was proconſul of Africa in 410, to be the author of the ſaturnalia. One Macrobius was vicar of Spain in 399, and 400, but ſtripped of his employment, and puniſhed for ſome neglect with reſpect to the poſts (41). The work by which Macrobius is chiefly known is his ſaturnalia, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the inſtruction of his ſon, and ſuppoſed to have been uttered in a familiar converſation among friends, during the ſaturnalia, or the feaſts of Saturn. The perſons he introduces were the moſt famous then at Rome for their learning and erudition. He addreſſes his work to his ſon, for whoſe ſake he undertook it. He relates moſt things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reaſon he could not expreſs himſelf with eaſe in the Latin tongue; and truly, when he ſpeaks himſelf, he plainly betrays his ſmall knowledge of that language (42). Beſides the ſaturnalia, he wrote two books on the dream of Scipio, which he likewiſe inſcribed to his ſon, for whoſe inſtruction he undertook that, as he had done the other, work. Theſe two books were tranſlated into Greek by Maximus, ſurnamed Planudes (43). Another book paſſes under the name of Macrobius, on the conformity and diſagreement of the Greek and Latin tongues (44). Macrobius wrote indeed a book on that ſubject; but the work which has reached our times was done by John Erigenes, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, and followed the plan of Macrobius, whom he copied, changing ſome things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief perſons introduced by Macrobius in his ſaturnalia is Servius, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at Rome, and is painted as a perſon of great learning, and at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his modeſty (46). He is introduced ſpeaking moſtly of Virgil, whoſe inimitable

Æneid

(40) Cod. Theod. tit. 2. p. 82. (41) Idem, l. viii. tit. 5. leg. 61. p. 565. (42) Vide Baillet. tom. 2. p. 27, 28. (43) Macrob. p. 17. (44) Idem, p. 556. (45) Idem, p. 601, 604, 736. (46) Idem, ſat. l. i. c. 2. p. 166. & l. vi. c. 7. p. 478.

proclaimed emperor of the weſt in his room [q]. This did not deter John, the deceaſed emperor's chief ſecretary, from aſſuming

Theodoſius cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor of the weſt. John, the deceaſed emperor's chief ſecretary, aſſumes the purple.

[q] Olymp. ibid. Socr. l. vii. c. 23. p. 363. Idat. chron.

Æneid he explained daily to the Roman youth. Maurus Servius Honoratus, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the Servius of Macrobius; but moſt authors are of opinion, that what has reached us is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, ſome take it to have been compiled from Servius, and ſeveral other antient critics. It is generally held in great eſteem, tho' not quite free from faults (47). In the fifth or ſixth century flouriſhed a grammarian, named Martianus Mineus Felix Capella, who publiſhed ſeveral philological pieces, partly in proſe, and partly in verſe, which are ſtill extant, and divided into ſeven books. He is ſaid in the manuſcript copies to have been honoured with the proconſular dignity. He was a native of Carthage; and truly his barbarous and uncouth ſtyle plainly ſhews, that he was no Roman. In his allegorical marriage of Mercury with the ſciences, there is a great deal of erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). Securus Melior Felix, who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and taught rhetoric at Clermont in Auvergne, was at the trouble of correcting, in 534, one of the copies of Capella's works. Felix is ſtyled in that manuſcript V. SP. Com. Conſiſt. that is, Vir ſpectablis, comes conſiſtorianus, a man of rank, and one of the conſiſtorial or the emperor's counſellors (49). Capella was greatly eſteemed in France about the end of the ſixth century, as appears from Gregory of Tours (50). Soſipater Chariſius, who publiſhed five books of obſervations on the grammar, ſtill extant, flouriſhed, according to Baillet, in the time of Honorius, and before him a grammarian named Diomedes, whoſe works have likewiſe reached our times; but ſtrangely mangled by Johannes Cæſarius, who publiſhed them, with many obſervations of his own. Chariſius is quoted by Priſcian, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the ſame time, Fabius Fulgentius Planciades publiſhed an explication of ſome words, addreſſed to one Calcidius, another grammarian. He is ſtyled, and indeed deſervedly, both by Voſſius (52) and Baillet (53), one of the moſt ignorant, impertinent, and trifling authors that ever wrote. He aſcribes to Tacitus, and other writers, works never before heard of.

(47) Vide Baill. tom. 2 p. 29—32. (48) Idem, p. 34, 35. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii. p. 712, 713. (49) Wilt. p. 4. (50) Vide Voſſ. p. 713, 714. (51) Vide Baill. tom. 3. p. 36—40. (52) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c 30. p. 159. (53) Baill. p. 38, 39.

aſſuming the purple in Rome, being, no doubt, encouraged in his uſurpation by Caſtinus, then commander in chief of all the troops in the weſt; for he was afterwards diſgraced and baniſhed, as one of the uſurper's chief friends and abetters. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in Rome and Italy, but likewiſe in Gaul and Dalmatia; which encouraged him to diſpatch embaſſadors to Theodoſius, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refuſing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his embaſſadors to be arreſted, and thrown into priſon, he began to prepare for war, and ſent the famous Aetius, with great ſums, to draw the Hunns over to his aſſiſtance. That celebrated commander, who governed the weſtern empire with an abſolute ſway during the reign of Valentinian III. was a native of Doroſterum in Mœſia, and the ſon of Gaudentius, who, tho' by birth a Scythian, was raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire, and married an Italian lady of great diſtinction, called by ſome Italica [r]. By her he had Aetius, who ſerved at firſt among the emperor's domeſtics, or the troops of his houſhold, and was given as an hoſtage to Alaric, after the battle of Pollentia in 403, and afterwards to the

 Hunns,

[r] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220.

of. Cave calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics ſpeak of him with the utmoſt contempt. In the reign of Theodoſius I. or his children, was publiſhed, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of Peutinger, which are a kind of itinerary made by ſome quarter-maſter, if we may ſo call him, for the uſe of thoſe who conducted the Roman troops from one place to another. The author ſeems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. Theſe tables belonged to one Conrad Peutinger in Augſbourg, and are thence called the tables of Peutinger; but they were publiſhed by Velſer, who had them engraved by John Moret of Antwerp. The reader will find them in the theatrum geographicum of Bretius, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1619, and among Velſer's works, publiſhed at Nuremberg in 1682. A civilian, by name Euſebius, deſcribed the war of Gainas in a poem, which he ſtyled Gainades; and the ſame ſubject was handled by another poet, named Ammonius, who read it to Theodoſius II. in 438. Both theſe poems were greatly eſteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. Voſſius ſuppoſes them to have been written in the Greek tongue, and ranks the authors among the Greek poets (56).

(54) Cave ſcript. eccleſ. p. 274. (55) Socr. p. 309.
(56) Voſſ poet. Græc. c 9 p. 77, 78.

Hunns, with whoſe chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the Hunns, he married the daughter of Carpilio, captain of the guards, and had by her two ſons, Gaudentius, who, after the death of Valentinian, was taken by Genſeric, and Carpilio, whom Valentinian ſent with the character of embaſſador to Attila[s]. Aetius was a perſon of a majeſtic mien, of a tall ſtature, and a robuſt conſtitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the greateſt fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no leſs commended by the antients on account of his prudence, addreſs, and penetration in ſtate affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was ſuch a lover of juſtice, that no recommendations, however preſſing, were capable of making him ſwerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by Frigeridus, a writer who flouriſhed in his time, as quoted by Gregory of Tours[t]. Procopius writes, that Aetius and Bonifacius, who defended, as we have obſerved above, Marſeilles, when attacked by Ataulphus, were the two greateſt commanders in the whole empire, and that they deſerved to be called the laſt Romans[u]. John, upon his uſurping the empire, committed to Aetius the care of his palace, and then ſent him to engage the Hunns in his cauſe, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of Theodoſius, if they entered Italy, while he himſelf charged them in front[w]. On the ſecond of January of the preſent year, Eudocia was declared Auguſta[x].

Aetius his character.

He ſides with the uſurper.

THE next conſuls were Caſtinus and Victor. The former was general of the troops in the weſt. Of the latter we find no farther mention in hiſtory. In an antient inſcription, John the uſurper is ſtyled conſul, he being probably acknowledged in the weſt, and not Victor, whom we may ſuppoſe to have belonged to the eaſtern empire[y]. This year, Theodoſius, having drawn together all the forces of the eaſtern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of Dalmatia, under the conduct of Ardaburius, his ſon Aſpar, and Candidianus. With them he ſent Placidia and her ſon Valentinian, allowing the former to reſume the title and enſigns of Auguſta, which had been given her by her brother Honorius, but ſhe had quitted upon her entering the dominions

[s] Caſſiod. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. Priſ. leg. p. 53. Sidon. p. 169. Oroſ. p. 305. [t] Greg. Tur. p. 50. [u] Procop. bell. Vand l. i. c. 3. p 183. [w] Olymp. p. 96. Proſp. chron. [x] Chron. Alex. p. 726. [y] Sidon. p. 137.

nions of Theodoſius; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the nobiliſſimi; which title had ſome time ſince been given to the ſons of emperors before they were created Cæſars. This was renouncing all pretenſions to the empire of the weſt, and tacitly yielding it to Placidia, and Valentinian. Before they left Conſtantinople, Theodoſius bethrothed his daughter Licinia Eudoxia, born in 422, to young Valentinian, born on the ſecond or third of July in 419. When this ceremony was over, Placidia ſet out from Conſtantinople, with her ſon, who upon his arrival at Theſſalonica, received the enſigns peculiar to the Cæſar, at the hands of Helio, magiſter officiorum to Theodoſius, by whom he had been ſent thither for that purpoſe [z]. The following year, Theodoſius being conſul, the eleventh time, with Valentinian, the army of Theodoſius, having croſſed Pannonia and Illyricum, appeared unexpectedly before Salonæ, which was taken by ſtorm. There it was agreed among the generals, that Aſpar ſhould lead the cavalry, with Placidia and Valentinian, by land to Aquileia, while the foot, under the command of his father Ardaburius, was conveyed thither by ſea. This ſcheme was ſo well executed on the ſide of Aſpar, that arriving at Aquileia, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his march, he entered the place without oppoſition; but the fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, Ardaburius was driven aſhore, and taken by the uſurper's ſoldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at Ravenna, by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmoſt civility, the uſurper hoping by his means to prevail upon Theodoſius, with whom Ardaburius bore a great ſway, to acknowledge him for his collegue. As he was allowed to converſe with whom he pleaſed, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately acquainting his ſon Aſpar with the ſecurity in which the tyrant lived, adviſed him to advance ſpeedily with his beſt troops to Ravenna. Aſpar immediately ſet out from Aquileia with the cavalry; and being conducted through the marſhes which ſurrounded Ravenna on the land-ſide by a ſhepherd, whom Socrates ſuppoſes to have been an angel, he entered the city, finding the gates open and unguarded, and with the aſſiſtance of the officers gained over by his father, ſecured the tyrant before he had time to make his eſcape, and ſent him in chains to Placidia and Valentinian, then at

Theodoſius grants to Placidia the title of Auguſta, and to Valentinian that of Cæſar.

Aſpar takes Aquileia from the uſurper.

[z] Olymp. p. 169. Proſp, chron. Philoſt. p. 573. Greg. Tur. p. 57.

He ſurpriſes Ravenna, and takes the uſurper, who is put to death.

Aquileia, who ordered firſt his right-hand, and then his head, to be cut off [a]. Proeopius writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was by way of deriſion, carried about the ſtreets on an aſs, expoſed to the outrages and inſults of the incenſed multitude [b]. Thus ended the uſurpation of John, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and ſix months, according to Philoſtorgius [c]. Three days after his death, Aetius entered Italy, with an army of ſixty thouſand Hunns, who being met by Aſpar, a bloody battle was fought, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but, in the mean time, Aetius informed of the death of the uſurper, thought it adviſable to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf. Accordingly, Placidia promiſing not only to receive him into favour, but to diſtinguiſh him with the title of count, he ſubmitted, and prevailed upon the Hunns to return into their own country [d]. Caſtinus, who was ſuppoſed to have favoured the uſurpation of John, was ſent into exile [e]. When news of the captivity and death of the uſurper was brought to Conſtantinople, Theodoſius declared his couſin, young Valentinian, emperor, and Placidia regent of the empire during her ſon's minority. He intended to have taken a progreſs into Italy, in order to inveſt him there with the ſovereignty, and with that deſign advanced as far as Theſſalonica; but was ſeized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to Conſtantinople, whence he diſpatched Helio to Rome, where Valentinian then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of October of the preſent year 425 [f]. The ſame year, the Vandals, who had ſettled in Spain, ravaged the Balearic iſlands; and the Goths, to whom ſettlements had been allotted in Gaul, ſeized on ſome of the neighbouring cities, and even laid ſiege to Arles, which however they were forced to raiſe at the approach of Aetius, who was ſent againſt them with a conſiderable army [g]. In the eaſt, Thrace was laid waſte by the Hunns, probably the ſame who came to the aſſiſtance of the uſurper John, and even threatened Conſtantinople with a ſiege, but their leader, by name Rougas, or Roilas, being killed with lightning, and a great number of them being daily ſwept away by a plague, which

Aetius ſubmits and is received into favour.

Valentinian III. declared emperor of the weſt, and his mother Placidia regent.

Thrace ravaged by the Hunns.

[a] Socr. p. 363. Philoſtorg. p. 538. Olymp. ibid. p. 197. [b] Procop bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 181. [c] Philoſt. ibid. [d] Idem ibid Caſſiod. chron. [e] Proſ. chron. [f] Socr. l. vii. c. 24. p. 364. Olymp. ibid. Idat. chron. [g] Sidon. p. 22. Idat. chron.

which broke out in the army, the reſt withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the Romans, ſay Socrates, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently eſpouſed the cauſe of Theodoſius [h]. The following year 426, when Theodoſius was conſul the twelfth time, and Valentinian the ſecond, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next conſuls Hierius and Ardaburius the Goths, who had held Pannonia ever ſince the year 377, when they firſt entered that province, were by Theodoſius transferred from thence into Thrace, where they continued for the ſpace of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themſelves maſters of Italy, under the conduct of Theodoric [i]. This gives us room to believe, that Theodoſius, in yielding the weſtern empire to Valentinian, retained Pannonia, which compriſed that part of the preſent Auſtria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman ſide of the Danube, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the weſt. Great diſturbances happened this year in Africa, which were attended with the loſs of that province. The celebrated count Bonifacius, who is ſtyled by St. Auſtin the joy of the church, the bulwark of Africa, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by Honorius, for his gallant behaviour at Marſeilles, with the command of the troops in Africa; which province he defended with great bravery againſt the repeated attempts of John, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. Placidia, highly pleaſed with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, preferred him to the poſt of comes domeſticorum, and ſent him back into Africa with an unlimited power. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to his rivals at court, eſpecially to Felix, commander in chief of the Roman forces, and to Aetius, who, after his departure, perſuaded Placidia, that he had preſerved Africa for himſelf, and only waited an opportunity of eſtabliſhing there an independent ſovereignty. Aetius added, that the empreſs might, when ſhe pleaſed, oblige him to pull off the maſk, by recalling him from his government; for he was very ſure Bonifacius would diſobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princeſs immediately ordered Bonifacius to repair to Rome; but Aetius having written to him before, that the empreſs ſought his ruin, and in order to compaſs it, would ſoon recall him, adviſing him at the ſame time, with great proteſtations of friendſhip, to conſult

The Goths removed from Pannonia into Thrace.

Bonifacius in great favour with Placidia.

He is forced by the treachery of Aetius and Felix, to revolt.

[h] Socr. p. 387. [i] Theop. p. 81. Marc chron.

ſult his own ſafety, he, upon the receipt of Placidia's letter, concluded Aetius to be his true friend, and following his advice, he refuſed to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon Placidia, no longer queſtioning the truth of Aetius's information, declared Bonifacius a public enemy, and diſpatched a ſtrong body of troops againſt him, under the command of Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinex, who beſieged Bonifacius, in what place we are nowhere told, and kept him ſhut up, till quarrelling among themſelves, Mavortius and Galbio were killed by the treachery of Sinex, and he in a ſally by Bonifacius, who gained a complete victory, without the loſs of one man. Placidia, being reſolved, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of her three generals, to purſue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to to Sigiſvult, by nation, a Goth, who, without loſs of time, paſſing over into Africa, with a great number of his countrymen, made himſelf maſter of Carthage and Hippo. Bonifacius, finding the empreſs obſtinately bent upon his ruin, and himſelf not in a condition to contend with the whole ſtrength of the empire, had recourſe to the Vandals, who, ever ſince the defeat of Caſtinus in 422, had peaceably enjoyed the province of Bœtica or Andaluſia, and were at this time governed by Genſeric, brother to the late king Gonderic. Genſeric was according to Jornandes [k] and Procopius [l], of a low ſtature, and lame by a fall from his horſe: he thought much, and ſpoke little; was an enemy to pleaſure and debauchery; had a wonderful addreſs in gaining the affection of the people, and ſowing diſſenſions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no leſs ambitious and paſſionate; well ſkilled in the art of war, and long enured to the hardſhips and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he firſt profeſſed, to embrace the doctrine of Arius, which prevailed among his countrymen the Vandals [m]. His brother Gonderic left ſeveral ſons behind him; but he cauſed them all to be put to death, together with their mother [n]. With this barbarian Boniſacius, whoſe piety had been formerly ſo much extolled by St. Auſtin [o], was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their aſſiſting him, Africa ſhould be divided between, Gonderic, ſays Procopius falſly, ſuppoſing

Defeats the troops ſent againſt him.

Another army ſent to reduce him.

He returns to Genſeric king of the Vandals.

[k] Jorn. c. 33. p. 657. [l] Procop. p. 184. [m] Idat. p 17. [n] Malel. hiſt. chron. [o] Aug. ep. 70. p. 126.

ſuppoſing him ſtill alive, Genſeric and himſelf [p]. The treaty being agreed to, Genſeric, having aſſembled a great number of veſſels, ordered all his Vandals, women and children as well as men, to embarque; and abandoning Spain in the month of May of the year 528, while Felix and Taurus were conſuls, croſſed the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa [q]. The Romans took poſſeſſion anew of the provinces which the Vandals had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the Suevians, as the Suevians were in their turn by the Goths, who by that means, came to ſettle in that part of Spain [r]. The ſame year, Aetius was ſent into Gaul, to make war upon the Francs, whom he defeated with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to abandon the country on the Roman ſide of the Rhine, in which they had been allowed by Honorius to ſettle, and to retire, with their families beyond the river [s]. What gave occaſion to this war, we are no-where told. The Francs were governed at this time by Clodius, as Proſper Tyro ſtyles him [t], or Clodion, as he is called by Gregory of Tours and the modern writers [u]. He is ſuppoſed, to have been the ſon, as well as the ſucceſſor, of Faramond. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except the publiſhing of a law, by which all brothels were ſuppreſſed in Conſtantinople [w]. Florentius and Dionyſius, conſuls for the year 429, were ſucceeded by Theodoſius and Valentinian, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time conſul. During the conſulſhip of the two princes, Aetius was raiſed to the chief command of all the troops of the weſtern empire, in the room of Felix, who was at the ſame time created a patrician; but ſoon after killed in Ravenna by the mutinous ſoldiery, ſtirred up againſt him by Aetius, jealous of his great credit at court. The ſame year Aetius gained conſiderable advantages over the Juthongi, whoſe country bordered on Rhœtia; over the inhabitants of Noricum, who had revolted; and over the Goths in Gaul, attempting to raiſe new diſturbances in that province [x]. The following year, when Baſſus and Antiochus were conſuls, Aetius entirely reduced the Norici, and likewiſe the Vindelici, who had joined

Who paſſes over into Africa.

The Franks driven out of Gaul by Aetius.

Who is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the weſtern empire.

[p] Procop. p. 45. [q] Proſp. chron. Idat. p. 18. Vict. Vit. de perfec. Vandal. p. 3. [r] Procop. p. 19. Idat. ibid. [s] Caſſiod. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [t] Tyr. Proſp. [u] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii c. 9. p. 64. [w] Cod Theod. l. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. p. 38. [x] Idat. Sidon. car. vii. p. 338. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660.

joined the former in the revolt. From Noricum, he paſſed into Gaul, to awe the Francs, who were ſaid to be in arms [y]. This year Placidia diſcovered at length the true cauſe of the revolt of Bonifacius. Some of that general's friends, greatly ſurpriſed at his entering all on a ſudden into an alliance with the enemies of the empires, after having defended it againſt the barbarians with ſo much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empreſs to paſs over into Africa, in order to confer with him in perſon, and hear what he could alledge in his own defence. Bonifacius was overjoyed to ſee them, and produced, upon their charging him with treaſon and rebellion, the letter which Aetius had written to him, proteſting, that nothing but his own ſafety and preſervation could have induced him to turn his arms againſt his prince and country. With this letter they returned to Placidia, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of Aetius; but not thinking it adviſeable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in Gaul, ſhe concealed her indignation for the preſent, and contented herſelf with expreſſing, in a letter to Bonifacius, her ſincere deteſtation of the injury that had been done him; withal aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and conſulting, with his uſual zeal, the ſafety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own ſafety, he had called in. This Bonifacius readily undertook, offering them immenſe ſums provided they quitted Africa, and returned to Spain; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, viz. Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha, Genſeric firſt returned him a ſcoffing anſwer; and then falling upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged Bonifacius himſelf to fly to Hippo: which place the barbarians immediately inveſted but were obliged the following year, for want of proviſions, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had continued for the ſpace of fourteen months, Genſeric atacking the town almoſt daily with incredible fury, and Bonifacius defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity [z]. In the caſt was held this year an œcumenic council at Epheſus, in which the doctrine of Neſtorius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, aſſerting not only two natures in Chriſt, but two perſons, was condemned, and he depoſed on the twenty-ſecond of June, the ſentence of his depoſition being ſigned by above two hundred biſhops. The next year, Aetius was raiſed to the conſulſhip

Placidia acquainted with the true cauſe of the revolt of Bonifacius.

He endeavours to perſuade the Vandals to retire from Africa.

Moſt of Bonifacius's men cut in pieces by Genſeric.

[y] Idat. p. 19. [z] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p 185.

ſulſhip, Placidia ſtill pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards Bonifacius. He had for his collegue Valerius, the preceding year prefect of Conſtantinople. This year Bonifacius, reinforced with powerful ſuccours ſent both by Placidia and Theodoſius, offered battle to the Vandals; who readily accepted it, cut moſt of his men in pieces, took an incredible number of priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves among the rocks and mountains. Among the priſoners was Marcianus, who afterwards attained to the empire. Aſpar, who commanded on this occaſion the eaſtern tooops, with much-ado eſcaped into Africa, and returned to Conſtantinople, as did Bonifacius to Italy, being invited thither by Placidia. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all Africa, committing everywhere dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties; which ſtruck the inhabitants of Hippo with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their city, which was firſt pillaged, and then ſet on fire, by the victorious enemy [a]. St. Auſtin, biſhop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the ſiege. Carthage and Cirtha were now the only places in all Africa held by the Romans. Boniſacius, upon his arrival at Ravenna, was received with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem by Placidia, and raiſed to the chief command of the army, in the room of Aetius; who, finding his treachery diſcovered, and dreading the power of Bonifacius, aſſembled the forces under his command, in order to deſtroy his rival. Bonifacius, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of choſen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle enſuing, Bonifacius received a wound, of which he died three months after [b]. Thus Marcellinus, who did not, it ſeems, think it neceſſary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which ſide carried the day. The ſame writer adds, that Bonifacius on his death-bed exhorted his wife Pelagia to marry no man but Aetius, if his wife ſhould die before him. Aetius, dreading the reſentment of Placidia, withdrew to the court of Rugula, or Rouas, king of the Hunns, whence he returned ſoon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but the empreſs promiſing not only to pardon him, but reſtore him to his former poſt, he diſmiſſed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raiſed to the rank of a patrician [c]. The following year, Theodoſius being conſul the fourteenth time,

Bonifacius and Aſpar defeated by Genſeric.

Who overruns all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius and Aetius, in which the former was killed.

[a] Idem ibid. Proſp. chron. [b] Marc. chron. [c] Proſp. Idat. chron.

time, with Petronius Maximus, a dreadful fire broke out at Conſtantinople, which laſted three days, and conſumed all the public granaries, with many other ſtately edifices, and great part of the city [d]. In the following conſulſhip of Aſpar and Areobindus, Honoria, ſiſter to the emperor Valentinian, having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one of her domeſtics, named Eugenius, was baniſhed the court, being then ſixteen years old, and ſent to Conſtantinople, her mother Placidia having diſcovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with Attila, who had ſucceeded Rouas king of the Hunns; that ſhe had even ſent him a ring, and was daily preſſing him to enter Italy at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435, Theodoſius being conſul the fifteenth time, and Valentinian the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the Vandals in Africa, to whom the Romans yielded great part of Numidia, all the province Proconſularis, and likewiſe Bizacene. This treaty was ſigned at Hippo, on the eleventh of February, by Genſeric, and by Trigetius, who had ſucceeded Bonifacius in Africa. The king of the Vandals delivered up to the Romans his ſon Huneric by way of hoſtage [e]. The ſame year, Aetius gained a great victory over the Burgundians, who, having been allowed in 413, to ſettle in that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine, had revolted from the Romans, and plundered Belgic Gaul. Gondicarius, their king, was obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon him and his people [f]. But Gondicarius did not long enjoy the peace which Aetius had granted him, being ſoon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when Anthemius Iſidorus and Senator were conſuls, attacked by the Hunns, and cut off, with twenty thouſand of his men [g]. Socrates writes, that of the unhappy Burgundians three thouſand only were left alive, who, having embraced the chriſtian religion, and received the ſacrament of baptiſm, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thouſand, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight [h]. Thus Socrates. But Oroſius aſſures us, that the Burgundians had embraced the

Honoria, ſiſter to Valentinian, privately correſponds with Attila.

The Romans yield great part of Africa to the Vandals.

20,000 Burgundians cut off by the Hunns.

[d] Socr. l. vii. c. 39 p. 385. [e] Proſp. chron Proſp. p. 386.
[f] Idat. p. 21. Sid. car. vii. p. 338. [g] Idat. p. 25. Valeſ. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136—138. [h] Socr. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372.

the chriſtian religion, before the year 417 [i]. The Goths, who had been allowed to ſettle in Aquitain, as we have obſerved above, and had Theodoric for their king, not ſatisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral neighbouring cities belonging to the Romans, and even laid ſiege to Narbonne; which, however, they were forced to raiſe, either this year 436 or the following, as Idatius will have it, count Litorius coming ſeaſonably to the relief of the place with a numerous body of Hunns, who, falling upon the Goths, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a very welcome ſupply, the inhabitants being by the long ſiege reduced to the utmoſt extremity [k]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, Theodoſius completed the ruin of idolatry in the eaſt, by a law enacted in 435, ordering all the temples, oratories, and places conſecrated to the worſhip of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his ſubjects, on pain of death, to practiſe any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be entirely demoliſhed, and the ſign of the chriſtian religion, no doubt the croſs, to be ſet up in the place where they ſtood [l]. Theodoſius paſſed part of the year 436, at Cyzicum. The following year 437, when Aetius was conſul the ſecond time, with Sigiſvultus, or Sigiſvult, the Romans, aſſiſted by the Hunns, purſued the war againſt the Goths in Gaul [m]; but with what ſucceſs we are no-where told. The Saxon pirates began this year to infeſt the coaſts of the Armorici [n]. Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodoſius by the empreſs Eudocia, had been betrothed to Valentinian in 424, as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity at Conſtantinople, on the twenty ninth of October, Valentinian being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at Theſſalonica; but Valentinian, out of complaiſance to the royal bride, proceeded to Conſtantinople; which city he entered on the twenty-firſt of October [o]. Theodoſius, in giving, or, as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to Valentinian, obliged the young prince to yield to him Weſt Illyricum, comprehending

The Goths beſiege Narbonne; but are obliged to drop the enterprize and retire.

Theodoſius's edict againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip.

Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodoſius, married to Valentinian III.

[i] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32 p. 305. [k] Idat. p. 21. Sid. car. vii. p. 346. [l] Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg 25. p 296. Theodor. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. [m] Proſp. Marc. chron. [n] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [o] Socr. l. vii. c. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570.

Who yields to Theodoſius Weſt Illyricum.

comprehending the Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dalmatia, and the two Noricums, viz. Mediterraneum and Ripenſe [p]. The two Pannonias compriſed that part of Auſtria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman ſide of the Danube; and the two Noricums the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh with Styria and Carinthia. As for Eaſt Illyricum, it had belonged to the emperors of Conſtantinople ever ſince the time of Gratian, who yielded it to Theodoſius the Great. Valentinian left Conſtantinople in the latter end of this year; and having ſpent the winter at Theſſalonica, returned early in the ſpring to Ravenna. He had by Eudoxia two daughters, viz. Eudocia and Placidia.

THE following year, Theodoſius being conſul the ſixteenth time, with Acilius Glabria Fauſtus, the Suevians, who had ſettled in Galicia in 409, under the conduct of their king Ermeric or Hermeric, came after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the antient inhabitants; [q] but the articles of that treaty have not been tranſmitted to us. The Romans ſtill purſued the war againſt the Goths in Gaul, of whom eight thouſand were this year cut in pieces by Aetius [r]. In the eaſt Juſtinian publiſhed, on the fifteenth of February of the preſent year 438, his famous code, that is, a collection of all the beſt and moſt uſeful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predeceſſors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was Antiochus, who had been conſul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the weſt; nay, it met with better ſucceſs there than in the eaſt, where it obtained only for the ſpace of about ninety years, that is to the reign of Juſtinian, who abrogated this, and publiſhed a new code: but in the weſt it was received by Theodoric, and the Oſtrogoths, who made themſelves maſters of Italy about the end of the fifth century, and likewiſe by Alaric, king of the Viſigoths or Weſtrogoths, in Languedoc and Spain. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by Theodoſius, and ſome other princes, were called Novellæ. Theodoſius, in publiſhing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince ſhould be of no force in the dominions of the other, unleſs confirmed and ſigned by him [s]. In the following conſulſhip

8000 Goths cut in pieces by Aetius in Gaul.

The Juſtinian code publiſhed.

[p] Socr. ibid. Chron Alex. Jorn. de reg. ſuc. p. 92, 93. [q] Idat. p. 21, 22. [r] Proſ. chron. [s] Proſp. chron. Doviat. hiſt. jur civ. c. 1. Ritterſhuſ. in jur. Juſt. c. 3. Cod Theod nov. 1 p. 1.

ſulſhip of Theodoſius, the ſeventeenth time conſul, and of Feſtus, Litorius, after having gained great advantages over the Goths in Gaul, laid ſiege to Toulouſe, their capital. Theodoric, who was in the place, ſent ſeveral catholic biſhops to Litorius, with very reaſonable propoſals; nay, he offered in the end to ſubmit to what terms the Romans thought fit to impoſe upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his Goths their lives and liberty. But Litorius, confiding in the valour of his Huns, and deſirous of taking the Gothiſh king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no propoſals. Hereupon Theodoric, having firſt performed his devotions, and viſited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, ſallied out at the head of his Goths, and falling upon the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces; put the few who ſurvived the general ſlaughter to flight; and having ſurrounded Litorius, while he was attempting to make his eſcape, took him alive in ſpite of the vigorous and deſperate reſiſtance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back into that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. Theodoric cauſed him to be expoſed for ſome time to the inſults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public priſon, where he died ſoon after [t]. Litorius ſeems to have been a pagan; for he repoſed great confidence in the anſwers of the aruſpices [u]. He was, next to Aetius, the moſt powerful man, and the beſt general, in the weſtern empire [w]. After this victory, the Goths might have eaſily extended their conqueſts to the Rhine; but Theodoric, thinking he ought to uſe with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himſelf in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the propoſals of Avitus, prefect of Gaul, and this very year concluded a peace with the Romans upon very reaſonable terms [x]. Jornandes ſuppoſes this peace to have been made by Litorius, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained by the Goths; ſo little was that writer acquainted even with the hiſtory of his own nation. The Hunns, who ſerved under Litorius, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named Gauſeric, who, during this war, laid ſiege to the city of Bazas, belonging

Toulouſe beſieged by Litorius.

His men are cut in pieces by Theodoric and he himſelf taken priſoner.

Theodoric concludes a peace with the Romans.

[t] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 27. p 81. Salv. p. 164. Sid. car. vii. p. 340. Idat. p. 22. [u] Salvian. de gub. l vii. p. 164. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Proſp. Idat. chron. Sid. car, vii. p. 341.

ing to the Goths; but is ſaid to have been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprize and retire, as the reader will find related at length by Gregory of Tours [y].

Merida taken by the Suevians, and Carthage by the Vandals.

The ſame year Merida, then the metropolis of Luſitania, was taken by Richila, who the year before had ſucceeded his father Hermeric, king of the Suevians, in Galicia [z]. But the loſs of Carthage in Africa, ſurpriſed on the twenty-third of October of the preſent year by Genſeric, king of the Vandals, proved a more fatal blow to the weſtern empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the Romans for the ſpace of five hundred and eighty-five years, the Vandals remained maſters of the Proconſularis, of Byzacene, Getulia, and part of Numidia. However, Valentinian maintained ſo long as he lived, the two Mauritanias, viz. Cæſarienſis and Sitifenſis, with Tripolitana, Tingitana, and that part of Numidia in which Cyrtha ſtood. In the eaſt, nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empreſs Eudocia undertook to Jeruſalem, in compliance with a vow ſhe had made to viſit the holy places there [z]. She paſſed through Antioch, where, in the preſence of the ſenate and people, ſhe pronounced a ſpeech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious ſtones [a]. At her departure, ſhe preſented the magiſtrates with a very conſiderable ſum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindneſs ſhe had ſhewed them by erecting two ſtatues to her honour, placing the one, which was of braſs, in the muſeum; and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the ſenate [b]. At Jeruſalem ſhe preſented Juvenal, biſhop of the place, with great ſums, to be diſtributed among the poor, and with a croſs of gold, adorned with precious ſtones, to be ſet up on mount Calvary; for which the biſhop is ſaid to have preſented her in his turn with the right hand of St. Stephen, the protomartyr [c]. The following year, when Valentinian was conſul, the fifth time, with Anatolius, Genſeric made a deſcent upon Sicily in the month of June; and meeting with little or no reſiſtance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid ſiege to Palermo: but not being able to reduce the place, he

Sicily ravaged by Genſeric.

[y] Greg. Tur. de glor. martyr. l i. c. 13. p. 31-34. [z] Idat. p 22. [z] Socr. l. vii. c 47. p. 390. [a] Evagr l. i. c. 20. p. 277. [b] Idem ibid. Chron. Al. p. 731. [c] Cedren. p. 337. Theoph. p. 74. Marc. chron.

he returned to Africa with an immenſe booty [d]. The ſame year, count Cenſorius, who had been ſent by Valentinian to negotiate a peace between the Suevians in Galicia and the natives of that country, was beſieged by Rechila in Merſola on the Guadiana, where he reſided, and upon the reduction of the place, taken priſoner [e]. About the ſame time, Aetius, removing the Burgundians from the banks of the Rhine, allotted them ſettlements in the preſent duchy of Savoy, and rewarded a body of Alans, who had ſerved the Romans with great fidelity under the conduct of their king Eocaric or Eocric, with lands on the Loire [f]. Theſe Alans are ſuppoſed to have ſett led afterwards with the Britons in Armorica [g]. Bucherius takes Sangiban, king of the Alans, mentioned by Jornandes, to have been the ſucceſſor of Eocaric [h]. As Salvianus wrote at this time his treatiſe on judgments, we ſhall tranſcribe out of that piece a paſſage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the ſeveral barbarous nations then infeſting the empire. The Goths, ſays that writer, are treacherous, but chaſte: the Alans are not ſo chaſte, but leſs treacherous, the Franks are liars, but kind to ſtrangers: the Saxons are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaſte. But tho' the Saxons are cruel, continues Salvianus, the Gepidæ are void of humanity, the Hunns lewd and deceitful, the Alemans drunkards, the Alans lover of plunder, and the Franks deceitful and perfidious to ſuch a degree as to look upon falſe oaths as ornaments of ſpeech; yet theſe vices are not ſo criminal in the barbarians as in the Romans, who are inſtructed in the morals of the chriſtian religion [i]. The ſame writer obſerves elſewhere [k], that tho' the Goths would not ſuffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up thoſe infamous places for the ſake of the Romans, who lived among them, and claimed the ſcandalous privilege of frequenting them without reſtraint. In the eaſt, Paulinus, the empreſs Eudocia's chief favourite, who by her intereſt had been raiſed in 430, to the high poſt of magiſter officiorum, was this year put to death by the emperor's orders at Cæſarea in Cappadocia [l]. And this is all we find in the antient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern Greeks aſcribe his death to the jealouſy of Theodoſius; and tell us, that the emperor

The Burgundians removed by Aetius to the preſent duchy of Savoy.

Paulinus put to death by the emperor's orders.

The cauſe of his diſgrace, as related by the more modern writers.

[d] Proſp. Idat. & Chron. Al. p. 730. [e] Idat. 21, 23. [f] Proſp. chron. Valeſ. rer Franc. p. 173. Jorn. rer. Goth. c 37. p. 665. [g] Val. ibid. [h] Buch. Belg. p. 492. [i] Sal. de jud. l. v. p. 107. [k] Idem, l. vii. p. 160. [l] Marc. chron.

emperor being preſented on the ſixth of January with an apple of an uncommon ſize, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately ſent it, as a rarity, to Eudocia, and ſhe to Paulinus, in whoſe converſation ſhe took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empreſs herſelf well verſed in all the branches of literature. Paulinus, not knowing by whom it had been ſent to the empreſs, thought it a proper preſent for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raiſed ſome jealouſy in Theodoſius, who thereupon diſmiſſed Paulinus; and ſending for Eudocia, asked her what was become of the apple. The empreſs, not caring to own ſhe had given it to Paulinus, anſwered, ſhe had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, producing it, commanded Paulinus to be immediately executed, and from that time ſhewed himſelf ſo indifferent towards the empreſs, that ſhe begged leave ſoon after to return to Jeruſalem, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus Conſtantine Manaſſes, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Glycas and Codinus [m]. That Eudocia retired about this time to Jeruſalem is very certain; and likewiſe, that there was a miſunderſtanding between her and the emperor, who cauſed a prieſt, by name Severus, and a deacon, named John, whom Eudocia had carried with her from Conſtantinople to Jeruſalem, to be murdered, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the empreſs lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich preſents. This giving, either jealouſy to the prince, or occaſion to ſcandalous reflections, Theodoſius diſpatched Saturnius, his comes domeſticorum, to Jeruſalem, with private orders to diſpatch the two favourite eccleſiaſtics. Eudocia was ſo affected with their death, that not miſtreſs of her temper, ſhe cauſed, in her turn, Saturnius to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her ſervice, and return to Conſtantinople; which was reducing her to the condition of a private perſon. Thus ſhe lived at Jeruſalem to her death, which happened in 460. She is ſaid to have ſolemnly declared on her death-bed, that ſhe was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which Theodoſius had ſuſpected her and Paulinus [n]. As ſhe was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which the emperor left untouched, ſhe built at Jeruſalem a great number of churches, monaſteries, and hoſpitals,

Miſunderſtanding between the emperor and his wife Eudocia who retires to Jeruſalem.

Where ſhe died.

[m] Manaſſ. p. 55. Zonar. tom. p. 37. Niceph. l xiv. c. 23. p. 485 Glyc. p. 261. Codin. orig. Conſtantinop p. 56. [n] Evag. l. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. Cedr. p. 343. Theoph. p. 83.

hoſpitals, adorned the city with many ſtately edifices, and, at a vaſt expence, repaired the walls, which in moſt places were entirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. Stephen, which ſhe had built in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem [o]. Her piety is greatly extolled by moſt writers, eſpecially by Caſſiodorus, who ſtyles her of all women the moſt pious, the moſt religious [p]. The following year, Cyrus alone was conſul: he excelled in polite learning, eſpecially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of Eudocia, who took great delight in verſes, he had been raiſed by her intereſt to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he entered the circus this year with the conſular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with ſuch acclamations, that the emperor, who was preſent, cauſed him out of jealouſy, a few days after, to be ſtripped of all his employments, and his eſtate to be confiſcated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganiſm, and that he aſpired at the empire. Hereupon Cyrus fled for refuge to a church, and cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt. The emperor reſpecting his new character, granted him his life, and ſoon after ſuffered him to be ordained biſhop, and to be raiſed to the ſee of Cotyea in Phrygia [q]. As Genſeric, king of the Vandals, was now become very formidable, Theodoſius reſolved in the end to aſſiſt Valentinian, his couſin and ſon-in-law, againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of eleven hundred large ſhips, and putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of Arcovindas, Anſilus, and Germanus, he ordered them to land in Africa, and joining the weſtern forces there, to drive Genſeric out of the countries he had uſurped. They ſteered their courſe to Sicily, in order to paſs more eaſily from thence over into Africa. But in the mean time, Genſeric having ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Theodoſius, and pretending to be deſirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the Roman generals waited on the coaſt of Sicily the reſult of the negotiations, which Genſeric craftily ſpun out till the ſeaſon proper for action was over [r]. While his embaſſadors were ſtill at Conſtantinople, the Perſians, in open breach of the treaty made between the two empires

The conſul Cyrus ſtripped of his conſular ornaments by the emperor.

Theodoſius ſends a powerful fleet and army againſt Genſeric.

But he is obliged to recall them; and Valentinian, to conclude a peace with Genſeric.

[o] Evagr. l. i. c. 22. p. 280. Ced. p. 337. Chron. Al. p. 732. Niceph. l xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559. [p] Caſſiod. pſ. 1 p. 174. [q] Zon. p. 35 Theoph. p. 83. Chron. Al. p. 736. [r] Theoph. p. 87. Chron. Al. p. 730.

in 422, entered the Roman territories in an hoſtile manner; which obliged Theodoſius to recal his forces, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genſeric, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in Africa, which he had ſeized, and we have mentioned above [s]. Anatolius and Aſpar were diſpatched againſt the Perſians, who finding the Romans, whom the expected to ſurpriſe, upon their guard, hearkened to an accommodation; ſo that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the Perſians nor the Romans ſhould for the future raiſe any new fortifications on the frontiers [t]. The ſame year, Arſaces, king of Armenia, dying, divided his kingdom between his two ſons Tigranes and Arſaces; but by his laſt will bequeathed the far greater part to Tigranes. Hereupon Arſaces had recourſe to Theodoſius, who threatening to make war upon Tigranes, terrified the young prince to ſuch a degree, that flying to the protection of the Perſian king, he yielded to him his ſhare, preferring the eaſe and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. Arſaces, on the other hand, dreading the power of the Perſians, put Theodoſius in poſſeſſion of his ſhare, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family ſhould enjoy for ever an entire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes [u]. Thus ended the kingdom of Armenia, after it had continued for many ages, and given occaſion to much bloodſhed and endleſs wars, waged by the Romans firſt with the Parthians, and afterwards with the Perſians. It began and ended in Arſaces. The ſhare of Tigranes belonging to the Perſians, was called Perſarmenia and Armenia Perſica [w]. The part of Arſaces held by the Romans was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of comes Armeniæ, or count of Armenia [x]. The ſame year, the Hunns, taking advantage of the wars, in which the Romans were engaged with the Vandals and Perſians, paſſed the Danube, and with a formidable army fell unexpectedly upon Thrace. They had invaded that province in 425, under the conduct of Rougas, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the ſame time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violonce, in his army, the barbarians repaſſed the Danube of their own accord, not caring, ſays Socrates [y], to engage in a war with the Romans, whoſe cauſe heaven had evidently eſpouſed. Rougas was ſucceeded

'The end of the antient kingd m of Armenia.

The Hunns invade Thrace.

[s] Idem. p. 88. [t] Agath. p. 237. Procop. bell. Perſ. p. 8.
[u] Procop. de ædif. l. iii. c. 1. p. 52, 53. [w] Procop. l. i. p. 29.
[x] Theodoret. p. 944. [y] Theod. p. 77. Procop. p. 29.

ſucceeded by Roas or Rouas in 434, who concluded a peace with the Romans, whereof one of the conditions was, that they ſhould pay him yearly a penſion of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the Hunns reſolving to drive out the Boſchi, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the Danube under the protection of the Romans, Rouas diſpatched one Eilas to the court of Conſtantinople, threatening to make war upon Theodoſius, if he lent them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon the two generals, Plintha and Dionyſius, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the Hunns, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken. But in the mean time, Rouas dying, and his nephew, the famous Attila, of whom we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the Hunns, ſucceeding him, the embaſſadors were ordered to treat with him and his brother Bleda, his partner in the ſovereignty. But in the room of Dionyſius, who could not agree with Plintha, was ſent the queſtor Epigenes, a man of great experience in negotiations. The embaſſadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Mœſia, at a place where the Margus or Margis falls into that river. The Romans were obliged to confer with them on horſeback, the Hunns refuſing to diſmount. The peace was confirmed, but upon ſuch conditions as plainly betrayed the weakneſs and deplorable condition of the empire. Theſe were, 1. That the Romans ſhould deliver up to Attila and Bleda ſuch Hunns as had taken, or ſhould for the future take, refuge in the Roman dominions. 2. That the Roman priſoners, who ſhould make their eſcape from the Hunns, without paying their ranſom, ſhould in like manner be delivered up or eight pieces of gold paid for each of them. 3. That, inſtead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the Romans ſhould for the future pay annually ſeven hundred. 4. That the Romans ſhould not aſſiſt any nation whatſoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the Hunns. In compliance with this ſhameful treaty, the Romans immediately delivered up to Attila ſome princes of the royal blood of the Hunns, who were by his orders crucified like the meaneſt of ſlaves, in the ſight of the Romans, for no other crime but becauſe they had abandoned their own country to ſerve in their armies. Attila, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conqueſt he pleaſed, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknow-

Rouas, king of the Hunns, dies, and is ſucceeded by Attila.

The Romans conclude a peace with the Hunns upon moſt ſhameful conditions.

[See p. 35.]

ledged even by the ſeveral barbarous nations lying north of the Euxine ſea [z]. Having thus extended his dominions, he reſolved to take advantage of the wars in which Theodoſius was engaged this year with the Perſians and Vandals; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he paſſed the Danube at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering Thrace, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities and ſtrong holds, and, among the reſt, of Viminacium, a place of great importance on the Danube, and of Margum, which was betrayed to him by the biſhop of the place. Elated with this ſucceſs, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Theodoſius, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up forthwith all the Hunns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for ſome time, and to ſettle what ſhould be paid him for the future. Theodoſius could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon thoſe, who, after the declaration of war, had forſaken Attila, and come over to him. Whereupon Attila began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. He took by ſtorm Retiarium on the Danube in upper Mœſia, Singidunum, Naiſſus and Sirmium, formerly the capital of all Illyricum, with ſeveral other cities and ſtrong-holds, inſomuch, that Theodoſius, not thinking himſelf ſafe at Conſtantinople, retired the following year 442, when Eudoxius and Dioſcorus were conſuls, into Aſia [a]. As to the iſſue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between Attila and Theodoſius, who thereupon returned to Conſtantinople, and entered that city on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt [b]. From this time Attila continued quiet till the year 447, contenting himſelf with only threatening to make war upon the Romans, in order to draw from them corn, money, proviſions, and whatſoever elſe he ſtood in need of; for the Romans, trembling at the very name of Attila, complied with all his demands, however unreaſonable, and obeyed him, ſays Priſcus, like ſo many ſlaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms againſt them. The embaſſadors he ſent to Conſtantinople returned always loaded with preſents; inſomuch that, when he thought fit to reward any of

Attila, notwithſtanding the treaty, paſſes the Danube.

And makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities.

The Romans dread the name of Attila.

[z] Priſ. hiſt Goth. de legat. p. 45——48. [a] Idem, p. 34—5—. Chron. Al. p 730. Proſp. Marcel. chron. [b] Marc. Proſp. chron. Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 9. p. 898.

of his own people, he uſed to ſend them, under ſome pretence or other, with the character of embaſſadors to Theodoſius, who, to court the friendſhip of their maſter, never failed to load them with preſents to a great value. Thus were the ſubjects of the empire impoveriſhed to enrich the barbarians, their ſworn enemies [c]. Attila, finding himſelf thus become the terror of the Romans, is ſaid to have ſent, out of mere wantonneſs, two Goths, with the character of embaſſadors, the one to Theodoſius, and the other to Valentinian, whom, by his orders, they addreſſed thus; Attila, my maſter and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception [d]. During theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, the Suevians made great progreſs in Spain, where they took the city of Seville, and reduced all Bœtica with the province of Carthagena [e]. His haughty behaviour and arrogance.

THE following year, Maximus being conſul, the ſecond time, with Paterius, Theodoſius, leaving Conſtantinople, viſited the province of Pontus, where he cauſed the public edifices and walls of Heraclea to be repaired [f]. As he was one day, during this progreſs, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, duſt, and thirſt, an officer of his guards preſented him with a beautiful cup full of freſh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a moſt obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refreſh himſelf, when it was not in his power to refreſh thoſe who attended him [g]. In 444, when Theodoſius was conſul, the eighteenth time, with Albinus, died Arcadia, the ſiſter of Theodoſius [h]. The ſame year the eunuch Antiochus, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abuſing his authority to the oppreſſion of the people, was by Theodoſius degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monaſtery of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, ſtripped of the great wealth he had amaſſed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed [i]. Theophanes writes, that Theodoſius made him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his diſgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician [k]. The following year, when Valentinian was conſul, the ſixth year, with Nomus, nothing remarkable happened in the

Arcadia dies.

The eunuch Antiochus diſgraced.

[c] Priſc. p. 36, 37. [d] Chron. Al. [e] Idat. p. 23. [f] Parc. p. 315. Cod. Theod nov. tit 30. p. 13. [g] Paſc. p. 390. [h] Marc. chron. [i] Zonar. tom. iii. p. 34. Theoph. p. 83. [k] Cod. p. 48.

The Romans defeated by the Suevians in Spain.

the eaſt; but in the weſt, Vitus being ſent with a conſiderable army into Spain, to ſupport the Romans, that is, the natives, againſt the Suevians, moſt of his men were cut off by Rechila, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of thoſe barbarians [l]. The next year, Aetius being conſul the third time with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the Britons, no longer able to withſtand the Scots and Picts, had recourſe to Aetius, who governed the weſtern empire almoſt with an abſolute ſway. To move him to compaſſion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, The groans of the Britons to the conſul Aetius; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance [m]. The learned Uſher thinks, that Valentinian was then under apprehenſion of a war with Attila [n]. The venerable Bede ſuppoſes the Hunns to have already broken into the weſtern empire [o]; but he was therein certainly miſtaken. In the eaſt a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when Ardaburius and Alypius were conſuls, and violent earthquakes were felt in moſt provinces, which overturned ſeveral cities, and great part of the new walls of Conſtantinople, with fifty-ſeven towers, and many ſtately edifices, not only in that city, but likewiſe at Antioch and Alexandria [p]. The ſame year, 447, Attila, upon what provocation we know not, (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjuſt and arrogant) broke into Thrace with a formidable army, conſiſting of Hunns, Goths, Gepidæ, Alans, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their reſpective kings. Attila, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous hoſt, over-ran without oppoſition Illyricum, Thrace, both Dacia's, Mœſia, and Scythia. He took and plundered above ſeventy cities, and, among the reſt, Philippopolis in Thrace, properly ſo called, Arcadiopolis in the province of Europe, and Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Mœſia. They extended their ravages on one ſide to the Euxine ſea, and on the other to the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, which part Theſſaly from Achaia or Greece. In the mean time, Arnegiſelus, governor of Mœſia and Thrace, having drawn together all the troops quartered in thoſe two provinces, marched againſt Attila; And engaging him

The Britons recur in vain to Aetius.

Attila breaks anew into the empire at the head of a formidable army.

He over-runs ſeveral provinces.

[l] Sid. car. v. p. 315. Idat. p 24. [m] Gild. excid. Britan. c 6. p. 118. [n] Uſſer. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 1204. [o] Bed. hiſt. c. 13. p. 156. [p] Chron. Al. p. 734. Evagr l. i. c. 17. p. 275. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 48 p. 543.

him in Lower Mœſia, on the banks of the river Utis, which falls into the Danube near a city of the ſame name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horſe, he was himſelf killed, after having ſold his life dear, and his army put to the rout [q]. Another battle was fought in the Cherſoneſus near Gallipoli, probably by the generals Aſpar and Arcobindus, who were both ſent againſt Attila [r]. But no better ſucceſs attended the Romans in this than in the other engagement; ſo that Theodoſius was obliged the following year 448, when Zeno and Poſthumianus were conſuls, to ſend Anatolius, with one Vigilius, who underſtood the language of the Hunns, to Attila to ſue for peace, which he was ſtrictly enjoined to conclude upon any terms. A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the Roman name, viz. 1. That the Romans ſhould pay immediately to Attila ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they ſhould ſend back to him all his deſerters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they ſhould deliver up the Roman captives, who had eſcaped without paying their ranſom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the Romans ſhould ſend no embaſſadors to Attila, till they had delivered up to him all his deſerters and fugitives [s]. Purſuant to this ignominious treaty, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold were ſent immediately to Attila, with all the Hunns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, among whom were ſeveral princes, who choſe rather to be killed by the Romans, than fall into the hands of Attila [t]. While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, Rechila king of the Suevians ſettled in Spain, died at Merida in 447, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Requiarius, who the year following married the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc, and ſoon after went to pay a viſit to his father-in-law at Toulouſe; but on his return to Spain, ſurpriſed the city of Lerida; and carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pillaged the territory of Saragoſa, which, according to Iſidorus, belonged to the Romans [u]. This year a miſunderſtanding aroſe between Attila and Valentinian on account of ſome ſacred veſſels, which Attila falſly pretended to have been ſtolen from him by one Silvanus, a banker in Rome. Silvanus,

And defeats the Roman generals ſent againſt him.

The Romans conclude a peace with him upon diſhonourable terms.

Rechila, king of the Suevians in Spain, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Requiarius.

[q] Jorn rer. Goth. c 44 p. 553. Theoph. p. 88. Chron. Al. p 734. Priſc. p. 35, 36 [r] Priſ. p 34. [s] Idem ibid. & p. 51—53 Theoph. p. 88. [t] Idat. p. 26. [u] Priſc p. 57--68.

Attila ſeeks a pretence to quarrel with Valentinian.

vanus, who was the lawful owner of theſe veſſels, had ſold them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquiſite workmanſhip, Attila, coveting them, or rather ſeeking a pretence to quarrel with Valentinian, claimed them as ſtolen from him by Silvanus, and with great arrogance preſſed the emperor either to reſtore the veſſels, or deliver up to him Silvanus. Hereupon count Romulus was ſent with Promotus, governor of Noricum, and Romulus, an officer of diſtinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him, if poſſible, that the veſſels in diſpute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. Attila received the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the embaſſadors of Theodoſius, who arrived at his court much about the ſame time. But the only anſwer that he returned to their reaſoning and arguments was, that the veſſels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and declare war, if Valentinian did not either reſtore them, or deliver up to him Silvanus, who had ſtolen them. But notwithſtanding theſe menaces, he did not make war upon Valentinian till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when Protogenes and Aſturius or Aſterius were conſuls, one Edecon being ſent by Attila with the character of embaſſador to Theodoſius, the eunuch Chryſaphus, the emperor's great chamberlain, diſcovering him to be greatly taken with the ſplendor of the court, and deſirous to continue among the Romans, promiſed him great wealth and preferments, provided he diſpatched Attila; which he promiſing to do, Theodoſius conſented to the wicked attempt, and charged Vigilius, interpreter to the Roman embaſſadors at the court of Attila, to be aſſiſting to him in that undertaking. But Edecon, either apprehenſive of the dangers attending ſuch a deſperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his miniſter, upon his return diſcovered the plot to Attila, who thereupon cauſed Vigilius to be ſeiz d, and diſpatched his ſecretary Oreſtes to reproach Theodoſius with his treachery, and demand Chryſaphus, the chief author and contriver of the conſpiracy, to be delivered up to him. But Nomus, who was ſent embaſſador to the king of the Hunns on this occaſion, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, gained his eſteem and affection to ſuch a degree, that he promiſed to live in peace and amity with Theodoſius, pardoned Chryſaphus, ſet Vigilius at liberty

Theodoſius attempts to get Attila murdered.

Who ſpares the conſpirators, and makes peace with the emperor.

berty, and diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, loaded with rich preſents. Thus Priſcus, who was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote, having attended the embaſſadors to the court of Attila [w].

THE following year, 450, when Valentinian was conſul the ſeventh time, with Avienus, Theodoſius was ſo bruiſed with a fall from his horſe in hunting, that being with much ado carried in a ſedan to Conſtantinople, he died there the next day, the twentieth of June, according to Theophanes [x], or the twenty-eighth of July, as we read in Theodorus [y], who is followed by moſt chronologers. According to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years, and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight ſince he had received the title of Auguſtus. He was buried on the thirtieth of July, in the ſame tomb with his father Arcadius [z]. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but ſlender parts, and to have been entirely guided by thoſe about him, eſpecially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abuſing his authority, oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that many in his reign choſe rather to abandon their native country, and live among the Hunns, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government, of thoſe who, by the eunuchs, were ſet over them. Authors give us the following inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs: As he had been uſed, when yet a child, to ſign all the acts that were brought to him by his miniſters, without reading them, he continued the ſame cuſtom even after he was married, till his ſiſter Pulcheria, to appprize him of the evil conſequences that might attend it, cauſed an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the empreſs Eudocia as her ſlave. This act the emperor ſigned without peruſing it, or enquiring what it contained; which he had no ſooner done, than Pulcheria deſired him to read it, when, aſhamed of his paſt indolence and neglect, he reſolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to ſign no papers till he was well informed what they contained [a]. He was a great friend to the church, but yet, miſled by ill-meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the eccleſiaſtic writers give us of the two councils held

Theodoſius dies.

His character.

An inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs.

[w] Idem, p 72. [x] Theoph. p. 568 [y] Theod. p. 88.
[z] Theod. ibid. [a] Theoph. p. 87. Conſtant. Manaſſ. p. 55. Zoſ. p. 36. Suid. p. 577.

held by his orders at Epheſus, and of the progreſs which the herſy of Eutyches made in his reign. Of the writers who flouriſhed under Theodoſius, we ſhall ſpeak in note (S).

(S) We are chiefly indebted to the eccleſiaſtic writers Socrates, Sozomen, and Philoſtorgius, for the hiſtory of the reign of Theodoſius the younger. Socrates was born in Conſtantinople about the year 380, and ſpent moſt part of his life in that city (1). He ſpeaks of what happened after the year 395, as of things that had happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very young, he knew a Novatian prieſt, by name Auxano, who remembered the council of Nice, and lived to the reign of Theodoſius the younger, that is, to the year 408 3) Socrates ſtudied grammar under Helladius and Ammonius, two pagan prieſts of Alexandria, who had retired to Conſtantinople, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably ſtudied eloquence under Troilus, who in his time taught it with great applauſe at Conſtantinople: for he beſtows mighty encomiums upon that ſophiſt (4). He begins where Euſebius ended his hiſtory, but repeats the tranſactions of the firſt year of Conſtantine's reign, that is, of the year 306, and carries his work down to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of Theodoſius II. that is, to the year 439, ſo that it compriſes the ſpace of an hundred and thirty-four years. He addreſſes it to one Theodorus, by whoſe orders he undertook it Theodorus was probably a biſhop or prieſt; for he calls him a perſon conſecrated to the worſhip of God (5). He writes in a familiar, but plain and eaſy, ſtyle. At firſt he followed Rufinus, eſpecially in his firſt two books, copying even his miſtakes; but theſe he corrected, after having peruſed the works of Athanaſius. He informed himſelf with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were moſt eſteemed, and relating only ſuch events of his own time as he himſelf had either ſeen, or learnt from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity (6). As he ſpeaks of the Novatians with great reſpect, and even pretends ſome of their biſhops to have wrought miracles, ſeveral writers conclude from thence, that he himſelf held the tenets of Novatus. But on the other hand, he blames the Novatians for ſeparating from the church (7), and in expreſs terms diſapproves the ſuppreſſing of the office of penitentiary in the church of Conſtantinople, againſt which office the Novatians had always exclaimed (8). Socrates wrote in Greek, but ſeems to have been acquainted with the Latin tongue His hiſtory is quoted by Liberatus, and the ſeventh œcumenical council. Sozomen,

(1) Socr l. v. c, 24 p. 293. (2) Idem, l. vi. c. 1. p. 299. (3) Idem, l. i c. 13 p. 41. (4) Idem, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. & prol. p. 6. (5) Idem, prol p 7. (6 Idem, l. ii c. 1 p 79. (7) Idem, l. ii. c. 38. p. 144. (8) Idem. l. v. p. 278.

zomen, or Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes, as he is ſtyled by Photius, was not, as ſome have conjectured from the firſt of theſe names, a native of Salamis in the iſland of Cyprus, but of a village in the territory of Gaza, named Bethelia, as appears from the account he gives of the converſion of his grandfather to the chriſtian religion (9). The title of ſcholaſticus, beſtowed upon him by Photius (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well verſed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in Conſtantinople (11), and was at the ſame time aſſeſſor or counſellor to Iſidorus, prefect of the eaſt in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote firſt in two books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the aſcenſion of our Saviour to the depoſition of Licinius in 323 (13), which work has been long ſince entirely loſt. He afterwards undertook his great hiſtory, which was to compriſe whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third conſulſhip of Criſpus and Conſtantine Cæſars, that is, from the year 324, to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of Theodoſius the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is manifeſt, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, ſince it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from purſuing his deſign. St. Gregory writes, that the hiſtory of Sozomen was not received by the church of Rome on account of the many falſhoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author beſtowed on Theodorus of Mopſueſtia. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithſtanding ſome miſtakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preferred to the other hiſtorians of thoſe times. Whoever compares his hiſtory with that of Socrates, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other, moſt likely Sozomen from Socrates; for the latter ſeems to have written before the former. When Socrates wrote, the houſe in which Arius died was ſtill ſtanding; whereas Sozomen obſerves, that an Arian, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Beſides, the candor and ſimplicity with which Socrates writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his hiſtory from another without owning it. Though Sozomen beſtows great commendations on ſome Novatian biſhops, as Socrates had done; yet he condemns in ſeveral places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the ſixth century, Caſſiodorus, cauſed the hiſtories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret to be tranſlated into the Latin tongue by one Epiphanes, that Greece alone, ſays Caſſiodorus, might not poſſeſs ſo valuable and neceſſary a work. He divided them, thus tranſlated, into twelve books, commonly known by the

(9) Soz. l. v. c. 15. p. 617. (10) Phot. c. 30. p. 17. (11) Soz. p. 105. (12) Iſidor. Peluſ. l. i. ep. 300. p. 880. (13) Soz. l. i. c. 1. p. 401 (14) Idem ibid. & p. 991, 397, 403. (15) Socr. l. i. c 38 p 74. Soz. l. ii. c. 30. p. 49. (16) Soz. l. vii. c 16. p. 726. & l. viii. p. 754. &c.

the name of Hiſtoria Tripartita. Before him Theodorus, the reader, had begun to compile a hiſtory in Greek from the three above-mentioned hiſtorians. But of that work, only the two firſt books, compriſing the reigns of Conſtantine and Conſtantius, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and thoſe, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. Philoſtorgius, born about the year 368, in the province of Cappadocia Secunda, wrote an eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, or rather, under that name, an apology for the Arians, eſpecially the Eunomians whoſe tenets he himſelf held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of Conſtantius Chlorus, the father of Conſtantine the Great, and carried it down to the acceſſion of Valentinian III. to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long ſince loſt; but an abſtract of it, which may be called a large hiſtory, has been conveyed to us by Photius (17), who commends the ſtyle, but thinks the author often too diffuſe and tedious The whole is a continued ſatire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the Arians. Philoſtorgius ſeldom agrees with other writers, and relates ſeveral remarkable events, quite unknown to thoſe who lived at the ſame time with him, ſuch as the miracles wrought by Euſebius of Nicomedia, by Theophilus the Indian, by Leontius of Tripoli, &c. whence Photius ſtyles him a fabulous and lying writer (18). However, he is often quoted by John of Antioch, who wrote about the beginning of the ſeventh century, by Nicetas Coniates, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, by Nicephorus and others. Suidas likewiſe has copied ſeveral paſſages from him. Philoſtorgius, beſides his hiſtory, wrote a long panegyric on Eunomius, and an apology for the chriſtian religion againſt Porphyrius; but neither of theſe works has reached our times. About the ſame time flouriſhed Philip of Sida in Pamphylia, who wrote a very diffuſe hiſtory from the creation to his time, conſiſting of eight hundred and ſixty-four books, which he intitled the Chriſtian hiſtory. Of this voluminous work, which has been long ſince loſt, Photius ſpeaks with great contempt (19). The ſame author wrote another extenſive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor Julian (20); but that performance has undergone the ſame fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of Conſtantinople, and thought himſelf highly injured, becauſe he was not preferred to that ſee (21). Priſcus, who attended Maximus, when ſent embaſſador to Attila in 449, wrote the hiſtory of the war between that prince and Theodoſius; the hiſtory of Marcian's reign; an account of the journey of Anthemius to Rome; of the war carried on in the reign of Leo againſt Genſeric; and of the unhappy end of Aſpar and his children, put to death by the emperor Leo in 471 (22). Suidas

(17) Phot. c. 40. p. 25. (18) Idem, p. 16, 25. (19) Idem, p. 21. (20) Socr. l. vii. c. 27. p. 368. (21) Idem ibid. (22) Evagr. l. i. c. 17. p. 273. & l. ii. c. 1. p. 283.

Suidas aſcribes to him eight books of the Byzantine hiſtory, and of the war with Attilus, meaning, no doubt Attila (23). Priſcus was a native of Panes or Panium, reckoned among the cities of the province of Europe in Thrace (24). He was a ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence (25). He viſited Rome, where he ſaw the king of the Franks (26), no doubt Merouée, and travelled likewiſe to Thebais and Alexandria in Egypt. In the latter city he was an eye-witneſs of the diſorders which attended the election of the holy biſhop Proterus to that ſee, and greatly contributed to the appeaſing of them by the good advice he gave to Florus, prefect of Egypt. Euphemius, magiſter officiorum to the emperor Marcian, adviſed with him in all matters of importance (27). His hiſtory is ſaid to be ſtill extant and lodged in ſome libraries (28). Hitherto only ſome fragments of it, relating to embaſſies, have been publiſhed, which are to be found among the works of the other Byzantine hiſtorians. Some paſſages of his hiſtory are quoted by Jornandes (29). He wrote with great exactneſs and elegance (30). Suidas mentions his declamations and letters (31). The hiſtory of Theodoſius the younger was likewiſe written by one John, who is often quoted by Evagrius, and by him ſtyled orator, or profeſſor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of Antioch, becauſe he is frequently quoted by Evagrius in what relates to the hiſtory of that city (33). His hiſtory ended with the ſeventh year of Juſtin I. of the chriſtian æra 525, whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another hiſtorian of the ſame name, whoſe hiſtory began with the death of Juſtinian, and was carried down to the reign of Mauritius (34). Another hiſtorian, named likewiſe John, a follower of Eutyches, wrote in five books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the time of Neſtorius to the defeat of Baſiliſcus; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory he added five books (35), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

(23) Suid. p. 590. (24) Theoph. p. 100. Evagr. p. 74. (25) Evag. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Idem, l. ii. p. 295. Priſc. p. 41. (28) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 18. p. 488. (29) Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 24, 34, 35, 42, 49. (30) Evag. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. & l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. (31) Suid p. 590. (32) Evag. p. 61. (33) Idem, l. i. c. 16. l. ii. c. 12. l. iii. c. 14, 28. (34) Idem, p. 274. & 383. (35) Phot. c. 41. p. 38.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Roman hiſtory, from the death of Theodoſius II. to the total failure of the weſtern empire in Auguſtulus.

IF the laws at this time in force concerning private eſtates and inheritances, had obtained with reſpect to kingdoms and empires, the right of Eudoxia to the imperial crown had been indiſputable, that princeſs being the only child of the deceaſed emperor; but not the leaſt regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor Valentinian her huſband: and truly neither of them ſeems to have laid any claim to the eaſtern empire, tho' Theodoſius left no iſſue male behind him. As Pulcheria had ſhared the ſovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of Auguſta, ſhe remained by his death ſole miſtreſs of the empire; and no perſon was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, ſhe reſolved to marry, notwithſtanding the reſolution ſhe had taken, or the vow ſhe had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Purſuant to this reſolution, as ſoon as the death of Theodoſius was publicly known, ſhe ſent for Marcianus, a perſon famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that ſhe deſigned to raiſe him to the ſovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would ſuffer her, agreeable to the reſolution ſhe had taken, to live and die a virgin. Marcianus readily complying with this condition, ſhe ſent for the patriarch Anatolius, and the ſenate, and in their preſence declared Marcianus emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of Hebdomon, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of Auguſt of the preſent year 450 [b]. His election was immediately notified to Valentinian; and he approving it, his images were, according to cuſtom, ſent into the weſt, and received at Rome on the thirtieth of March of the following year [c]. After this, the marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence,

Pulcheria reſolves to marry Marcian.

Who is declared emperor.

Pulcheria,

[b] Theod. p. 551. Evagr l. ii. c. 1. p. 275. Theoph. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 733. [c] Evagr. p. 285.

Pulcheria, being then in the fifty-firſt, and Marcian in the fiftieth year of his age [d]. He was a native of Thrace or Illyricum, and deſcended from a family of no great diſtinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith [e]. As his father ſerved in the army, he reſolved to follow the ſame profeſſion; and, purſuant to this reſolution, ſet out for Philippopolis in Thrace, in order to enliſt himſelf there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This ſome perſons, accidently coming by, obſerved, and immediately acquainted the magiſtrates of Philippolis with what they had ſeen; who thereupon cauſed Marcian to be ſeized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been ſeaſonably diſcovered and convicted [f]. Marcian, thus ſet at liberty, liſted himſelf among the troops quartered at Philippopolis, and ſerved ſtill as a private man in 421, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the Romans and Perſians, the corps in which he ſerved was ordered into Syria; but Marcian falling ſick as they marched through Aſia, continued a long time indiſpoſed at a place called Sydema, and thence repaired to Conſtantinople, where he liſted himſelf among the troops that were commanded by Ardaburius, and his ſon Aſpar, who diſcovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raiſed him to the poſt of their ſecretary. With that character he attended Aſpar in 431, into Africa, where he was taken priſoner by Genſeric, with many perſons of diſtinction, Aſpar himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by Genſeric's orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leiſure to view them, Marcian lying down on the ground, fell aſleep, and an eagle at the ſame time appearing over him, ſays Evagrius, and intercepting with his extended wings the ſcorching rays of the ſun, afforded him a friendly ſhade. This Genſeric obſerved from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was deſtined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to ſwear, that he would never make war upon the Vandals [g]. From Africa he returned to Conſtantinople, where he was, according to Theophanes [h], honoured with the ſenatorial dignity. Theodorus ſtyles him only tribune; but adds, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf

His birth, education and character.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, p. 283. Niceph. l. xv. c. 1. p. 595.
[f] Evagr. p. 283. [g] Idem, p. 284. [h] Theoph. p. 81.

ſelf in war [i]. He had by his firſt wife, who died before his acceſſion to the empire, but one daughter, named Euphemia, whom, when he was raiſed to the ſovereignty, he married to Anthemius, afterwards emperor of the weſt. All writers agree, that Marcianus was a prince of moſt exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a ſincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in ſhort, a perſon endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to Conſtantine and Theodoſius the Great. He preferred none but perſons of known abilities, and unblemiſhed characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of thoſe times, great encomiums beſtowed, not only upon him, but on all thoſe who were employed by him in the adminiſtration. In the weſt died in the ſame year 450, Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian, and was interred at Ravenna, where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen [k]. She is blamed by ſome writers for yielding, or inducing her ſon to yield, Weſt Illyricum to Theodoſius. She had governed the weſtern empire with an abſolute ſway for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, Valentinian ſuffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the ſame authority which ſhe had enjoyed in his minority.

Pulcheria mother to the emperor Valentinian, dies.

Attila aſſembles a formidable army.

THE following year 451, Attila aſſembled one of the moſt numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in hiſtory. It conſiſted of Hunns, Gepidæ, Oſtrogoths, Rugians, Gelonians, Burgundians, Belonatians, Squiri, Neurians, Baſtarnæ, Turingians, Bructerians, Franks dwelling on the Neckar, Marcomans, Suevians, Quadians, Heruli, Turcilingians, and in ſhort, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of ſeven, hundred thouſand men [l]. Attila, in raiſing ſo formidable an army, had nothing leſs in view, than to make himſelf maſter of both empires. But Marcian returning no other anſwer to his embaſſadors, ſent to demand the annual penſion or tribute paid him by Theodoſius, than that he had gold for his friends, and ſteel for his enemies, he thought it adviſeable to turn his arms firſt againſt Valentinian, whom he held in the utmoſt contempt, being well appriſed, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the eaſtern, after he had made himſelf maſter of the weſtern empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon Valentinian,

He reſolves to make war upon Valentinian.

[i] Theod. l. i. p. 551. [k] Proſp. chron. Idat. Marcell. it Ital. p. 39, 40. [l] Priſc. p. 40. Jorn. c. 78. p. 666. Sidon. Apollinar. vii. p. 54.

lentinian, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to that prince, demanding his ſiſter Honoria, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half of the weſtern empire, as belonging of right to her. We have obſerved above, that Honoria had maintained, by means of her eunuchs, a private correſpondence with Attila, and even ſent him a ring, which the embaſſador produced to prove their mariage. Valentinian anſwered, That, among the Romans, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the ſame time diſpatched Carpilio, the ſon of Aetius, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him of the injuſtice of his claim. Attila, to the great ſurprize, both of Valentinian and the embaſſadors themſelves, ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied with their reaſoning, and the arguments they alledged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new ſcheme. Hemeric, the ſon of Genſeric, king of the Vandals, having married the daughter of Theodoric king of the Goths in Languedoc, cauſed her noſe to be cut off ſoon after, and ſent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare ſuſpicion, that ſhe deſigned to poiſon him. As he was well appriſed, that Theodoric would not fail to reſent ſuch an affront, he reſolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents to Attila, to engage him to fall upon Theodoric. Attila, who wanted only ſome pretence to enter Gaul, readily cloſed with the propoſal, pretending at the ſame time, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the Romans, to be fully ſatisfied with the reaſons alledged by their embaſſadors, and to relinquiſh all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he ſent to Valentinian embaſſadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, aſſuring him, that his warlike preparations were deſigned againſt Theodoric alone; that, as to the Romans, he ſhould ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not eſpouſe the cauſe of his enemy, At the ſame time he wrote to Theodoric, aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and exhorting that prince to join him againſt the Romans, as their common enemy. The better to ſurpriſe Valentinian, he did not wait the return of the embaſſadors he had ſent to him; but ſetting out immediately from Scythia, tho' in the midſt of winter, and directing his march through Germany, he never halted till he reached, early in the ſpring, the banks of the Rhine. There ſuch of the Franks as ſtill dwelt on the German ſide of that river, endeavoured to ſtop him; but they were eaſily defeated, Childeric, the ſon of Meroüée, and grandſon

Whom he endeavours to deceive.

He defeats the Franks, and enters Gaul.

of Clodion, being taken priſoner, with his mother and other perſons of diſtinction [m]. The Franks being thus overcome and diſperſed, Attila cauſed an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpoſe whole foreſts, and paſſing the Rhine without oppoſition, entered Gaul [n]. As he gave out, that he deſigned to live in friendſhip with the Romans, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the Viſigoths in Languedoc, ſeveral cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences which he ſuffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real deſign, the other cities ſhut their gates againſt him. Hereupon pulling off the maſk, he beſieged, took by ſtorm, and pillaged Tongres, Treves, Straſbourg, Spires, Worms, Mentz, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into ſeveral bodies, he put all to fire and ſword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in aſhes the cities of Arras, Laon, Beſancon, Toul, and Langres [o]. Attila, thus laying waſte the country far and near, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before Orleans, and laid ſiege to that city. In the mean time, Aetius, arriving from Italy at Arles, aſſembled what forces he could, having brought with him but a ſmall number of troops, which, however, were reinforced by a great number of Viſigoths, under the command of their king Theodoric, whom Aetius had perſuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their united forces, oppoſe the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of Theodoric was followed by ſeveral other nations, namely, by the Franks, under the conduct of Merouée, who by means of one of his own nation, named Wiomaud, had made his eſcape; by the Sarmatians, Burgundians, Saxons, the Armorici, the Liſians, the Riverins, the Ibrions, and ſeveral other nations of Celtic Gaul and Germany, who, apprehending themſelves to be in no leſs danger than the Romans, readily joined Aetius againſt the common enemy [p]. The Liſians dwelt, according to Valeſius [q], on the banks of the Lis in Flanders; the Riverins on the Rhine towards Cologne; and the Ibrions in Vindelicia now Suabia and Bavaria. While Aetius was buſied in aſſembling the Roman

Takes and deſtroys ſeveral cities.

Aetius arrives in Gaul, and is joined by Theodoric and other princes.

[m] Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. Du Cheſne tom. 1. p. 726. Sid. car. vii. p. 541. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 57. p. 275. Idat. p. 28. Coint. annal. eccleſ Franc. p. 451. [p] Jorn p. 664. Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [q] Val. p. 161.

Roman forces and thoſe of their allies, Attila purſued the ſiege of Orleans with great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. At length he carried it by aſſault, according to Apollinaris Sidonius; but while his men were buſie in plundering without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, Aetius and Theodoric, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the Hunns in pieces, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and obliged Attila to repaſs the Loire, in which many of his men were drowned, and to retire towards the Rhine. Having paſſed Troyes, he halted in the Catalaunic or Mauriac fields, that is, in the plains of Chalons, which city was then known by the name of Catalauni. The ſame plains were called, according to Jornandes[r], Mauriaci or Mauritii, no doubt, from ſome neighbouring city or village. Valeſius indeed diſtinguiſhes the Catalaunic from the Mauriac plains, and ſuppoſes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not deciſive, in the Mauriac, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the Catalaunic plains[s]. But all the antients mention only one battle fought in the plains, called by ſome Mauriac and Mauritian, and by others Catalaunic. Attila choſe that place, as the moſt advantageous for his Hunns, who were all horſe, to engage in. Aetius, who followed him cloſe, reſolved, notwithſtanding the enemy's advantageous ſituation, to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where Attila was encamped, the Gepidæ, who followed Attila, and the Franks, who ſerved under Aetius, meeting in the dark, engaged with ſuch fury, that, on both ſides, above fifteen thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot[t]. The next day Attila drew up his men in battle-array, placing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in perſon, the Oſtrogoths in the left wing, and the Gepidæ, with other barbarous nations, in the right. On the other hand, Aetius placed the Romans, whom he commanded himſelf, in the left wing; the Viſigoths, under the command of Theodoric and his eldeſt ſon Thoriſmond, in the right; and the Alans, with their king Sangiban, the Franks, and the other auxiliaries, with their reſpective leaders, in the centre. That the Romans might not have time to purſue their victory, in caſe they gained it, Attila did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by

Attila beſieges, and takes Orleans;

But is driven out with great ſlaughter by Aetius.

A bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidæ.

[r] Jorn rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664 [s] Val notit. Gall p 324.
[t] Jorn. c. 41. p. 671.

The battle of Chalons.

all writers, is reckoned one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagements mentioned in hiſtory. Aetius, Theodoric, and his ſon Thoriſmond, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a moſt eminent manner. Theodoric, notwithſtanding his great age, fought at the head of his Goths with a courage and reſolution hardly to be expreſſed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horſe, as ſome authors write, and was trod to death by his own people, who did not know him. Others write, that he was killed by a Goth, named Andagus, who ſerved under Attila, and was deſcended from the royal family of the Amali [u]. The Goths, not in the leaſt diſheartened by the death of their king, charged the Hunns ſo vigorouſly, that they began, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to give ground; which Attila no ſooner perceived, than he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, and retired to his camp. As it was already dark, Aetius, thinking it adviſeable not to purſue the enemy, withdrew likewiſe; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a ſurprize. The next morning, the extenſive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood of the ſlain. As Attila kept cloſe in his camp, the Romans concluded from thence, that his army had ſuffered greatly, and that he owned himſelf conquered; but as his camp was well fortified, and ſurrounded with an incredible number of waggons, the Romans and Goths contented themſelves with blocking it up, being well appriſed, that the enemy would be ſoon obliged, for want of proviſions, either to ſubmit, or to quit their intrenchments, and venture a ſecond battle in the open fields. In the mean time, the body of Theodoric, found among the ſlain, was interred with extraordinary pomp; and his ſon Thoriſmond, who had been dangerouſly wounded, proclaimed king of the Viſigoths in his room [w]. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action. Idatius writes, that on both ſides near three hundred thouſand men were killed [x]; and Jornandes, according to the Amſterdam edition in 1655, makes the number of the ſlain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thouſand [y]. Both armies were greatly weakened, and the loſs on each ſide perhaps equal; but as Attila ſhut himſelf up in his camp, and declined a ſecond engagement, the Romans, who

Theodoric, king of the Goths killed.

Attila retires to his camp.

The number of the ſlain.

[u] Vide Buch. hiſt. Belg. c. 37—40. 40, 41. p. 669—672.

[x] Idat. p. 28.

[w] Jorn. rer. Goth c.

[y] Jorn. c. 41. p. 672.

who remained maſters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. Caſſiodorus, and Theodoric king of Italy, aſcribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the Goths [z]; but Gregory of Tours will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of St. Agnan biſhop of Orleans [a]. Thoriſmond who had not been informed of his father's death till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the Hunns, and attacking Attila in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his Goths in battle-array; but Aetius fearing, if the Hunns were entirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of an aſpiring genius, would turn his arms againſt the empire, adviſed him to return home with his forces, and take poſſeſſion of his paternal dominions, leſt his brothers, during his abſence, ſhould raiſe diſturbances, and, ſeizing on the royal treaſures, give riſe to a civil war. Thoriſmond followed his advice, which Attila no ſooner knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the Rhine. As he did not attack Aetius even after the departure of Thoriſmond, Valeſius concludes, that either the number of his troops was greatly encreaſed by the writers of thoſe times, or the loſs he ſuſtained in the battle leſſened [b]; but the firſt is moſt likely. Aetius purſued Attila as far as the Rhine; but never offered to attack him, being willing, ſome authors ſay, that he ſhould make his eſcape, and, by awing the Franks and Goths, divert them from raiſing diſturbances in the empire. Attila, being thus driven out of Gaul, retired to Pannonia; and having there reinforced his army with ſupplies ſent him out of Scythia, he reſolved to make an irruption into Italy, where he hoped to meet with more booty and leſs oppoſition, there being no Goths, Alans, Franks, or Burgundians, there to oppoſe him. Purſuant to this reſolution he left Pannonia, and finding the paſſes of the Alps unguarded, as no hoſtilities were expected on that ſide, he entered Italy in the latter end of the preſent year 451, as Idatius and Jornandes ſeem to inſinuate [c], or in the beginning of the following year 452, when Herculanus and Sporacius were conſuls. It is impoſible to expreſs the terror and conſternation, which ſo ſudden and unexpected an irruption occaſioned, even in the moſt diſtant provinces. Aetius was at

Thoriſmond returns home with the Viſigoths.

Attila quits Gaul.

And invades Italy.

[z] Caſſiod. chron & l. iii. ep. 1. p. 40. [a] Vide Du Cheſne p. 277. & Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p 164. [b] Val. p. 165. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. Theoph. p. 92. Greg. Tur. l. ii. p. 277.

at firſt for ſaving himſelf by flight, and retiring with the emperor into Gaul; but ſhame getting the better of his fear, he continued in Italy, and began to aſſemble the forces that were diſperſed up and down the provinces. In the mean time, Attila, advancing as far as Aquileia, the metropolis of the province called Venetia, inveſted that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the Roman troops, it held out, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, for the ſpace of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by aſſault, pillaged for ſeveral days together, and laid in aſhes, not one houſe being left ſtanding, nor one perſon alive that fell into the enemy's hands, Attila deſigning, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to ſtrike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into ſubmiſſion. The cities of Arevigio, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Breſcia, and Bergamor, underwent the ſame fate, the barbarians raging every where with ſuch fury, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived, and putting all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occaſion the inhabitants of the province of Venetia, to avoid falling into the hands of the Hunns, retired to the iſlands on their coaſt, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called Venetiæ, and is now known by the name of Venice [d]. Caſſiodorus, ſpeaking of the Venetians, as he ſtyles them, about fifty years after, ſays, that they inhabited the iſlands of the Adriatic; that they had no other fence againſt the waves but hurdles; no other food but fiſh; no wealth beſides their boats; and no merchandize but ſalt, which they exchanged for other proviſions [e]. To return to Attila: From the province of Venetia he advanced to Milan, then the metropolis of Liguria, which he took and pillaged; the city of Pavia, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood, he laid in aſhes, after having plundered them, and put ſuch of the inhabitants to the ſword, as had not ſaved themſelves by a timely flight. Seeing at Milan ſome pictures, repreſenting the Roman emperors ſitting on thrones of gold, and the Scythians, that is, the Goths or Hunns, proſtrate at their feet, he cauſed himſelf to be painted ſitting on a throne, and the Roman emperors carrying on their ſhoulders ſacks

Aquileia, taken and deſtroyed, with ſeveral other cities.

The founding of Venice.

Milan taken and pillaged.

[d] Por de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. Valeſ. rer Franc. l. iv. p. 169

[e] Caſſiod. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199.

ſacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet [f]. From Liguria, Attila was for advancing to Rome, which city was not in a condition to withſtand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of Alaric, who died ſoon after he had plundered the metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithſtanding their thirſt after plunder, from that reſolution. Attila deſpiſed that omen; but his troops being greatly diminiſhed for want of proviſions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and Aetius having at the ſame time, with a reinforcement ſent him by Marcian out of the eaſt, defeated a party of Hunns, he thought it adviſeable to put off his march to Rome, and purſue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, Valentinian, having no other reſource, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Attila, with propoſals for an accommodation. At the head of this embaſſy was Leo biſhop of Rome, a perſon famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His collegues were Albienus or Avienus, who had been conſul in 450, and Trigecius, formerly prefect. They found Attila on the banks of the Menzo, not far from Mantua, and were by him received with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. He concluded with Leo, who ſurprized and ſoftened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it ſeems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to Italy, and purſue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unleſs the princeſs Honoria was ſent him, with the ſhare of the imperial treaſures that was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor ſhould pay an annual penſion to Attila. It was no ſooner ſigned, than he ordered his Hunns to forbear hoſtilities, and leaving Italy, retired beyond the Danube [g]. Damaſcus, who flouriſhed about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of Rome between the Romans and the Scythians under the conduct of Attila; and that the ſlaughter was great on both ſides, none but the chiefs, and a ſmall number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the ſouls of the ſlain purſued the engagement with great noiſe for three days and three nights [h], his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year, 453, when Opilio and Vincomalus were conſuls, Attila, incapable of living himſelf, or ſuffering others to live in peace, croſſing Rhætia, and following the courſe of the Rhone, entered unexpectedly the

Valentinian concludes a treaty with Attila.

Who retires out of Italy.

[f] Jorn. ibid. p. 673. [g] Idem, p. 674—685. [h] Phot. c. 242. p. 1040, 1041.

And returns to Gaul.

the country now known by the name of Dauphiny, and fell upon the Alans, whom Aetius had allowed to ſettle in the Valentinois, under the conduct of Sangiban. But Thoriſmond, king of the Viſigoths, whoſe dominions were divided from thoſe of the Alans only by the Rhone, being well appriſed, that Attila, after having reduced the Alans, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over Attila, obliged him to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country [i]. Jornandes, and Sigebert are the only writers who mention this ſecond irruption of the Hunns into Gaul; and their authority is ſuſpected by Valeſius, eſpecially that of Jornandes, who ſeems not to have been well acquainted with the hiſtory of the Viſigoths. Attila died ſoon after, that is, either in the preſent, or the following year, 454, and with him ended the kingdom, or rather the empire, of the Hunns, in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous iſſue; which gave the ſeveral nations he had ſubdued an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke, and recovering their antient liberty, as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of the Hunns, and other northern nations. The ſame year, Thoriſmond, king of the Viſigoths, was murdered in Toulouſe, the capital of his kingdom, by two of his brothers, viz. Theodoric and Frederic, and ſucceeded by the former, on whom Apollinaris Sidonius, who was intimately acquainted with him, beſtows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and ſtyling him the protector and bulwark of the empire [k].

Where he is defeated by Thoriſmond.

Thoriſmond murdered.

The council of Chalcedon.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the council of Chalcedon was held in the eaſt by Marcian's orders, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have aſſiſted in perſon only at the ſeſſion of the twenty-fifth of October. The council began on the eighth of october, of the year 451, and ended on the firſt of November [l]. The ſame year the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to ſacrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who ſhould wink at ſuch wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of gold [m]. The following year, the Saracens, the Nubians, and the Blemmyes, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops

[i] Jorn. p 674—675. [k] Sid. car. vii. p. 347. et ep. ii—vi p. 4. car. xiii p. 400. [l] Concil. tom. iv. p. 574, 576.
[m] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 11. leg. 7 p. 105, 106.

troops of Marcian, and forced to ſue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as Priſcus aſſures us, who attended the Roman embaſſadors to Damaſcus, where the treaty was concluded [n]. The following year, 453, Attila dying, ſeveral nations, formerly ſubdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave of Marcian to ſettle in Thrace and Illyricum, almoſt entirely diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the Hunns and other barbarians. Among theſe mention is made of the Squiri, Satagairæ, and Alans, who, under the conduct of Candax, their king or leader, ſettled in Leſſer Scythia, and Lower Mœſia: to the Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum near a place called the caſtle of Mars: to the Goths, commonly called Oſtrogoths or Eaſtern Goths, to diſtinguiſh them from the Viſigoths or Weſtern Goths, who afterwards became maſters of Spain, Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmiſh, in Sclavonia, to Vindobona, at preſent Vienna, in Auſtria, a large tract, compriſing many cities. Theſe Goths were then governed by three brothers, viz. Valemir, Theodomir, the father of Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of Italy, and Vidimir, who divided that extenſive country among them, Valemir ſettling in the eaſtern part of it, Theodomir in the weſtern, and Vidimir between the other two [o]. The Goths, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the Conſtantinopolitan emperors, and were ſubjects of the empire; but at the ſame time their princes claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the ſons of Attila, named Ernac, and ſeveral other Hunns, ſubmitted to the Romans, who granted them lands on the moſt diſtant borders of Leſſer Scythia, in Dacia, and amongſt the Sarmatians in Illyricum [p]. The ſame year died, in the month of July, the empreſs Pulcheria, daughter to Arcadius, ſiſter to Theodoſius II. and wife to Marcian. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by Marcian, the immenſe wealth of which ſhe was poſſeſſed, and her rich moveables, to the poor [q]. She was a woman of moſt extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety,

Several barbarous nations ſettle in Thrace and Illyricum.

The empreſs Pulcheria dies.

[n] Evagr. l. ii. c. 5 p. 295. Priſ. p 40. Niceph. l. xv. c. 9. p. 61. [o] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 50—52. p. 688, 689. [p] Idem ibid.

piety, honoured both by the Greeks and Latins with the title of ſaint.

The diſgrace and death of Aetius.

THE following year, 454, when Aetius was conſul the fourth time with Studius, is remarkable for the downfal and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to the malice and inſinuations of an eunuch, by name Heraclius, who having gained an abſolute aſcendant over the emperor, eaſily perſuaded the weak prince, that Aetius aſpired at the empire, and maintained a private correſpondence with the barbarians, in order to raiſe himſelf by their means to the imperial dignity. Aetius, on his ſide, gave ſome occaſion to the accuſations of the eunuch, by preſſing the emperor with too much eagerneſs to perform the promiſe he had made of marrying his eldeſt daughter Eudocia to Gaudentius, the general's ſon. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of Heraclius, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his ſuſpicions, which, according to Gregory of Tours[r] and all the writers of thoſe times, were altogether groundleſs. But after all, his treachery towards count Bonifacius and ſeveral others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occaſions ſcruple ſacrificing his conſcience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any poſitive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the bottom of all the diſturbances that happened during his adminiſtration [s]. Petronius Maximus is ſaid to have greatly contributed to the death of Aetius, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to perſuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty. The view of Maximus therein was to remove out of the way the only perſon, who ſcreened the prince from the vengeance he was reſolved to take upon him for a late affront [t], of which anon. However that be, the death of Aetius being reſolved on, Valentinian ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have ſome affair of the utmoſt importance to impart to him. Aetius obeyed the ſummons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by Boëtius, the præfectus prætorio, his intimate friend, and ſeveral others. But Aetius alone was admitted into the prince's chamber, which he had no ſooner entered, than Valentinian ran him through with his ſword; and with the aſſiſtance of the officers about him, particularly, of Heraclius, diſpatched him in a moſt barbarous and

Who is treacherouſly murdered by Valentinian.

[q] Marc. chron. Valeſ. p. 175. reg. Sue. p. 654.

[r] Greg. Tur hiſt. Fran l ii. c. 8. p. 277.

[s] Val p. 176. Buch. Belg p. 313.

[t] Jorn.

and inhuman manner [u]. Thus fell the beſt general of his age, the terror of Attila, the bulwark of the weſtern provinces, ſays Sidonius, by the hand of the greateſt coward in the whole empire [w]. We are told, that Valentinian having one day asked a Roman whether he had done well in diſpatching Aetius? the Roman anſwered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left [x]. The prefect Boëtius, and all thoſe who had attended Aetius to the palace, were likewiſe diſpatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber [y]. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to Theophanes, at Rome [z]. Valentinian immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the Suevians, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of Aetius, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them [a]. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it ſeems, ſome of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the Armorici, that is, the inhabitants of the preſent Bretagne and Normandy, were under daily apprehenſions of ſeeing the Saxons on their coaſts; the Alemans paſſed the Rhine near Baſle, and the Franks laid waſte the territories of Mentz and Rheims [b].

THE following year, 445, when Valentinian was conſul the eighth time with Anthemius, ſon-in-law to the emperor Marcian, the weſtern empire was involved in endleſs calamities. The emperor Valentinian was murdered on the ſeventeenth of March, and the empire ſeized by Petronius Maximus, grandſon to Magnus Clemens Maximus, who having uſurped the ſovereignty in 383, was taken and put to death by Theodoſius the Great in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of Valentinian, and uſurpation of Maximus. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chaſtity, Valentinian, taken with her charms, fell paſſionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof againſt all his preſents, menaces, and promiſes, he had recourſe to the following artifice: He ſent one day for Maximus to play with him at dice; and having won of him a conſiderable ſum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he ſent privately to the wife of Maximus, deſiring her in her huſ-

Valentinian falls in love with the wife of Maximus.

band's

[u] Idat. p. 30. Proſp. Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 92. Sid. car. v. p. 318. [w] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [x] Perſec. Vand. hiſt. l. i. c. 4. p. 187. [y] Proſp. Idat. Marc. Caſſiod &c. [z] Theoph. p. 92. [a] Idat. Caſſiod. &c. [b] Sid. car. vii p. 542.

band's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empreſs. The lady, knowing the ring, haſtened to the palace, in compliance with the ſuppoſed orders of her huſband; but was conducted by ſome perſons employed for that purpoſe to a remote apartment, where Valentinian, without any regard to her tears and entreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, ſhe burſt into a flood of tears, reproaching, in moſt bitter terms, her huſband, whom ſhe believed privy to her diſhonour, and his own infamy. Maximus, on the other hand, then firſt appriſed of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, and reſolved at all events to be revenged on Valentinian [c]. Purſuant to this reſolution, he applied to the friends of Aetius, whom the emperor had cauſed to be lately murdered, eſpecially to Trauſtila and Optila or Occylla, two barbarians, who had ſerved under that general, and had been diſtinguiſhed by him with particular marks of kindneſs and eſteem. Theſe readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the ſame time the diſhonour offered to Maximus; and accordingly falling upon Valentinian, while he was diverting himſelf in the campus Martius at Rome, they firſt killed his favourite eunuch Heraclius, who courageouſly interpoſed, and endeavoured to ſave his maſter, and then diſpatched, with many wounds, the emperor himſelf in the ſight of the whole court [d]. Procopius and John of Antioch, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to Maximus. Sidonius and Idatius, without taking the leaſt notice of that outrage, aſcribe the death of Valentinian to the unbounded ambition of Maximus, not to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the empire itſelf [e]. Valentinian was murdered on the ſeventeenth of March of the preſent year 455, after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of October 425, when he was firſt declared Augúſtus [f]. His tomb is thought to be ſtill extant at Ravenna [g]. As he had but very ſlender parts, he was entirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who diſpoſed, at their pleaſure, of all the great offices, ſacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, to their private intereſt

Maximus, to revenge the violence offered her, cauſes Valentinian to be murdered.

[c] Procop. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 186, 187. [d] Marc. Idat Caſſiod chron. Evagr c. 7. p. 298. Jorn. reg Suev. p 654. Greg. Tur. p. 277. [e] Sid. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. Idat. p. 31. [f] Idat. p. 30. [g] Mab. It. Ital. p. 40.

tereſt and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in perſon: and beſides was, by his effeminate education, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of a military life. The only journies he undertook were from Ravenna to Rome, and from Rome back again to Ravenna, keeping himſelf in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without reſtraint, his moſt brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the moſt beautiful women of that age[h]. The day after his death, Maximus, the author of it, aſſumed the purple; and being ſaluted by the Roman people with the title of Auguſtus, he immediately raiſed his ſon, by name Palladius, to the dignity of Cæſar. Maximus was ſprung from an illuſtrious family in Rome, and had diſcharged with great applauſe and reputation the firſt offices in the ſtate. He was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which he ſhared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an eaſy and quiet life, and indulging himſelf in all the diverſions and recreations, which his plentiful eſtate could afford him. Hence he no ſooner began to feel the anxieties inſeparable from a crown, eſpecially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the ſtep he had taken, panting after his former condition. Sidonius writes, that the very firſt night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, "Happy Damocles, whoſe reign began and ended "with a dinner;" nay, he had ſome thoughts of abandoning Rome, of quitting the enſigns of majeſty, and reſuming in ſome corner of Italy his former method of life[i]. But being diverted from that reſolution by his friends, he appointed Avitus, then in Gaul, commander in chief of the Roman armies, who immediately diſpatched Meſſianus to acquaint Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, with the acceſſion of Maximus to the empire. That general went ſoon after to confer in perſon with the Gothiſh king, and entered Toulouſe, attended by Theodoric himſelf on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Theodoric, when he unexpectedly received the diſagreeable tidings of the death of Maximus, which put him upon other meaſures[k]. The wife of Maximus dying ſoon after the outrage ſuppoſed to have been offered her, the uſurper, that he might have ſome title to the crown,

The character of Valentinian.

Maximus aſſumes the purple.

And appoints Avitus, commander in chief of all the Roman forces.

[h] Theoph p. 93. Zon. p. 40. Conſt. Manaſſ. p. 51. Procop. bell. Vand l. i. c 3. p. 182.
[i] Sid. l. ep. 13. p. 57, 58.
[k] Idem, car vii. p. 343, 344.

Eudoxia, being forced to marry him, invites Genſericinto Italy.

crown, obliged Eudoxia, the deceaſed emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the ſame time married her daughter Eudocia to his ſon Palladius. Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian with great tenderneſs, highly provoked in ſeeing herſelf married againſt her will to the very perſon who had deprived him both of his life and empire, reſolved, whatever it coſt her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her perſon to his bed. Blinded therefore with paſſion and thirſt of revenge, ſhe took ſuch meaſures as proved fatal to herſelf, to Rome, and all Italy. For expecting no aſſiſtance from Marcian, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, ſhe diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to Genſeric in Africa, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and to reſcue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her huſband [l]. Some authors affirm, that ſhe wrote to the king of the Vandals with her own hand, aſſuring him, that he would meet with no great reſiſtance in Italy, and promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her power. This meſſage was very acceptable to Genſeric, who had long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to ſea without loſs of time, ſteered his courſe ſtrait to Rome. When his numerous fleet firſt appeared, the chief citizens, and all perſons of diſtinction, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, inſtead of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, thought only of conſulting their ſafety by flight [m]. Among theſe was Maximus himſelf; but as he was flying with thoſe of his court, the populace, highly incenſed againſt him for thus ſhamefully abandoning thoſe whom it was his duty to protect, riſing all on a ſudden, purſued him with ſhowers of ſtones; which ſome of Valentinian's officers obſerving, they threw themſelves upon him; and a Roman ſoldier, by name Urſus, gave him the fatal blow [n]. His body was ignominiouſly dragged through the chief ſtreets of the city; and, after it had lain ſome time expoſed to the inſults of the incenſed multitude, thrown into the Tiber. Such was the end of the uſurper Maximus, after he had lived about ſixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His ſon Palladius is ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate. Three days after the death of Maximus, that is, on the fifteenth of June, Genſeric entered Rome without oppoſition, and

Maximus murdered.

Rome taken and plundered by Genſeric.

[l] Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. [m] Sid. p. 174. [n] Procop. p. 186. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45, 67.

and abandoned it to the mercy of his Vandals, ſtrictly enjoining them, however, not to ſet fire to the city, nor ſhed the blood of the inhabitants, purſuant to the promiſe he had made to Leo the Great, then biſhop of Rome, who had gone out to meet him [o]. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houſes, but ſtripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their ſacred veſſels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one ſeized ſuch women as they liked beſt; and amongſt the men, thoſe who they thought would be of moſt uſe to them. Genſeric himſelf forced the imperial palace; and having ſeized on the treaſure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he cauſed them to be put on board a veſſel, with the empreſs Eudoxia, her two daughters Placidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius, the ſon of Aetius, and carried them all into captivity. Amongſt the ſpoils, mention is made of a great many ſtatues with which a veſſel was loaded; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of braſs plated over with gold; of ſacred veſſels of gold, enriched with precious ſtones; and of thoſe which had been formerly taken by Titus out of the temple of Jeruſalem, and brought to Rome. Genſeric, having thus ſtripped the city of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to Africa, but loſt in his paſſage the ſhip that carried the ſtatues [p]. Marcian, ſenſibly affected with the misfortune of Eudoxia and the two princeſſes her daughters, diſpatched embaſſadors to Genſeric, earneſtly entreating him to ſet them at liberty; but he, deſpiſing both his entreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462, when he ſent back Eudoxia, with her ſecond daughter Placidia, to Leo, the ſucceſſor of Marcian. As for Eudocia, he married her to Hunneric, his eldeſt ſon, who had by her Ailderic, afterwards king of the Vandals in Africa [q]. In the eaſt Marcian enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to ſome, the firſt of May, according to others, the twenty-ſecond of April, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the eccleſiaſtics and monks what they pleaſed, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predeceſſors, forbidding widows and deaconeſſes to leave any thing by will to the church [r]. This law is addreſſed to Palladius, the præfectus prætorio, to whom is likewiſe addreſſed another againſt the Eutychians, dated from

Eudoxia and her daughters carried into captivity.

[o] Theoph. p. 93. Vict. Proſp. chron. [p] Theoph. p. 93. Evagr. p. 98. Procop. p. 189. [q] Theod. l. i. p, 552 Priſc. p. 1. [r] Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5.

Conſtantinople the firſt of Auguſt [s]. Of the few writers who flouriſhed under Valentinian III. we ſhall ſpeak in note (T).

AVITUS,

[s] Concil. tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

(T) The chronicle of Idatius has been of great uſe to us in writing the hiſtory of Valentinian's reign. He was a native of Lamego, in the province of Beira, belonging then to Galicia, but at preſent to the kingdom of Portugal. His parents dying when he was very young, he left Spain, and retired to the eaſt, where he ſaw St. Jerom, Eulogius of Cæſarea, John of Jeruſalem, and Theophilus of Alexandria. He owns himſelf to have been but indifferently verſed in polite literature, and ſtill leſs in the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture (1). But as to the latter, Leo the Great, biſhop of Rome, ſeems to have been of a different opinion, ſince he employed him againſt the Priſcilianiſts (2). He was ordained biſhop in the third or fourth year of the reign of Valentinian III. that is, about the year 427, for he reckons from the time that prince was created Cæſar (3). Sigibert, and ſome other writers, ſuppoſe him to have been biſhop of Lamego. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was biſhop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the biſhop Idatius was taken in the church of Aquæ Flaviæ, and returned after three months captivity to Flaviæ (4). As he evidently ſpeaks in that place of himſelf, father Labbé concludes him to have been a native of Lamego, and biſhop of Aquæ Flaviæ (5); which laſt city Sanſon places in the territory of Braga, on the confines of Portugal, calling it Aquæ Leæ Turodorum. Leo, biſhop of Rome, only writes, that Idatius was biſhop in Galicia (6). Dupin will have him to have been archbiſhop of Lugo (7), not reflecting, that Idatius was ordained biſhop in 427, and that ſix years after the ſee of Lugo was held by Aſterius (8). In the year 431, Idatius was ſent by the natives of Galicia to implore the aſſiſtance of Aetius, then in Gaul, againſt the Suevians, who, contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from Gaul the following year with count Cenſorius, ſent by Aetius to treat with the Suevians. He was taken by the Suevians in the church of Aquæ Flaviæ on the twenty ſixth of July 462, but after three months captivity was ſet at liberty. Notwithſtanding the wars and diſturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, eſpecially in Spain, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly ſpeaking,

(1) Idat chron. p 2—10. (2) Leo ep. xxxii. c. 17 p. 162. (3) Idem, p. 4. (4) Idem, p. 39. (5) Labb. ſcript tom. ii p. 495. (6) Leo. tom. ii p 827, 828. (7) Dupin. tom. iv p. 557. (8) Idat. p. 20.

Avitus, or Flavius Mœcilius Avitus, as he is ſtyled on an antient medal [t], had been appointed by Maximus com-

 mander

[t] Goltz. p. 135.

ing, a continuation of that of St. Jerom. What he wrote from the death of Valens, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of Valentinian's reign, and his own epiſcopacy, he either copied, as he aſſures us, from the beſt writers, or learnt of perſons of unqueſtionable veracity: of all the reſt, he was himſelf an eye-witneſs. He writes, that he had the misfortune to ſee the Roman empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of loſing the little it retained; that the diſcipline of the church was utterly neglected in Galicia, and the liberties of the people entirely loſt, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third of Anthemius's reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-firſt of his epiſcopacy. The chronicle of Idatius gives great light to the hiſtory of thoſe times, eſpecially to that of Spain; whence Iſidore and ſome others have copied almoſt word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, eſpecially in point of chronology, either the author himſelf, or his tranſcribers reckoning ſometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two diſtinct years, which is a very groſs miſtake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imitation of St. Jerom, the years of the ſupputation of Euſebius from the birth of Abraham. The æra of Spain, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning on the margin Father Sirmond, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of conſular tables, which he believes to have been done by the ſame author. Father Sirmond publiſhed only part of theſe tables. But father Labbé inſerted the whole in his Bibliotheca nova, and Du Cange in his Chronicon Paſchale (9), which extends from the conſulſhip of Brutus, the firſt conſul, to the ſecond conſulſhip of Anthemius in 468, ſo that the conſular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other æra is marked but that of Spain, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet ſome faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the tranſcribers. In the time of Charlemagne, a French chronologer publiſhed an epitome of the chronicle of Idatius, which is to be found in Caniſius (11). The work

(9) Labb. p. 3. Cange chron. Paſc. p. 439. (10) Vide Wilt. ad. not p. 8 & Noris de Dioclef. num p. 11. (11) Caniſ. tom. ii. p. 640, 641.

mander in chief of all the Roman forces, and was at the court of Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, when news was brought him of the death of the uſurper. He immediately acquainted Theodoric, with what had happened, who thereupon preſſed him to aſſume the purple, and even cauſed him to be proclaimed emperor by the Goths in Toulouſe, on the tenth of July of the preſent year, promiſing to ſupport him in his new dignity with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom [u]. However, he did not, it ſeems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed ſome time after, that is, on the eighth of Auguſt, by the Roman army at Arles, and by all the chief men in Gaul. Theodoric went immediately, attended by his brothers, to Arles, to congratulate the new prince on his acceſſion to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed [w]. From Arles the new emperor ſet out ſoon after for Rome, where he was received by the populace with great demonſtrations of joy. Marcian, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the public welfare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his collegue [x]. The following year, when Varanes and Johannes were conſuls, a bloody war broke

Avitus proclaimed emperor at Toulouſe, and after at Arles.

Is received as ſuch at Rome, and acknowledged by Marcian.

[u] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. [w] Idat. p. 31. Iſidor. chron. [x] Idat. p. 32.

work intitled Notitia imperii is ſuppoſed to have been written in the reign of Valentinian III. and Theodoſius II. but by ſome in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of Theodoſius. This notitia contains a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of the empire in thoſe times, viz of the provinces and their governors; of the other magiſtrates, both civil and military, their titles and offices; of their land and ſea forces; of their foot and horſe; of their troops, both Roman and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, &c. This notitia was publiſhed by Guidus Pancirollus in 1593, with copious comments, of which father Labbé ſpeaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, repreſenting, as Pancirollus imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the notitia is added the decription of Rome by an anonymons author, who is ſuppoſed to have wrote under Valentinian III. To this deſcription of Rome, father Labbé adds one of Conſtantinople, done likewiſe by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of Arcadius, or of Theodoſius the younger. The treatiſe de rebus bellicis, which Labbé adds to it, is ſuppoſed to have been written about the ſame time; but the author, who ſeems to have been a private perſon, and to have profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy, is not known.

broke out between the Suevians in Spain and the Viſigoths in Aquitain. Requiarius, king of the former, taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, over-ran the province of Cartagena, which ſtill belonged to the Romans, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Hereupon Avitus, diſpatching count Fronto to him with the character of embaſſador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the Romans. Theodoric likewiſe, whoſe ſiſter Requiarius had married, interpoſed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-law not to diſturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with Avitus. But Requiarius, without any regard either to treaties or remonſtrances, purſued his ravages, laying waſte, not only the province of Cartagena, but that of Tarraco too, which likewiſe belonged to the empire. Upon this, Theodoric ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he anſwered with great haughtineſs, that if Theodoric found fault with his conduct, he would ſoon give him an account of it at Toulouſe. This anſwer piqued Theodoric to ſuch a degree, that he immediately entered Spain at the head of a powerful army; and being met by Requiarius about twelve miles from Aſtorga, a battle enſued, in which the Suevians were entirely defeated, and their king, who was dangerouſly wounded, obliged to fly for ſhelter to a diſtant corner of Galicia. Theodoric purſued him cloſe; and entering Braga on a Sunday, the twenty-eighth of October, gave that city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. From Braga he advanced with all poſſible expedition to a place called Portucal, whither the fugitive king had retired [y]. Some writers take Portucal for the preſent city of Porto, on the Douro, in the kingdom of Portugal, to which it is thought to have given name [z]. Jornandes writes, that Requiarius put to ſea, in order to ſave himſelf by flight, but was driven back by a ſtorm [a]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to Theodoric, who, after having kept him ſome time in priſon, put him to death in the month of December [b]. The Suevians, diſheartened by the death of their king, and deſtitute of a leader, ſubmitted to Theodoric, who retained for himſelf the country he had conquered, appointing one Aquiulphus to govern it. Aquiulphus, revolting ſoon after from Theodoric, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of the Suevians in Galicia, but died the following year in the month of June at Porto [c]. Jornandes writes, that a

War between the Viſigoths and Suevians.

The Suevians defeated.

[y] Idat. p. 33. Iſidor. chron. Jorn p. 676. [z] Baud. [a] Jorn. ibid. [b] Idat p. 24. Iſidor. chron. [c] Idat p. 27.

powerful army being ſent againſt him by Theodoric, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded[d]. Some Suevians, refuſing to ſubmit to the Goths, retired to a diſtant corner of Galicia, and there choſe for their king one of their own nation, named Maldra[e]. The ſame year, Genſeric, putting to ſea with a numerous fleet, and a conſiderable army on board, with a deſign to ravage the coaſts of Italy or Gaul, was overtaken near Corſica by the Roman fleet, under the command of Ricimer, and utterly defeated[f]. Ricimer, ſtyled by ſome Richimer or Richemer, was ſprung from the royal family of the Suevians; but as his mother was the daughter of Valla, king of the Goths in 418, he is commonly looked upon rather as a Goth than a Suevian. He had ſerved from his youth in the Roman armies, and acquired ſo much reputation by his warlike exploits, that Sidonius gives him the title of invincible, and Jornandes ſtyles him the beſt commander of his age[g]; nay, Sidonius prefers him for courage to Sylla, for prudence to Fabius, for good-nature to Metellus, for eloquence to Appius, for vigour and reſolution to Fulvius, and for addreſs to Camillus[h]. But theſe good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honeſty; ambitious to ſuch a degree, that not ſatisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces in the weſt, patrician, and ſon-in-law to the emperor, he took upon him to raiſe and depoſe emperors at his pleaſure, and, ſince he was excluded by his birth from wearing the imperial crown himſelf, to command and controul thoſe who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled luſt of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raiſed by himſelf, and to ſtir up and aſſiſt under-hand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the ſtrongeſt ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his ſucceſs over Genſeric, inſtead of purſuing it, he returned to Rome, and, revolting with Majorianus, obliged the ſenate to declare Avitus unworthy of the empire; which no ſooner came to the prince's ears, who was then in Gaul, than he haſtened back to Italy; but upon his arrival at Placentia, he was ſtopped by Ricimer, and ſtripped of all the badges of majeſty[i]. Theophanes writes, that Avitus was overcome in battle by Ricimer,

Genſeric defeated by Ricimer.

Avitus depoſed.

[d] Jorn. p. 677. [e] Idat. p. 34. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Jorn. c. 45. p. 678. Sid car. ii. p. 301. [h] Sid. car. v. p. 317. [i] Greg. Tur. l, ii c. 11. p. 230.

Ricimer, on the ſixteenth of October [k]; ſo that he had ſcarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus deveſted of the purple, he cauſed himſelf to be ordained biſhop of Placentia, but the ſenate inſiſting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from Placentia, with a deſign to take ſanctuary in the church of St. Julian at Brioude in Auvergne, the place of his nativity. Gregory of Tours adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to Brioude, and buried near that of the holy martyr of St. Julian [l]. During his ſhort reign, the Burgundians, who had been removed from the banks of the Rhine in 438, or, as others will have it, in 443, and had ever ſince that time dwelt amongſt the mountains of Savoy, ſeized on part of Gaul, and made themſelves maſters of the city of Lions [m]. In 463, the city of Die in Dauphiny was ſubject to them, as appears from a letter of Gondiac their king to Hilarius biſhop of Rome [n]. The next conſuls were Conſtantine and Rufinus, belonging both to the eaſtern empire, no emperor being yet choſen in the weſt. In the beginning of this year 457, died the emperor Marcian, after having reigned ſix years, five months, and two days. His death, which Theodorus, ſurnamed the Reader, aſcribes to his having aſſiſted at a proceſſion on the twenty-ſixth of January [o], muſt have happened about the end of that month; for Leo, who ſucceeded him, was proclaimed at Conſtantinople on the ſeventh of February. Marcian is commended by all the writers of thoſe times, for the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion [p]. Leo biſhop of Rome, calls him a prince of a bleſſed and venerable memory; and the Greeks honour him with the title of ſaint, celebrating his feſtival, with that of the empreſs Pulcheria, on the ſeventeenth of February. He was buried in the church of St. Zea at Conſtantinople, which he had built [r]. Priſcus, of whom we have ſpoken above, wrote the hiſtory of his reign; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times [s]. A few days after the death of Marcian, Leo was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous

The Burgundians ſeize on part of Gaul.

Marciandies.

Leo proclaimed emperor.

[k] Theoph. p. 94. [l] Greg. Tur. p. 280. [m] Marc. chron. p. 210. [n] Concil. tom. 4. p. 1043. [o] Theod. l. i. p. 650. [p] Idem. p. 70. Evagr. l. ii. p. 269. Idat. Marc. & chron Alex. p. 747. [q] Leo. ep. 12. [r] Codin. orig. Conſtant. p. 48. [s] Evagr. l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. [t] Theoph. p. 95. Theod. p. 563. Marc. chron.

mous conſent of the ſenate, people, and ſoldiery, and crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Conſtantinople [u]. This is the firſt inſtance we find in hiſtory of a prince's receiving the crown at the hand of a biſhop. Leo, diſtinguiſhed by the Greeks with the ſurname of the Great, was, according to the moſt probable opinion, a native of Thrace, and thence commonly called Leo the Thracian. He had ſerved from his youth in the Roman armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at Selymbria in Thrace, when he was raiſed to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flouriſhed in thoſe times. Leo is ſaid to have owed his promotion to the patrician Aſpar, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his ſon Ardaburius, who not daring, tho' very powerful, to aſſume the purple themſelves, as they were Arians by religion, and not Romans by birth, but Goths, or rather Alans, conferred it upon Leo, in whoſe name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that Leo promiſed to raiſe one of Aſpar's ſons to the dignity of Cæſar [v].

His birth, education, employments, &c.

In the very beginning of his reign, great diſturbances were raiſed by the Eutychians in Alexandria, who hearing of the death of Marcian, roſe in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic biſhop Proterus, and choſe in his room one of their own ſect, named Timotheus Elurus. The tumult was ſoon quelled; but the authors of it putting themſelves under the protection of Aſpar, a zealous patron of Arianiſm, were by him ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their wickedneſs [w]. In the weſt, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time Ricimer governed with an abſolute ſway, Majorianus was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate, the people, and ſoldiery, Ricimer propoſing him as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of his family is, that his father had ſerved with great reputation under Aetius, and was afterwards raiſed to the office of treaſurer of the empire. His mother was daughter of Majorianus, appointed by Theodoſius I. or rather by Gratian, in 379, general of the Roman horſe and foot in Pannonia. From him the emperor took the name of Majorianus. He was raiſed to the

Majorianus raiſed to the empire in the weſt.

[u] Zonar p. 40 Theod. p. 563. Theoph. p. 575. [w] Cedren. p. 346. Leo, ep. 118. p. 671.

the empire in the flower of his age, having already given ſeveral inſtances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good-nature, generoſity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. Procopius, ſpeaking of him, ſays, that he ſurpaſſed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him [x]. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with Ricimer, and therefore was eaſily prevailed upon by him to revolt from Avitus. Soon after the depoſing of that prince, he was raiſed to the poſt of general in the room of Ricimer, who was created patrician, probably by Marcian, or Leo his ſucceſſor; for the emperor of the eaſt is ſuppoſed to have governed the weſtern empire during the inter-regnum [y]. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about ſix miles from Ravenna, called The little pillars [z]. In the beginning of his reign, Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, having almoſt entirely reduced the Suevians in Galicia, entered Luſitania, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities there, and among the reſt of Meridia, the metropolis of that country; but receiving diſagreeable tidings from Gaul, not mentioned in hiſtory, he ſet out from Luſitania the day after Eaſter, which fell this year 457, on the thirty-firſt, and not on the twenty-eighth, of March, as we read in Idatius, and returned in great haſte to Toulouſe [a]. He left a body of troops in Spain, with orders to reduce the Suevians in Galicia, who had not yet ſubmitted to him. Theſe forces being, on their march to Galicia, admitted as friends into the city of Aſtorga, which was held by the Romans, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put moſt of them to the ſword, plundered their houſes, and ſetting fire to the place, carried all thoſe, whoſe lives they had ſpared, into captivity, and among the reſt the whole clergy, and two biſhops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of Palentia met with the ſame treatment; but the caſtle of Coviac, about thirty miles from Aſtorga, making a vigorous reſiſtance, the Goths, after having loſt great numbers of their men, thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, and return to Gaul [b]. The Suevians had, upon the death of Requiarius their king, choſen Maldra in his room, as we have obſerved above; but ſome of them, revolting from him, ſet up one Frantan. A civil

Galicia almoſt entirely reduced by the Viſigoths.

[x] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. p. 194. [y] Vide Valeſ. p. 136. [z] Jorn. rer. ſucc. p. 654 Marc. chron. [a] Idat. p. 35. [b] Idem, p. 36.

civil war being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the Romans, that is, with the natives, who ſtill held ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Galicia, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but notwithſtanding this peace, the partizans of Maldra, entering Luſitania, made themſelves maſters of Liſbon, after having been admitted into the place as friends [c].

Liſbon taken by the Suevians.

THE following year, when the two emperors, Leo and Majorianus, were conſuls, the Vandals made a deſcent on the coaſt of Campania; but Majorianus, marching againſt them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of Sinueſſa, between the Garigliano and the Volturno; put great numbers of them to the ſword, among whom was the brother-in-law of Genſeric their commander; and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves on board their fleet, which ſailed immediately for Africa [d]. Majorianus, reſolved to purſue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himſelf to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, aſſembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ſhips [e]. But of this enterprize hereafter. Majorianus, leaving Ravenna in the depth of winter, paſſed the Alps, and entering Gaul, obliged the Burgundians, who had made themſelves maſters of the city of Lions, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where Sidonius pronounced his panegyric, Majorianus purſued his march to Arles, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter and part of the ſpring; for he was ſtill in that city on the ſeventeenth of April of the following year 459 [f]. In Spain, Frantan, one of the kings of the Suevians, dying, thoſe who had followed him ſubmitted to Maldra; ſo that the whole nation was again united under one head. An army of Viſigoths, ſent into Spain by Theodoric, ravaged the province of Bœtica, while the Suevians, notwithſtanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that part of Galicia, which borders on the Douro, putting all to fire and ſword [g]. In the following conſulſhip of Ricimer and Patricius, Theodoric, taking unexpectedly the field, ſurpriſed ſome cities in Gaul belonging to the Romans; but Majorianus, marching from Arles againſt him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promiſing

The Vandals defeated by Majorianus.

Spain ravaged by the Suevians and Viſigoths.

[c] Idem, p. 37. Iſidor. chron. [d] Sid. car. v. p. 325. [e] Idem, p. 324. Infr. p. 42. Procop. bell. Vand. c. 7. p. 194. [f] Sid. car. v. p. 376. Cod. Theod. Nov. 9. p. 372. [g] Idat, p. 37.

miſing to aſſiſt the Romans againſt the Suevians in Spain, and the Vandals in Africa [l]. In the eaſt, the city of Antioch was almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of September. Scarce a ſingle houſe was left ſtanding in the new city, the moſt beautiful quarter of that metropolis [m]. The following year 460, when Magnus and Apollonius were conſuls, Majorianus, leaving Arles, bent his march towards Spain, which he entered in the month of May, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into Africa [n]. Procopius writes, that the better to inform himſelf of the ſtrength of the enemy, the ſtate of the country, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, he went in diſguiſe to the court of Genſeric, pretending to be an embaſſador ſent by the Roman emperor, with propoſals for an accommodation [o]. This Procopius relates with ſuch circumſtances, as render the whole account altogether incredible. Genſeric, alarmed at the vaſt preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; but his propoſals being rejected, he diſpatched a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips, with orders to attack the Roman fleet riding in the bay of Alicant; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that they took moſt of the Roman ſhips, and returned with them in triumph to Africa. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of ſome on board the Roman fleet, put a ſtop to the enterprize, and obliged Majorianus to return to Arles, whence he iſſued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But, in the mean time, Genſeric, dreading the arms and valour of Majorianus, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with new propoſals; which in the end he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire [p]. Thus a peace was concluded between Majorianus and Genſeric; but the articles of the treaty have not been tranſmitted to poſterity. In Spain, Maldra, king of the Suevians, being killed, Remiſmond his ſon, and Frumarius, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them, the latter ſurpriſed Aquæ Flaviæ, and took Idatius, biſhop of the place, priſoner, on the twenty-ſixth of July, while Remiſmond laid waſte the territories of Orenſo on the Minho, and of Lugo. Sunieric and Nepotianus, two of Theodoric's generals, marched

Majorianus reſolves to paſs over into Africa.

His fleet ſurpriſed by the Vandals.

[l] Idem, p 38. Valeſ p. 191. [m] Evag. l. ii. c 12 Theoph. p. 95 Niceph. chron. [n] Idat. Marc. chron. Priſc. p. 42. [o] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i c. 7. p. 194. [p] Procop. p. 194. Priſc. p. 42.

ched againſt them; and, after having ravaged part of Galicia, entered Luſitania, and made themſelves maſters of Scalabis, now Santarein on the Tagus [q]. In the eaſt, nothing happened this year that deſerves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of Cyzicus [r]. The following year 461, Severinus and Dagalaiphus being conſuls, Ricimir, who had raiſed Majorianus to the empire, thinking himſelf neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wife and vigorous adminiſtration, reſolved to depoſe him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from Gaul to Rome, he ſtripped him of the imperial ornaments at Tortona in the Milaneſe on the ſecond of Auguſt, and cauſed him, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, to be put to death at Iria, now Voghera, after he had reigned three years and ſome months [s]. The account which Procopius gives us of his death ſhews, that we muſt not lay ſtreat ſtreſs upon the authority of that writer [t]. Majorianus, in whoſe reign the empire ſeemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, Ricimir cauſed Severus to be proclaimed at Ravenna, on the nineteenth of November, hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no ways qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of him is, that he was a native of Lucania [u]. In the eaſt, Leo refuſing to pay the uſual penſion to Valamir, Theodomir, and Widemir, kings of the Oſtrogoths, whom Marcian had allowed to ſettle in Pannonia, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waſte great part of Illyricum, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities; but Anthemius ſon-in-law to the late emperor Marcian, having obliged them to retire into Pannonia, they hearkened to the embaſſadors that were ſent by Leo to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up to Leo as an hoſtage [w]. But of him we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the Oſtrogoths in Italy.

Majorianus depoſed by Ricimer, and put to death.

Severus made emperor.

THE following year, when the emperor Leo was conſul for the ſecond time, with Severus emperor of the weſt, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have been acknowledged by

[q] Idat. p 39. [r] Marc chron. [s] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. Idat. p. 40. Evag. l. ii. c. 7. p. 299. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p 194. [u] Jorn. reg ſucc. c. 46. p. 654. Theoph p. 97 Idat. p 40. Onuph. p. 306. Sid. p. 111. Evagr. p. 70. [w] Jorn. p. 690. Priſc. p. 74. Phot. c. 78, p 172.

by the Greeks, Genſeric, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with Majorianus, after that prince's death, ſent a powerful fleet to pillage the coaſts of Sicily and Italy, and made himſelf maſter of Sardinia [x]. In Gaul Ægidius, a native of that country, and commander in chief of the Roman forces there, provoked at the death of Majorianus, who had raiſed him to that poſt, reſolved to march into Italy, and revenge it upon Ricimer and Severus. But in the mean time, the Viſigoths, in all likelihood ſtirred up by Ricimer, having made themſelves maſters of Norbonne, which was betrayed to them by one Agrippina, and beſieged Arles, Ægidius turned his arms againſt them, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege and retire, tho' they were powerfully aſſiſted by the Burgundians, under the conduct of Gondiac their king, whom Severus had raiſed to the command of the Roman forces in Gaul, with the title of general [y]. The ſame year, Marcellinus, or, as Procopius calls him, Marcellianus, who had ſerved with great reputation in the Roman armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of Ricimer, revolted from Severus, and retiring into Dalmatia, eſtabliſhed there a new ſovereignty, independent of the empire [z]. Hereupon the inhabitants of Italy, ſeeing themſelves at the ſame time threatened by Marcellinus, by Ægidius, and by Genſeric, had recourſe to Leo, emperor of the eaſt, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to Genſeric and Marcellinus. The latter, ſatisfied to ſee himſelf acknowledged by Leo prince of the country which he had ſeized, promiſed not to moleſt the Romans. But Genſeric openly declared, that he would hearken to no terms, till the effects of Valentinian were delivered up to him; which he claimed, becauſe his ſon Huneric had married Eudocia, that prince's eldeſt daughter. He likewiſe demanded the effects of Aetius, perhaps becauſe Gaudentius, that general's eldeſt ſon, whom he had taken at Rome in 455, was then at his court. However, he ſent back to Leo, Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, and Placidia her ſecond daughter; who being ſoon after married to Olybrius, of whom anon, Genſeric declared he would wage an eternal war with the weſtern empire, unleſs Olybrius, brother-in-law to his ſon, was raiſed to the imperial dignity [a]. To this low ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced by

Marcellinus eſtabliſhes a new ſovereignty in Dalmatia.

[x] Priſc. p. 74. Procop. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 192. [y] Priſc. p. 42. Idat p. 41. Cuſp. p 452. [z] Phot. c. 242. Procop. p 191. Idat. p. 43. [a] Idat p. 32. Priſc. p. 42. Sid. car. ii. p. 349.

The Viſigoths defeated in Gaul by Ægidius.

by the death of Majorianus and the adminiſtration of Ricimer. The following year 463, Flavius Cæcina Baſilius and Vivianus being conſuls, Ægidius gained a ſignal victory over the Viſigoths in Gaul. The battle was fought between the Loire and the Loiret. The latter river, after a ſhort courſe of about ſix miles, falls into the former a little below Orleans. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the reſt Frederic, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief [b]. After this battle, Ægidius, laid ſiege to the city of Chinon in Tauraine; but the vigorous reſiſtance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize [c]. The Viſigoths were attended with better ſucceſs in Spain, than in Gaul; for Idatius ſpeaks of them now as maſters of the whole country, except part of Galicia, which was ſtill held by the Suevians, and the provinces of Tarraco and Cartagena, which belonged to the Romans. Such of the natives of Galicia, as had not yet ſubmitted to the Suevians, ſent this very year one Palegorius, to implore the protection, not of Severus, but of Theodoric [d]; which plainly ſhews, that they acknowledged him, and not the Roman emperor, for their ſovereign. The next year Ruſticus, or Ruſticius, and Olybrius being conſuls, Remiſmond, king of the Suevians, ſurpriſed and plundered the city of Coimbra; but ſoon after concluded a peace with Theodoric [e]. In the beginning of the year, Beorgor, king of the Alans, having entered Italy with a conſiderable army, was met by Ricimer in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, and, on the 6th of February, cut off with all his men [f]. Whence theſe Alans came, is uncertain. This Jornandes ſuppoſes to have happened in the reign of Anthemius; but we have followed Idatius, who lived at that time. The ſame year, died Ægidius in Gaul, being, according to ſome, ſays Idatius, poiſoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the Viſigoths made themſelves maſters of the far greater part of Gaul. However, Berri, Sens, and Auvergne ſtill belonged to the Romans in 472, and were governed by one Paulus, diſtinguiſhed with the title of count [g] Sygarius, the ſon of Ægidius, held Soiſſons and its territory, for ſeveral years, having erected there a petty ſovereignty, according to the French hiſtorians, who give him the title of king [h]. At the ſame time, Childeric, king of

The Alans defeated by Ricimer.

Different nations ſettle in Gaul.

[b] Idat. p 41. Du Cheſne, p. 211. [c] Idat. ibid [d] Idem, p. 42. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1062. [e] Idat. ibid. [f] Idem: ibid. [g] Greg. Tur. p. 282. [h] Idem, p. 285.

of the Burgundians, laid ſiege to Paris, and reduced it; the Franks made themſelves maſters of the provinces bordering on the Rhine; the Saxons ſettled at Nantes and Bayeux; the Alemans in the country of the Helvetii; and the Britons, driven out by the Angles and Scots, in the territories of Vennes and Treguier, which, with the adjacent country, took from them, according to the moſt probable opinion, the name of Bretagne [i]. In 465, when Baſiliſcus and Hermenericus were conſuls, died at Rome Severus, after having borne the name of emperor almoſt four years. He is ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by Ricimer [k]. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almoſt two years, Ricimer ruling, during that time, with an abſolute ſway; but not daring, as he was by birth a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The ſame year, a violent fire breaking out in Conſtantinople, on the ſecond of September, reduced to aſhes eight of the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at laſt overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the ſpace of ſix whole days, and as many nights [l]. The following year, when the emperor Leo alone was conſul the third time, Ricimer aſſembled a powerful fleet, with a deſign to attempt the recovery of Africa; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole ſummer, obliged to drop that enterprize [m]. The ſame year, Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his brother Euric, who immediately took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and was proclaimed at Toulouſe [n]. Jornandes, always favourable to the Goths, only writes, that Euric was ſuſpected of having contributed to the death of his brother [o]. The new king ſent embaſſadors to the emperor Leo, to Remiſmond king of the Suevians, and to Genſeric king of the Vandals, acquainting them with his acceſſion to the crown [p]. In the eaſt, the Hunns broke into Dacia; but were defeated, firſt by Anthemius, and afterwards by Anagaſtus, ſtyled general of Thrace. They were commanded by Dengizic, one of Attila's ſons, who was ſlain in the engagement. His head was ſent to Conſtantinople, and there expoſed

Severus dies.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, murdered by his brother Euric.

[i] Val. rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. Sid. l i ep. 7. p. 16. [k] Jorn. p. 654. Sid. car ii. p. 317. Idat p 43. [l] Evagr. l. ii. c. 13. p. 307. Theodor. p. 555 Cedren p. 348. [m] Priſc. p. 75. [n] Idat. Iſidor. Marc. chron. [o] Jorn c. 44. p 677. [p] Idat. p. 44, 45.

expoſed for ſome days to public view [q]. In the following conſulſhip of Puſæus and Johannes, the inter-regnum ended in the weſt. Anthemius was, with the conſent and approbation of Ricimer, declared emperor, notwithſtanding the great intereſt made by Genſeric in favour of Olybrius, brother-in-law to his ſon. Anthemius was a native of Conſtantinople, deſcended of an antient, illuſtrious, and wealthy family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the eaſt. He had ſome claim to the empire, having married Marciana, the only daughter of the late emperor Marcian, by whom he had three ſons and one daughter. He had been conſul in 455, and was ſoon after, tho' yet very young, raiſed to the dignity of patrician, and the poſt of general. Sidonius, his panegyriſt, writes, that, upon the death of Marcian, no one thought of confrreing the empire on Leo, till Anthemius had refuſed it [r]. Theophanes ſtyles him a moſt chriſtian prince [s]. Soon after his nomination, he left Conſtantinople, where he then was, and ſet out for Italy, attended by a great number of choſen troops, and ſeveral counts, with other perſons of diſtinction, among whom was Marcellinus, prince of Dalmatia, whom Leo had perſuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the Vandals [t]. Anthemius was received at Rome by the ſenate and people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to ſome, on the twelfth of April, according to others, in the month of Auguſt, at a place about three miles from Rome, called Bontrota [u]. A few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer, purſuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes [w]. In the mean time, Genſeric, highly provoked againſt Leo, for having preferred Anthemius, and not Olybrius, to the empire, ſent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage Peloponneſus and the Greek iſlands; which they did with great cruelty, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Leo reſolved at all events to revenge the affront offered to the eaſtern empire; and acccordingly the following year 468, when Anthemius alone was conſul, he fitted out the greateſt fleet, ſays Procopius [x], the Romans had ever had. Cedrenus writes, it conſiſted of one thouſand one

Anthemius raiſed to the empire.

And proclaimed at Rome.

Genſeric ravages the Greek iſlands.

[q] Chron. Alex. p. 744. Jorn. c. 56. p. 688. Priſc. p. 44
[r] Sid. p 295. [s] Theoph. p. 98. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l
i. c 6 p. 191. Jorn. c 46. p. 654 [u] Idat. p. 44 Mar
Caſſiod. Cuſpin chron. [w] Sid l. i. ep. 21, 22. [x] Procop
l. i. c. 6 .p 192.

one hundred and thirteen ſhips, each ſhip having one hundred men on board [y]. Theophanes [z] and Nicephorus [a] will have no fewer than one hundred thouſand ſhips to have been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of Leo were joined all the beſt troops of the weſt, under the command of Marcellinus, who reinforced them with a choſen body of men raiſed in his own dominions [b]. Leo gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to Baſiliſcus, brother to his wife Verina, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in Thrace. Under him commanded one John, a perſon of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war [c]. The iſland of Sicily was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence Marcellinus was to ſail for Sardinia, which the Vandals had lately ſeized; Heraclius of Edeſſa, a brave and experienced officer, for Libya; and Baſiliſcus, with the greateſt part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to ſteer his courſe ſtrait to Carthage. Marcellinus, purſuant to this plan, landed in Sardinia, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland, while Heraclius, landing unexpectedly in Libya, defeated the Vandals, who attempted to oppoſe him, and reduced with incredible expedition Tripolis and all the other cities of that province [d]. Genſeric, receiving at the ſame time news of the loſs of Sardinia and Libya, and of the arrival of the Roman fleet at cape Mercury, about thirty miles from Carthage, began to look upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt, and is even ſaid to have had ſome thoughts of yielding up Africa to the Romans, and retiring elſewhere; and indeed if Baſiliſcus had, during the panic which had ſeized the barbarians, marched directly to Carthage, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving Genſeric time to recover from his conſternation, he began to deſpiſe the Roman admiral, and had even the confidence to ſend deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to ſettle with him the conditions on which he was to ſubmit to Leo. Some authors write, that, with the embaſſadors, Genſeric ſent privately an immenſe ſum to Baſiliſcus, with whoſe avaricious temper he was well acquainted [e]. Others tell us, that Aſpar, who had lately quarrelled with Leo, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals.

[y] Cedren. p. 350. [z] Theoph. p. 99. [a] Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p. 631. [b] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. [c] Idem, p. 153. [d] Idem, p. 192. Theoph. p. 101. Sid. car. p. 1199. [e] Theoph. p. 100. Theodor. p. 555.

overcame the Vandals, had promiſed to raiſe Baſiliſcus, who was no leſs ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he ſpared Genſeric [f]. Be that as it will, Baſiliſcus readily conſented to the truce, during which Genſeric taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, ſailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ſhips, which being by the wind driven full ſail upon the Roman navy, ſet fire to many of their ſhips, and threw the whole fleet into the utmoſt confuſion. The next morning Genſeric's fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and falling upon the Romans before they could recover themſelves from their terror and conſternation, took ſeveral of their ſhips, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves in the beſt manner they could. John, who commanded under Baſiliſcus, and was no-ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himſelf, when overpowered, on a plank into the ſea. Genſon, the ſon of Genſeric, greatly taken with his courage and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, It ſhall never be ſaid, that John owed his life to dogs, quitted his plank, and was drowned [g]. As for Baſiliſcus, Zonaras writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a ſudden tacked about, and, crowding all ſails, betook himſelf to flight; which raiſed the courage of the enemy, and quite diſheartened his own people [h]. Marcellinus, after the reduction of Sardinia, returned to Sicily, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into Africa; but, before he ſet ſail, he was aſſaſſinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of Anthemius, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage [i]. Heraclius, who was on full march from Libya to Carthage, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of Baſiliſcus, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire [k]. Baſiliſcus returned to Sicily, with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, having loſt above fifty thouſand men [l]. From Sicily, he returned to Conſtantinople, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took ſanctuary in the church of St. Sophia. Tho' both the emperor and people were incenſed againſt him, yet, by the mediation of the empreſs Verina, his ſiſter, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to

The Roman fleet in Africa put to flight.

[f] Suid. Phot. c. 242. p. 1064. [g] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192.
[h] Zonar. p. 42. [i] Procop. p. 193. Phot. c. 242. p. 1048. Marc. chron. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Priſc. p. 193.

to retire to Heraclea in Thrace [m]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have coſt both empires above an hundred and thirty thouſand pounds weight of gold [t], not only the two princes, but all governors, and other perſons in employments, cheerfully contributing large ſums to defray the charges of an enterprize ſo advantageous to the empire [u]. Priſcus the hiſtorian, who flouriſhed at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it [w]; but his work has not reached our time. The ſame year, Leo married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, deſcended from an illuſtrious family in Iſauria. His father's name was Ruſumbladaſtes, and his, before his marriage, Traſcaliſſæus, or Taraſicodiſus [x]. He took the name of Zeno from another Iſaurian, who had been raiſed to great employments in the reign of Theodoſius the younger [y]. Evagrius refers us to one Euſtathius, a Syrian writer, who, he ſays, will inform us as to the motives that prompted Leo to prefer Zeno to many other perſons of great merit in the choice of a ſon-in-law [z]; but the works of Euſtathius have been long ſince loſt. Theophanes and Candidus Iſaurus write, that Leo, jealous of the too great power of Aſpar, and appriſed of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to Zeno, hoping by his means to gain over the Iſaurians his countrymen, who were deemed the beſt ſoldiers of the empire [a]. However that be, Leo immediately raiſed his ſon-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the ſame time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the eaſt. In the weſt, Remiſmond made himſelf maſter of Liſbon, betrayed to him by one Luſides, a native of Luſitania, who commanded in that place. About the ſame time, the Goths ſurpriſed Merida, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, ſparing neither Romans nor Suevians [b]. Here Idatius ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in Galicia, and among the reſt, that ſeveral fiſhes were taken in the Minho, marked with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin characters [c]. The next conſuls were Marcianus and Zeno, the two ſons-in-law of the emperor Leo, the latter having married Ariadne, and the former, who was the ſon of the em-

Leo marries his daughter to Zeno.

Liſbon taken by the Suevians, and Merida by the Goths.

[m] Idem ibid. Cedren. p 330. Theoph. p. 100. [t] Procop. p. 191. Evagr. p. 74. [u] Evag ibid. [w] Idem, l. ii. c. 16. p. 308 Theoph p. 100. [x] Zon. p. 42. Agath. l. iv. p. 149. [y] Theoph. p. 111. [z] Evagr. l. ii. c. 15. p. 308. [a] Theoph. p. 101. Cand. Iſaur. p. 18. [b] Idat. p. 41. [c] Idem, p 47, 48.

peror Anthemius, Leoncia. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the following conſulſhip of Severus and Jordanes, Euric, king of the Viſigoths, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himſelf maſter of Auvergne, Berri, and Gevaudan, after having defeated a body of twelve thouſand Britons dwelling on the Loire, who, under the conduct of Riothim or Riotham, came to the aſſiſtance of the Romans [d]. At the ſame time one Odoacer, who had commanded a body of Saxons under Ægidius in 464, made himſelf maſter of Angers; but was overcome by Childeric king of the Franks, who reduced not only the city of Angers, but all the neighbouring country [e]. The Burgundians too, taking advantage of the weak and diſtracted ſtate of the empire, reduced the city of Lions, and the whole province called Lugdunenſis Prima [f].

The Viſigoths extend their dominions in Gaul.

And likewiſe the Franks and Burgundians.

THE following year, when Leo was conſul the fourth time with Probianus, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between that prince and Aſpar, who had raiſed him to the empire; but as Aſpar was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a ſeparate and independent body, having one Quelcal, by nation a Hunn, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviſeable to diſſemble for the preſent; and pretending to be reconciled with Aſpar, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Patricius Secundus, that general's eldeſt ſon, and ſoon after created Aſpar Cæſar. The inhabitants of Conſtantinople, knowing Aſpar and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of Arius, were highly diſpleaſed at this promotion; but the emperor ſoon delivered them from the apprehenſion they were under of ſeeing an Arian raiſed to the empire; for being informed by ſome perſons, privy to all the counſels of Aſpar, that a plot was carrying on againſt him by that general and his children, he reſolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly cauſed Aſpar, and his ſon Ardaburius, to be murdered this very year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, Leo having ordered them to be put to death, becauſe they aſpired at the empire [g]. But the modern writers add ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeem inconſiſtent with what we read in the authors who flouriſhed in thoſe times. Patricius was dangerouſly wounded, but found

Aſpar created Cæſar.

Aſpar and his ſon Ardaburius murdered.

means

[d] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. 678. Sid. l. iii. ep, 9. p. 73, 74. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 232. [e] Greg. Tur, ibid. [f] Sid. l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168. & car. xv. p. 386. [g] Marc. chron. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 139. Vict. Tun. Jorn. reg. ſucc. p. 664.

means to make his eſcape, as did likewiſe Aſpar's third ſon, named Hermeneric [h]. The friends of Aſpar, eſpecially the Goths in the emperor's ſervice, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great diſorders in Conſtantinople, being headed by one of their countrymen, named Oſtroui. But Zeno, who was then at Chalcis, haſtened with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the Goths were driven out of the city with a great ſlaughter. However, they ravaged Thrace, and, being joined by the Goths, ſettled in Pannonia, made themſelves maſters of Philippi and Arcadiopolis; which places they reſtored ſoon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promiſing to pay them a certain ſum, and to appoint Theodoric, ſon to Triarius, the brother of Aſpar's wife, commander of the Goths in the Roman ſervice [i]. Upon the death of Aſpar, who had been a zealous patron of the Arians, Leo publiſhed ſeveral rigorous laws againſt thoſe heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbiding them to hold any public or private aſſemblies [k]. The following year, when Feſtus and Marcianus were conſuls, Ricimir, who was no leſs powerful in the weſt, than Aſpar had been in the eaſt, dreading the ſame fate, reſolved to be before-hand with the emperor Anthemius, who, he ſaw, began to miſtruſt him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the Roman ſervice, but under his command, laid ſiege to Rome, where the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally ſpeaking, well affected to Anthemius, made a vigorous reſiſtance, notwithſtanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the ſuccours they daily expected out of Gaul, under the conduct of Bilimer, who commanded the Roman troops there, and was greatly attached to the intereſt of Anthemius. Bilimer arrived at length with a conſiderable army, conſiſting partly of Romans, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by Ricimer, who, encouraged with this ſucceſs, purſued the ſiege with freſh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged with no leſs fury than Alaric or Genſeric had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houſes of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties [l]. As for the emperor Anthemius, Ricimir cauſed him to be put to death, and Olybrius to be proclaimed in his room [m]. Zeno, who

Rome beſieged by Ricimer.

Which is taken and plundered.

Anthemius put to death, and Olybrius proclaimed emperor.

[h] Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p 373 Zonar p. 39. [i] Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 181. [k] Theodor. l. iv. c. 4. p. 273. [l] Marc. chron. Onuph. p. 57. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1238. [m] Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

ſucceeded Leo, reproached the Roman ſenate with the death of Anthemius [n]. He is ſuppoſed to have died on the eleventh of July [o]; but authors are quite ſilent as to the circumſtances of his death, contenting themſelves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of Ricimir, he loſt both his life and the empire. Ricimer did not long outlive Anthemius; for being ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of September [p]; and was followed ſoon after by Olybrius, who died a natural death at Rome, on the twenty-third of October [q]. This year, mount Veſuvius in Campania threw out ſuch an immenſe quantity of aſhes, as turned night into day, even at Conſtantinople, where the people were aſſembled in the circus, when the cloud firſt appeared. All the ſtreets and houſes were covered with aſhes three inches deep [r]. This happened according to Marcellinus, on the ſixth, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, on the eleventh, of November. The following year 473, when Leo alone was conſul the fifth time, Glycerius took upon him the title of emperor at Ravenna, on the fifth of March, being ſupported by Gondibal, nephew to Ricimer, whom Olybrius had raiſed, during his ſhort reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been comes domeſticorum, and was, according to Theophanes, a man of ſome merit. [s]. In the very beginning of his reign, the Goths, who had been allowed to ſettle in Pannonia, reſolved, without the leaſt povocation, ſays Jornandes, to make war upon both empires. Purſuant to this reſolution, Videmir broke into Italy, while his brother Theodomir invaded the eaſtern empire; but the former dying, his ſon, bearing the ſame name, was, by the rich preſents of Glycerius, prevailed upon to quit Italy, whence he retired into Gaul, and there joined the Viſigoths, who, being thus reinforced, conquered ſoon after both that country and Spain [t]. Theodomir likewiſe died as ſoon as he entered the territories of the eaſtern empire, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Theodoric, ſurnamed the Great [u]. The ſame year 473, Leo, apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming Zeno to ſucceed him, but both the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople, who hated

Ricimer dies, and the new emperor Olybrius.

Glycerius uſurps the empire.

[n] Marc. p. 94. [o] Cuſpin. p. 457. [p] Onuph. p. 57.
[q] Idem ibid. Jorn. p 67. Theoph. p. 102. [r] Zonar. p. 424.
Theodor. p. 555 Procop l. ii. c. 4. 398. [s] Theoph. p. 102.
[t] Jorn. rer Goth. c. 56. p. 194, 195. [u] Idem de reg. ſucc. c. 47, p 655.

hated Zeno, ſtrongly remonſtrating againſt his promotion, the emperor raiſed Leo the younger, the ſon of Zeno by his daughter Ariadne, to the dignity of Cæſar, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at moſt ſix, years old [w]. The following year, when Leo the younger was conſul alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was ſeized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a ſhort time. He died at Conſtantinople, in the month of January, after having reigned ſeventeen years, wanting ſome days [x]. Soon after his death, the empreſs Verina prevailed upon the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople to ſuffer her ſon-in-law Zeno to be declared collegue to young Leo in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of February, not in the palace of Hebdomon, as uſual, but in the circus at Conſtantinople [y]. The young prince did not ſurvive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of November of the ſame year [z]. Victor Tununenſis and Ado ſuppoſe, that he was diſpatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern Greek writers, tho' highly prejudiced againſt Zeno, charge him with that unnatural murder. Leo the elder, or, as he is commonly ſurnamed, the Great, not approving of the promotion of Glycerius, had, before his death, named to the empire of the weſt Julius Nepos, or, as ſome call him, Nepotianus, a native of Dalmatia, and nephew, by the mother, to Marcellinus, prince of that country, who was murdered in Sicily, as we have related above. Nepos, who, it ſeems, was then at Conſtantinople, ſailed from thence without loſs of time, for Italy, and landing at Porto, ſurpriſed Glycerius there, took him priſoner, and, ſtripping him of the imperial ornaments, cauſed him to be ordained biſhop of Salonæ in Dalmatia, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and ſome months [a]. In the mean time, the Viſigoths, under the conduct of Euric their king, broke into the territories which the Romans had ſtill left in Gaul; but he was prevailed upon by Epiphanius, biſhop of Pavia, whom Nepos ſent to him with the character of embaſſador to conclude a peace with the empire, whereof

Leo the younger created Cæſar.

Leo the elder dies.

Zeno declared collegue to his ſon Leo.

Leo dies.

Glycerius depoſed, and Julius Nepos raiſed to the empire.

[w] Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 555. Evagr. p. 408. Goltz. p. 265. [x] Marc. Theoph. p 103. [y] Evagr. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309. Theoph. p. 111. [z] Chron. Alex. p. 751. Theoph. p. 103. [a] Phot. c. 78. p. 372. Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 654. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 338.

Clermont yielded to the Goths.

whereof one of the articles was, that the city of Clermont, which Euric had not been able to reduce by force, ſhould be delivered up to him [b]. Thus the whole country lying between the ocean, the Rhone, and the Loire, fell under the power of the Goths [r], who, it ſeems, had made themſelves maſters of all the open places, before Clermont was yielded to them. The following year, when Zeno alone was conſul the ſecond time, Nepos, having raiſed Oreſtes to the poſt of general,

Creſtes revolts.

appointed him commander of the Roman forces in Gaul; but he, inſtead of haſtening into that country, purſuant to his orders, bent his march towards Ravenna, with a deſign to depoſe Nepos, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppoſe him. The emperor, ſuſpecting his deſign, and diſtruſting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by ſea to Salonæ in Dalmatia,

Nepos flies into Dalmatia.

where he was entertained by the biſhop Glycerius, whom he had lately deprived of the empire [d]. The flight of Nepos happened on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt of the preſent year 475 [c]. Oreſtes was by birth a Roman, that is, he was born a ſubject of the empire [f]. As he lived in Pannonia, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the Hunns in 430, he liſted himſelf among the troops of Attila, who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his ſecretary, and ſent him at leaſt twice to Conſtantinople with the character of embaſſador, viz. in 448, and 449 [g]. His father, by name Tatula, bore likewiſe ſome conſiderable employment at the court of Attila [h]. Oreſtes married the daughter of count Romulus ſent by Valentinian on an embaſſy to Attila in 449, and had by her a ſon, called by Males, or Melus, Romulus Auguſtus [i], but, by all other hiſtorians, Romulus Auguſtulus, either by way of deriſion, or becauſe he was very young when raiſed to the empire. Oreſtes, leaving the Hunns, ſerved with great reputation in the Roman armies, and was raiſed to the rank of patrician, and appointed by Nepos general of the troops in Gaul; when turning his arms againſt the prince who had entruſted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related

Oreſtes cauſes his ſon Auguſtulus to be declared emperor.

above, and cauſed not himſelf, but his ſon Auguſtus, or Auguſtulus, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of October of the preſent year [k]. The new prince ſtyled

[b] Jorn. c 45. p. 679 Sid. l. iii. ep. 7. p. 72. [c] Sid. l iii ep. 1. p. 62, 63. [d] Jorn. c. 45. p. 679 Onuph. p. 67. [e] Onuph. Marc chron. [f] Jorn. ibid. [g] Frid p. 37. [h] Idem, p. 57, 60. [i] Mal. leg. p 93. [k] Jorn. c. 45, 46. p. 679, 690.

ſtyled himſelf Auguſtus Romulus Auguſtus, Auguſtus being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity [l]. As Auguſtus was very young, his father took upon him the adminiſtration, contenting himſelf with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his ſon, during his minority [*]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Meſopotamia; and the Hunns and Thrace put all to fire and ſword, and afterwards retired unmoleſted, the emperor Zeno, a moſt leud and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his ſcandalous pleaſures and diverſions [m]. However, he concluded a peace with Genſeric, which was religiouſly obſerved by the Vandals, till the reign of Juſtinian [n]. The ſame year the empreſs Verina, who had by her intereſt raiſed her ſon-in-law Zeno to the empire, highly provoked by his enormous vices and ſcandalous indolence, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, at the head of which was her brother Baſiliſcus, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere. Zeno was privately informed of the whole; but, inſtead of putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, and defeating their meaſures, as he might have eaſily done, he betook himſelf to flight, retiring firſt to Chalcedon, and from thence into Iſauria, his native country. Upon his retreat, Baſiliſcus was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople, to the great diſappointment of Verina, who deſigned to confer the empire on Patricius, magiſter officiorum to Zeno, with whom ſhe is ſaid to have maintained a criminal correſpondence [o]. Baſiliſcus immediately declared his wife Zenonides Auguſta, and raiſed his ſon Marcus to the dignity of Cæſar.[p] The following year 476, when Baſiliſcus and Armatus were conſuls, the barbarians who ſerved in the Roman armies, and were diſtinguiſhed with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their ſervices, the third part of the lands in Italy, pretending that the whole country, which they had ſo often defended, belonged of right to them. As Oreſtes refuſed to comply with this inſolent demand, they reſolved to do themſelves juſtice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, choſe one Odoacer for their leader. Thus Procopius [q]. He is called by Theophanes a Goth [r]; by Marcellinus, king

Zeno concludes a peace with Genſeric.

Zeno driven out by Baſiliſcus.

The barbarians in the Roman ſervice revolt in the weſt, and chuſe Odoacer, for their leader.

[l] Jorn. ibid Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. [*] Procop. p. 308. [m] Evagr. l. vii c 1. p. 333. [n] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195. [o] Mal. p. 94. Agath. l. iv. p. 139. Chron. Alex. p. 750. Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 654. [p] Jorn. ibid. [q] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. p. 308.

king of the Goths [s]; and by Iſidore, prince of the Oſtrogoths [t]. We cannot conceive what could induce Baronius, and ſeveral others, to call him king of the Heruli. Jornandes ſtyles him in one place king of the Rugians [u], and in another king of the Turcilingians [w]. The Rugians inhabited both the banks of the Danube, near the city of Faviana, a little above Vienna. As for the Turcilingians, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. Odoacer, whether by birth a Goth, Rugian or Turcilingian, was, according to Ennodius, meanly born [x], and only a private man in the guards of the emperor Auguſtulus, when the barbarians revolting choſe him for their leader [y]. However, he is ſaid to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a ſtate [z].

His character.

Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to ſerve in Italy, as he was of a ſtature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that ſtation till the preſent year; when putting himſelf at the head of the barbarians in the Roman pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one conſent, choſen him for their leader, he marched againſt Oreſtes and his ſon Auguſtulus, who ſtill refuſed to give them any ſhare of the lands in Italy. As the Roman troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, Oreſtes took refuge in Pavia, at that time one of the beſt fortified cities in Italy; but Odoacer, inveſting the place without loſs of time, took it ſoon after by aſſault, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and then ſet fire to it, which reduced moſt of the houſes, and two churches, to aſhes [a]. Oreſtes was taken priſoner, and brought to Odoacer, who carried him to Placentia, and there cauſed him to be put to death on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, the day on which he had driven Nepos out of Ravenna, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From Placentia Odoacer marched ſtrait to Ravenna, where he found Paul, the brother of Oreſtes, and the young emperor Auguſtulus. The former he immediately put to death; but ſparing Auguſtulus, in conſideration of his youth, he

He beſieges Oreſtes in Pavia.

Who is taken priſoner, and put to death.

[s] Theoph. p. 102. [t] Vide Valeſ. rer. Franc. p. 228. [u] Iſidor. chron. [w] Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 45. p. 659 [x] Idem rer. Goth c. 45. p. 679. [y] Ennod. Theodor. panegyr. p. 308. [z] Procop. p. 308. Mal. p. 93. [a] Ennod. vit. Epiphan p. 336. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 679. & reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 654.

he ſtripped him of the enſigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to Lucullanum, a caſtle in Campania, where he was, by Odoacer's orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed an handſome maintenance to ſupport himſelf and his relations [b]. Rome readily ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Italy, but would not aſſume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity [c]. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the weſt. Britain had been long ſince abandoned by the Romans; Spain was held by the Goths and Suevians; Africa by the Vandals; the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans, had erected ſeveral tetrarchies in Gaul; at length Italy itſelf, with its proud metropolis, which for ſo many ages had given law to the reſt of the world, was enſlaved by a contemptible barbarian, whoſe family, country, and nation are not well known to this day. The downfal and ruin of the greateſt ſtate the world ever beheld were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the ſloth, luxury, and ambition of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing ſuch ſwarms of barbarians to ſettle within the empire, and to ſerve in the Roman armies, under their own officers, in ſeparate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives, controlled the emperors, diſpoſed of the imperial crown as they pleaſed, and at length became abſolute maſters of thoſe whom they were employed to defend and aſſiſt. This great revolution happened in the weſt in the year 476, of the chriſtian æra, five hundred and ſeven years after the battle of Actium, when the Roman monarchy was firſt eſtabliſhed, and one thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſince the foundation of Rome. Moſt writers obſerve, that the empire began with Auguſtus, and ended in a prince of the ſame name. Of the ſtate of Italy under Odoacer, till he was overcome and ſlain by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, and under the Oſtrogoths, from Theodoric to their expulſion by Narſes, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; and in the mean time purſue the Roman hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the Conſtantinopolitan Roman empire, in which were preſerved the ſame marks of ſovereignty, the ſame ceremonies, titles,

Auguſtulus ſtripped of the imperial ornaments, and confined to Lucullanum.

Italy and Rome ſubmit to Odoacer.

The end of the weſtern empire.

[b] Jorn. ibid. Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. Candid. Iſaur. c. 19. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

titles, and employments, that had been firſt eſtabliſhed at Rome.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Roman hiſtory, from the diſſolution of the weſtern empire, to the death of Juſtinian the Great.

AT the ſame time that the Roman empire failed in the weſt, it was uſurped in the eaſt by Baſiliſcus, who, upon the flight of Zeno, the lawful prince, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and his ſon Marcus to be acknowledged Cæſar. Zeno fled into Iſauria, whither he was purſued by Illus and Trocondes, two of the uſurper's generals, who having eaſily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, which they immediately inveſted. But in the mean time, Baſiliſcus having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unſeaſonable zeal for the doctrine of Eutyches, highly diſobliged the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople, as well as the ſoldiery, the two generals, informed of what paſſed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, as ſome write, by the ſenate, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege, openly declared for Zeno; and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to Conſtantinople. Baſiliſcus no ſooner heard of their revolt, than he diſpatched Harmatius or Armatus, his kinſman, with a very numerous army againſt them, after having obliged him to ſwear, by his baptiſm, that he would not betray him. But, notwithſtanding this oath, he had no ſooner paſſed the Boſphorus, than he joined Zeno, encamped with Illus and Trocondes, in the neighbourhood of Nice, upon that prince's promiſing to appoint him general of the troops of his houſhold, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raiſe his ſon, by name Baſiliſcus, who was yet very young to the dignity of Cæſar, and to leave him the empire after his death [d].

Zeno beſieged in a caſtle of Iſauria.

Baſiliſcus diſobliges the people and ſoldiery.

Zeno,

[d] Candid. p. 19. Theoph. p. 106. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 295. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.

Zeno, thus reinforced, marched directly to Conſtantinople, which he entered without oppoſition, the uſurper flying for refuge, with his wife Zenonides and his children, to the great church, where he is ſaid to have laid down his crown upon the altar. Zeno ordered them to be immediately ſtripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having ſoon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a ſecond time by Harmatius, as Candidus Iſaurus writes [e], or delivered up, as we read in Procopius [f], by Acacius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, he confined them to a caſtle in Cappadocia, named Limnos, where they periſhed in a ſhort time with hunger and cold [g]. Thus ended the uſurpation of Baſiliſcus, after it had laſted, according to moſt writers, twenty months, that is, from October 475, to June of the preſent year 477. Zeno, purſuant to his promiſe, raiſed Harmatius to the poſt of general of the troops of his houſhold, and his ſon Baſilicus to the dignity of Cæſar; but ſoon after, diſtruſting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to Baſiliſcus, who had preferred him to the firſt employments in the ſtate, he cauſed him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpoſe one Onoulus or Onoulphus, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of Harmatius, and by his intereſt raiſed from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the poſt of general of Illyricum [h]. As for Baſiliſcus, the ſon of Harmatius, he was depoſed from the dignity of Cæſar, and made reader in a church near Conſtantinople. He was afterwards ordained biſhop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of Helleſpont, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and aſſiſted in 518, at the council of Conſtantinople [i]. During the uſurpation of Baſiliſcus, a dreadful fire happened at Conſtantinople, which conſumed great part of the city, with the library, containing an hundred and twenty thouſand volumes, and the works of Homer, written, as it is ſaid, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long [k]. In the following year, 478, when Illus alone was conſul, Theodoric, the ſon of Triarius, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Baſiliſcus, broke into Thrace with a numerous army of Goths, and advanced within four miles of Conſtantinople; which ſo terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with

Zeno reſtored.

Baſiliſchus taken, and confined to a caſtle in Cappadocia, where he periſhes.

Harmatius murdered by Zeno's orders.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

[e] Candid p. 19. [f] Procop bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7 p. 194.
[g] Evagr. l. iii c. 8. p. 341. Procop ibid. [h] Candid p. 19.
Evagr. l. iii c. 24. p. 354. Procop. p. 195. [i] Evagr. l. iii.
c. 24. p. 354. [k] Cedr. p. 35. Zonar. p. 43, 44.

with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that Theodoric ſhould be appointed commander in chief of the Roman horſe [l]. The next year, Zeno being conſul the third time, Marcian, the ſon of Anthemius, who had reigned in the weſt, claiming the empire in right of his wife Leontia, the eldeſt daughter of the late emperor Leo, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in Conſtantinople, at the head of ſome malecontents prepared for any deſperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head againſt them, were either diſperſed or cut in pieces, and Zeno himſelf ſhut up with a ſmall number of officers in the palace. Had Marcian purſued his deſign, and without loſs of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that conſternation he might have eaſily done, the emperor muſt have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmoſt imprudence put off till the next morning, Zeno in the mean time gained over, what with preſents, what with promiſes, moſt of Marcian's men, who, thereupon diſtruſting the reſt, withdrew all on a ſudden, and took ſanctuary in the church of the apoſtles, whence he was dragged by the emperor's orders, ordained prieſt, and confined to a monaſtery in the neighbourhood of Cæſarea in Cappadocia [m]. As Zeno had not for ſome years paid the Oſtrogoths in Pannonia their annual penſion, Theodoric, their king, no ſooner heard of the revolt of Marcian, than he broke into Macedon; and from thence advancing into Epirus, made himſelf maſter of Duras on the Adriatic ſea, that important place being betrayed to him by a Goth named Sidimont. But Sabinianus, an officer of great experience and addreſs, having ſurprized and cut in pieces a ſtrong reinforcement that was marching to the aſſiſtance of Theodoric, under the conduct of his brother Theudimont, and taken all their baggage and two thouſand waggons loaded with proviſions, the Goths, abandoning Duras, retired in great haſte into Pannonia [n]. The following year 480, when Baſilus, ſurnamed the younger, was conſul, Zeno, not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with Huneric, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Genſeric, dead three years before [o]. In 481, when Placidius or Placitus was conſul, Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, renewed his ravages, laying waſte the provinces of Macedon and Theſſaly, which obliged Zeno in the end to comply with

Marcian revolts;

But is abandoned by his own men, and forced to take refuge in a church.

[l] Jorn. c. 57 p. 696. [m] Candid. p. 20. Evagr. p. 335. Theoph. p. 109. [n] Mal. p. 73—81. [o] Marc. ad. ann. 481. Malel. p. 95.

with his demands, that is, to yield to him part of Lower Dacia and Mœsia; to give him the command of the troops of the houſhold, and to name him conſul for the enſuing year 483. Upon theſe terms he withdrew in 482, when Severinus and Trocundus were conſuls, out of Macedon and Theſſaly, reſtored Lariſſa, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promiſed to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire [p]. The following year; when Theodoric was conſul at Conſtantinople, and Venantius at Rome, (for Odoacer made no change in the government or magiſtrates of the city) Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria; and commander of the troops in that province; revolting, ſome ſay at the inſtigation of the empreſs Verina; cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Againſt him Zeno immediately diſpatched Illus; captain of his guards. But he; inſtead of oppoſing Leontius, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of Syria and Iſauria, advanced to Antioch; with a deſign to ſeize on that metropolis. Longinus, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood; at the head of a conſiderable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himſelf taken priſoner. After this victory, Leontius and Illus entered Antioch in triumph. Zeno; upon the defeat and captivity of his brother; diſpatched John, an officer of great valour, and experience in war; into Syria, with what troops he could aſſemble, and prevailed upon Theodoric, the Oſtrogoth, to join him with a numerous army of Goths. Theſe two commanders were attended with better ſucceſs; for meeting Leontius and Illus in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, they gained a complete victory; and the following year, when Symmachus was conſul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the ſtrong caſtle of Papyra in Cilicia; which John immediately inveſted, while Theodoric returned; as the war ſeemed now ended; with his troops to Conſtantinople [q]. Trocundus; the brother of Illus; taken priſoner by John; as he was attempting to make his eſcape out of Syria, in order to ſtir up the barbarians; was, by his orders, beheaded [r]. The ſame year; Theodoric; upon ſome diſguſt; withdrew from Conſtantinople; and returned to Pannonia. Evagrius writes; that Zeno; jealous of the glory

Lower Dacia and Mœsia yielded to Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths.

Leontius revolts.

Is joined by Illus.

They are both defeated and beſieged in Papyra.

[p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 696. Marcell. ad ann. 483. Theoph. p. 142. [q] Theoph. p. 112. Liberat. c. 18. p. 125. [r] Theoph. ibid.

glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great eſteem perſons of all ranks ſhewed him, attempted privately to diſpatch him [s]. However that be, it is certain, that Theodoric, after having ſpent the following year, when Longinus and Decius were conſuls, in raiſing troops and making other military preparations, as if he deſigned to make war upon the barbarians, broke ſuddenly into Thrace at the head of a numerous army; und putting all to fire and ſword, advanced within fifteen miles of Conſtantinople; but, inſtead of laying ſiege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he marched back to Pannonia, in virtue of a private treaty between him and Zeno, by which the emperor yielded to him, as ſome authors write, all the provinces of Italy, held then by Odoacer, encouraging him to reſcue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promiſing to acknowledge him king of Italy [t]. The Romans afterwards pretended, that Zeno had ſent Theodoric to conquer Italy, not for himſelf, but for the emperor of the eaſt, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the Goths maintained, that Zeno had yielded it to be held for ever by the Goths. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, Theodoric was to hold Italy during his life-time, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, Theodoric, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487, when Boetius was conſul, returned to Novæ in Mœſia, which city he had choſen for a place of reſidence; and having ſpent the winter in military preparations, he ſet out the following year, when Sifidius and Dinamius were conſuls, at the head of a powerful army for Italy, and entering that country, overcame Odoacer in ſeveral battles, and eſtabliſhed a new monarchy there, as we ſhall relate at length hereafter. About the end of this year, Leontius and Illus, after having defended with incredible bravery the caſtle of Papyra for the ſpace of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were ſent to Conſtantinople, and there expoſed for ſeveral days together to public view [u]. In the following conſulſhip of Anicius Probinus and Chronion Euſebius, Zeno cauſed ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction to be put to death, and baniſhed others, confiſcating their eſtates, under pretence that they had favoured

Theodoric the Oſtrogoth breaks into Thrace.

Turns his arms againſt Odoacer, king of Italy.

Leontius and Illus taken, and put to death.

[s] Evagr. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356. [t] Jorn. rer. Goth. l. ii. c, 57. p. 696. [u] Theoph, p. 114. Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. Theodor. p. 558.

voured Leontius and Illus [u]. The following year, when Longinus was conſul the ſecond time with Fauſtus, Zeno, raging with more cruelty than ever, cauſed Pelagius, a patrician of great diſtinction, to be ſtrangled, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had been told by an aſtrologer, that he was to ſucceed Zeno [w]. The emperor did not long ſurvive him; for in the month of April of the following year 491, when Olybrius was conſul, he was ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days after he had lived ſixty-five years and nine days, and reigned ſeventeen years and three months [x]. The more modern Greek writers, and amongſt the reſt Cedrenus, tell us, that being ſeized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife Ariadne, who hated him, and was in love with Anaſtaſius, whom ſhe immediately married, not ſuffering him to be relieved, tho' he made a dreadful noiſe in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the fleſh of his own arms, and even his buſkins [y]. But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the moſt wicked and debauched princes recorded in hiſtory, as a perſon deſtitute of every good quality requiſite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a ſtate and commanding an army [z]. Of the writers, who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall ſpeak in note (U).

Zeno's cruelty.

His death.

[u] Theoph. p. 116. Cedr. p. 354. [w] Zonar. p. 44. [x] Chron. Al. p. 758. Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. [y] Cedren. p. 355. [z] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. Marc. p. 1232.

(U) Theodulus, a native of Syria, publiſhed in the reign of Zeno, ſeveral pieces againſt the Manichees and other heretics, a comment on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans, and a poem on the miracles related in the old teſtament, and on the fables of the poets (1) His comment has reached our times (2). John the grammarian publiſhed a book againſt the Eutychians, which has been long ſince loſt (3). He was ſtill alive, according to Gennadius, in 424 (4). Malus or Males, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, wrote the hiſtory of Zeno and Baſiliſcus: but of that work only ſome fragments have reached us (5). Candidus by birth an Iſaurian, compriſed in three books a very particular and diſtinct account of what

(1) Marc. chron. Gennad. c. 91. Sixtus Senenſ. l. iv. p. 381. Poſſevin. p. 469. Sigebert. c. 134. (2) Biblioth. patr. tom. i. p. 495. (3) Trith. p. 40. Marc. chron. ad ann. 486. (4) Gennad. p. 93. (5) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. Zonar. p. 44. Evagr. p. 78.

UPON the death of Zeno, his brother Longinus laid claim to the empire; but, he being univerſally abhorred on account of his lewdneſs and cruelty, Ariadne, widow to the deceaſed emperor, eaſily prevailed upon the ſenate to acknowledge Anaſtaſius for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of April in the circus, according to ſome by Ariadne [a], according to others [b], by Euphemius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, who abſolutely refuſed to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of Nice and Chalcedon. He was no ſooner proclaimed emperor, than he married Ariadne, being then in the ſixtieth-year of his age [c]. He was a native of Duras, the metropolis of New Epirus in Illyricum [d]. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the ſame city; that his mother was a Manichee, and Clearchus, her brother, an Arian [e]. As for Anaſtaſius himſelf, he is by ſome ſtiled a Manichee, by others an Eutychian [f]. Magna, whom ſome will have to have been the emperor's ſiſter, others to have been wife to his brother, named Paul, was a zealous catholic [g]. Anaſtaſius had not yet attained to the rank of ſenator, when he was raiſed to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named Silentiarii, whoſe

Anaſtaſius declared emperor.

He marries Ariadne.

His birth, education, employments, &c.

[a] Evagr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. [a] Theoph. p. 117. Cedren. p. 357. [b] Evagr. p. 361. Theoph. Zonar. p. 45. [c] Evagr. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. [d] Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. [e] Theodor. p. 558. Theoph. ibid. [f] Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. Theoph. p. 115. [g] Niceph. chron. p. 305. Theoph. p. 131.

what happened from the election of Leo to that of Anaſtaſius. A ſhort abſtract of his work has been conveyed to us by Photius (6). Evagrius, in ſpeaking of Zeno, often quotes and highly commends one Euſtathius, a native of Philadelphia, who wrote an abridgment of the Roman hiſtory, from Æneas to the twelfth year of Zeno's reign (7). The ſame hiſtorian is mentioned by Nicephorus (8). Photius ſpeaks of one Victorinus, who wrote ſome orations in commendation of the conſuls, and of the emperor Zeno (9). He was a native of Antioch, and the ſon of Lampadius. Photius commends the elegance, clearneſs, and propriety of his ſtyle (10).

(6) Phot. c. 78 p. 172. (7) Evagr. l. iii. c. 15. p. 308. c. 37. p. 367. & l. v. c. 24. p. 442. Suid p. 1096. (8) Niceph. l. xiv c. 57. p 579. (9) Phot. c. 101. p. 276. (10) Idem ibid.

whoſe province it was to cauſe due ſilence to be obſerved in the palace [h]. He is ſaid to have led, while a private man, a very abſtemious life, and to have given ſignal inſtances of his integrity, whence, upon his receiving the purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried out with one voice, Reign, Anaſtaſius, as you have lived [i]. And truly the beginning of his reign was not undeſervedly applauded by perſons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted what ever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly aboliſhed the infamous tax called chryſargyrum, which was levied every fifth year upon thoſe, even common beggars not excepted, who ſold any thing, of how little ſoever, whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to ſell their children, after they had been ſtripped of every thing elſe. It was not only raiſed on all traders, in what kind ſo ever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public proſtitutes, who, by paying to the prince a conſiderable ſhare of what they earned by their infamous profeſſion, ſeemed to have purchaſed a right to purſue with impunity their ſcandalous practices [k]. Alexander Severus being aſhamed, tho' a pagan, to ſuffer the money thus raiſed to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices [l]. Theodoſius the younger utterly ſuppreſſed this infamous tribute in 439, but it was ſoon after revived through the avarice of his ſucceſſors. Zoſimus will have the tax to have been firſt eſtabliſhed by Conſtantine the Great [m]; which is denied by Evagrius as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the chriſtian religion [n]. And indeed it is evident from the antient writers, that long before Conſtantine's time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; but that Conſtantine, to ſave charges, cauſed it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth or rather fifth year. However that be, Anaſtaſius, looking upon it as no leſs burdenſome to the people than ſhameful in the prince, not only utterly aboliſhed it, with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate, but, to prevent its ever being revived, cauſed all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus [o]. This abolition

He aboliſhes the chryſargyrum.

The nature of this tax.

[h] Evagr. l iii. c. 29. p 357. Procop. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 25. p. 138. [i] Niceph. chron. p 398 Cedren. p. 357. [k] Theoph. p. 566. Evagr l. iii c. 39. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 691. [l] Lamprid. in Al. p. 212. [m] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 691. [n] Evagr. l. iii. c. 40 p. 370. [o] Evagr. l. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. 2, 5. p. 2, 4.

of the chryſargyrum is recorded by all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of Anaſtaſius, as an action truly great, heroic, and almoſt divine, worthy of being tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deſervedly laid to that prince's charge [p]. Timotheus of Gaza wrote a tragedy on the chryſargyrum, which he aſcribed to Anaſtaſius. Cedrenus, who ſtyles that writer a man of univerſal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great meaſure induced by the reading of that piece to propoſe to the ſenate the ſuppreſſing of ſuch an infamous tax [q]. The ſame writer adds, that Anaſtaſius aboliſhed two kinds of chryſargyrums, one of which was raiſed on the poor, on the beggars, ſlaves, freemen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain ſum for themſelves, and another for their horſes, mules, dogs, aſſes, oxen, &c [r]. At the ſame time, the new prince drove all informers out of Conſtantinople, and put a ſtop to the enormous abuſe introduced by Zeno of expoſing to ſale all public offices, and beſtowing, to the great oppreſſion of the unhappy people, the beſt governments on the higheſt bidders [s]. Anaſtaſius having, by theſe and ſeveral other acts of generoſity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people, they all to a man joined him againſt Longinus, the deceaſed emperor's brother, who in the beginning of the following year 492, when the emperor Anaſtaſius and Rufus were conſuls, raiſed ſome diſturbances in Conſtantinople, but was immediately ſeized, deprived of all his employments, and ſent back into Iſauria, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of Conſtantinople all the Iſaurians, who had borne great ſway in the late reign. The Iſaurians, thus baniſhed the city, eſpouſed the cauſe of Longinus, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by Longinus, the late emperor's brother, by another Longinus, ſurnamed Selinontius, no doubt from the city of Selinus in Iſauria, the place of his nativity, by Indus, Theodorus, Ninilinghus, and ſeveral other Iſaurians of great diſtinction, who had been raiſed by Zeno to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Conon, biſhop of Apamea in Syria, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was by birth an Iſaurian, and became one of the ringleaders of the

Informers driven out of Conſtantinople.

Longinus and the Iſaurians revolt.

[p] Evagr. p. 370. Conſt. Manaſſ. p. 63. Suid. p. 913.
[q] Cedren. p 357. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem, p. 358.

the revolt [t]. Under theſe heads the rebels ſeized on an immenſe quantity of arms, and vaſt ſums lodged by Zeno in a ſtrong hold of Iſauria, which enabled them to raiſe and arm above an hundred and fifty thouſand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progreſs they made, diſpatched the flower of his troops againſt them, under the conduct of two of the moſt renowned generals of that age, viz. John the Scythian, and John, ſurnamed Gibbus, or the hunch-backed, who coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of Cotycea in Phrygia, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take refuge amongſt the inacceſſible mountains of Iſauria, where they maintained themſelves for the ſpace of ſix years, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the beſt generals of the empire [u]. Ninilinghus, one of the chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle. The following year, when Euſebius was conſul the ſecond time with Albinus, ſurnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithſtanding the genoroſity he affected on his acceſſion to the empire, was naturally of a moſt avaricious temper, laid an heavy tax on the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, called by Evagrius chryſotelia, which, as it was no-ways expected, incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that, riſing all on a ſudden, they pulled down the emperor's ſtatues, and dragged them through the chief ſtreets of the city with thoſe of the empreſs Ariadne, uttering moſt injurious invectives both againſt her and Anaſtaſius [w]. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The ſame year Theodoric the Goth, having completed the conqueſt of Italy, by the reduction of Ravenna after a three years ſiege, as we ſhall relate more at length hereafter, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to Conſtantinople for the enſign of royalty. However, he diſpatched Feſtus, or Fauſtus, and Ireneus, two perſons of rank, to ſollicit the emperor's approbation, and excuſe the liberty he had taken. Anaſtaſius received his excuſes, promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the country he had conquered, and ſent him the enſigns of the royal dignity [x]. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in ſome degree, as Odoacer had done, the authority of the emperor. Beſides, he ſuffered the Romans to receive the conſulſhip from the emperor of the eaſt. 'Tis

They are defeated, but continue in arms.

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

Theodoric acknowledged king of Italy.

[t] Evagr. l. iii. p. 366. Theoph. p. 118. [u] Evagr. Theoph. ibid. Marc. chron. Jorn. p. 655. [w] Marc. chron. p. 401. [x] Ammian. anonym. p. 408. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181.

true he named in 511, one Felix to that dignity; but at the ſame time he wrote to Anaſtaſius, begging him to confirm what he had done [y]. In 494, when Aſterius and Præſidius were conſuls, Diogenes, one of the emperor's generals, having ſurprized the city of Claudiopolis in Iſauria held by the rebels, he was cloſely beſieged in it by the biſhop Conon, and reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that he muſt have ſoon either periſhed with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not John, ſurnamed Gibbus, opening himſelf away over mount Taurus, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter. The biſhop, fighting with great reſolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound of which he died ſoon after [z]. The two following years, in the firſt of which Viator, or, as ſome ſtyle him, Victor, was conſul, and in the other Paul, the emperor's brother, ſome inconſiderable advantages were gained over the Iſaurian rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor Anaſtaſius was conſul the ſecond time, by John the Scythian. Longinus, brother to the late emperor Zeno, and Theodorus, or Athenodorus, being taken priſoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their heads ſent to Conſtantinople, where they were expoſed to public view in the ſuburbs called Sycæ. The head of Athenodorus was afterwards ſent to Tarſus, and ſet up on a pole before the gate of that city [a]. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely Longinus Selinontius and Indus, were taken the following year, when John the Scythian was conſul with Paulinus, and ſent loaded with chains to Conſtantinople. Longinus was afterwards racked to death at Nice. As ſeveral cities in Iſauria were utterly ruined during this war, which had laſted ſix years, the inhabitants of Iſauria were removed into Thrace, and the annual penſion of five thouſand pieces of gold, paid to them by Zeno, taken away for ever [b]. This year the emperor narrowly eſcaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refuſing to cauſe ſome priſoners to be ſet at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the guards ſcreened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the ſhowers of ſtones diſcharged againſt him. When the multitude found themſelves

The Iſaurians defeated a ſecond time by John the Scythian.

Longinus, and the other heads of the rebels, taken and put to death.

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

[y] Procop. p. 402. Caſſiodor. l. ii. ep. 1. [z] Marc. chron. Theoph. p 119. [a] Evagr. l iii. 35. p. 366 Theoph. p. 120. Vict. Tun p. 127. [b] Caſſiod. l. i. ep. 23 l. ii. ep. 3. Evagr. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. Marc. chron.

ſelves repulſed by the ſoldiery, they ſet fire to the hippodrome, which conſumed that and ſeveral other ſtately edifices, with a ſquare of Conſtantinople, in which not a ſingle building was left ſtanding [c]. The ſame year, the Arabs and Saracens, named Scenitæ, broke into Paleſtine and Syria Euphrateſiana; but in Syria they were defeated by Eugenius, who commanded the Roman troops there, and in Paleſtine by Romanus, governor of that province, who on that occaſion recovered to the empire the Iſland of Jotape in the Red Sea, which the Arabs Scenitæ had ſeized, and re-eſtabliſhed there the Roman merchants trading to India [d].

In 499, when Joannes Gibbus and Aſclepion were conſuls, the Bulgarians breaking into Thrace, Ariſius, commander of the troops in Illyricum, marched againſt them at the head of fifteen thouſand men, engaged them on the banks of the Zurta or Zorta; but was defeated with the loſs of four thouſand men, amongſt whom were the counts Nicoſtratus, Innocentius, and Aquilinus, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in Thrace, returned of their own accord beyond the Danube [e]. The ſame year, Neocæſarea and ſeveral other cities in Pontus were almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake [f]. The year 500, when Patritius and Hypatius were conſuls, is quite barren of events. In the following conſulſhip of Pompeius and Avienus, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus of Conſtantinople, above three thouſand of the former were killed [g]. The following year, Probus and Avienus being conſuls, the Bulgarians breaking anew into Thrace, and the Saracens into Paleſtine, committed dreadful ravages in thoſe two provinces [h]. The ſame year Cabades, king of Perſia, being highly provoked at the emperor's refuſing to lend him a certain ſum, which he owed to the king of the Nephthalite or Epthalite Hunns, entered unexpectedly Armenia at the head of a numerous army; and having eaſily reduced the cities of Theodoſiopolis and Martyropolis, laid cloſe ſiege to Amida, which the inhabitants (for there was no garriſon in the place) defended with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the king, deſpairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, eſpecially ſome women, probably

The Romans defeated by the barbarians.

A tumult in the circus at Conſtantinople.

The Perſians break into the empire.

[c] Chron. Al. p. 760. [d] Theoph p. 21. Evagr. l. iii. c. 36. p. 366. [e] Marc. chron. Zonar. p. 47. [f] Theoph. p. 123. Marc chron. [g] Marc. chron. [h] Idem, ibid. Theoph p. 153.

bly common proſtitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expreſſed by a modeſt writer, he reſolved at all events to purſue the ſiege, which he did accordingly, and in the end made himſelf maſter of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or as others write, four months [i]. Moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the town pillaged. In the mean time, Anaſtaſius diſpatched a powerful army againſt the enemy, commanded by Patricius, Hypatius, and Arcobindus, who had married Juliana, the daughter of the emperor Olybrius. Under them commanded Celer, Juſtin, afterwards emperor, his ſon Vitalianus, Patritiolus, Romanus, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. But the Perſians having reduced Amida before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of Patricius and Hypatius, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the ſide of Amida, and the other marching, under the command of Areobindus, to Niſibis, with a deſign to ſurprize that important place. In the mean time, Cabades, having drawn his troops together, went to meet Areobindus, who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmoſt confuſion to Conſtantina, after having preſſed in vain Hypatius and Patricius to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppoſe the enemy, who was far ſuperior in number to either of the parties they commanded. Areobindus being thus put to flight, Cabades, without loſs of time, marched againſt Hypatius and Patricius; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with much ado eſcaped by a timely flight the common ſlaughter. Cabades, having now no enemy to oppoſe him, over-ran Meſopotamia, extending his ravages to the very borders of Syria, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into Perſia [k]. The following year, when Cethegus was conſul, Celer, entering the province of Arzanene, belonging to the Perſians, at the head of a conſiderable army, laid it waſte far and near, while the other generals undertook the ſiege of Amida, the Perſians being diverted by a ſudden irruption of the Hunns. The place held out till both the Romans and Perſians being quite tired out with the fatigues of a ſiege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the Perſians ſhould deliver up the city to the Romans,

And take Amida.

The Roman generals defeated and put to flight.

Amida reſtored to the Romans.

[i] Procop. bell. Perſ. l i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. Theoph. p. 124, 125. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 307. [k] Procop. p. 22. Theoph. p. 125.

Romans, upon their paying to the king of Perſia fifty talents, which was immediately done. Thus the Romans recovered the important city of Amida, in the conſulſhip of Sabinianus and Theodorus, after it had been held two years by the Perſians [l]. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not ſufficient proviſions to ſupport them ſeven days longer, though they had lived very ſparingly during the ſiege. Not long after, a truce for ſeven years, which laſted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, Cabades being engaged in a war with the Caduceans, Hunns, and other barbarians [m]. The ſame year one Mondon or Mondo, by nation a Goth, having ſettled with ſome of his countrymen, in ſuch places beyond the Danube as he found uninhabited, ſeized on a ſtrong hold called Herta; and thence, by frequent incurſions into the Roman territories, continued for ſome time haraſſing the ſubjects of the empire, giving himſelf the title of king. Anaſtaſius diſpatched againſt him Sabinianus, the ſon of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thouſand choſen men, which obliged Mondon to have recourſe to Theodoric, the Goth king, of Italy, who the year before had reconquered Pannonia, and recovered Sirmium out of the hands of the Gepidæ. As Mondo had entered into an alliance with Theodoric, Pitzia, one of that prince's generals, marched to his aſſiſtance, defeated Sabinianus in a pitched battle near Margus in Lower Dacia, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Nato [n]. This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between Theodoric, and Anaſtaſius, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the Oſtrogoths in Italy. The next conſuls were Arcobindus and Meſſala, who were ſucceeded in 507, by the emperor Anaſtaſius, the third time conſul, and Venantius. This year Anaſtaſius, to defend not only the city of Conſtantinople, but the adjacent country, againſt the ſudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the Long-wall, and the wall of Anaſtaſius, of which frequent mention is made by the Byzantine hiſtorians. It was diſtant from Conſtantinople two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from ſea to ſea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round, and incloſed not only the metropolis, but the city of Selymbria, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with an

A truce with the Perſians.

The Romans defeated by Mondo the Goth.

Anaſtaſius builds the Long wall.

[l] Idem, p. 127. & 25, 26. [m] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 9. p. 27. Theoph. p. 127. [n] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 599. Ennod. in panegyr. Theodoric. p. 309.

an incredible number of ſtately villas and houſes of pleaſure, richly furniſhed and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at ſmall diſtances from each other; by which means the inhabitants, upon the ſhorteſt warning, had an opportunity of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, and repulſing with great eaſe the barbarians [o].

Daras repaired and fortified.

In the following conſulſhip of Celer and Venantius, ſtyled the younger, Anaſtaſius cauſed the city of Daras, a frontier-town towards Perſia, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the Perſians from breaking into the empire on that ſide. Daras ſtood on the Cardus, about fifteen miles from Niſibis, and three from Carrhæ [p]. The ſame year Clovis, king of the Franks in Gaul, having gained a complete victory over Alaric, king of the Viſigoths in Languedoc and Aquitain, Anaſtaſius, who was at variance with Theodoric, whoſe daughter Alaric had married, ſent embaſſadors to the king of the Franks, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to preſent him with the conſular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of St. Martin at Tours, taking upon him thenceforth the title of conſul, and likewiſe that of Auguſtus. He removed ſoon after from Tours to Paris, where he fixed his reſidence, declaring that city the metropolis of his kingdom [q]. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509, 510, in the firſt of which Importunus was conſul, and in the ſecond the famous Boetius, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the kingdom of Italy. In 511, when Secundinus and Felix were conſuls, the Heruli, after having long roved about from one country to another, paſſed the Danube, and were received the following year, when Paulus and Muſchianus were conſuls, into Thrace, where lands were allotted to them, upon their promiſing to ſerve with fidelity in the Roman armies, when required [r]. In the next conſulſhip of Probus and Clementinus, the emperor, at the inſtigation of the Eutychians, whom he favoured, drove Macedonius, the orthodox patriarch of Conſtantinople from his ſee, and preferred one Timotheus, an avowed follower of Eutyches, in his room, who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worſhip, raiſed great diſturbances in

Clovis fixes his reſidence at Paris.

The Heruli admitted into Thrace.

[o] Evagr. l. iii c. 38. p. 367. Procop. ædif. l. iv. c. 9. p. 86. Gyl. de Conſtantinop. l. i. c. 21. p. 83. Zonar. p. 48. [p] Procop. ædif l. ii. c. 2. p. 31. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. [q] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 38. p. 291. [r] Procop. bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 14 p. 42.

in Conſtantinople. Many of the inhabitants, ſome ſay ten thouſand, were killed in a tumult between the catholics and Eutychians, and ſeveral houſes burnt, amongſt the reſt that of the prefect Martinus, with its rich furniture, he himſelf having narrowly eſcaped being conſumed in the flames [s]. The following year 514, when Caſſiodorus Senator was conſul, Vitalianus, one of the emperor's generals, eſpouſing the cauſe of Macedonius, and the other orthodox biſhops, perſecuted by Anaſtaſius, approached Conſtantinople, at the head of a numerous army, raiſed in three days time, threatening to depoſe the emperor, if he did not reſtore the baniſhed biſhops to their ſees, and drive out the Eutychians. Anaſtaſius, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Eutyches, refuſing to comply with his requeſt, he made himſelf maſter of Mœſia and Thrace, took Cyril, governor of the latter province, priſoner, defeated Hypatius, the emperor's nephew, who likewiſe fell into his hands, and returning before Conſtantinople with his victorious army, Anaſtaſius, who was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe him ſolemnly promiſed to comply with his demands, viz. to put an end to the perſecution, which he had raiſed againſt the catholics, to reſtore Macedonius, and the other orthodox biſhops, to their ſees, and to call an œcumenical council, and ſtand to the deciſions of the prelates of the church. Anaſtaſius had no ſooner ſigned theſe articles, than Vitalianus withdrew from the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople; and diſbanding his troops, ſent Hypatius, whom he had taken priſoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in Thrace [t]. Anaſtaſius thus delivered from his fears, purſued the perſecution againſt the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the eccleſiaſtic writers. In 515, when Anthemius and Florentius were conſuls, and 516, when Petrus alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which hiſtorians have thought worthy of notice. In 517, when Anaſtaſius was conſul the fourth time with Agapetus, the northern barbarians, called by Marcellinus Getæ, breaking into Illyricum, laid waſte Macedon and Epirus, defeated Pompeius, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; and penetrating as far as Theſſaly, returned from thence beyond the Danube unmoleſted, with an immence booty, and an incredible number of captives [u]. The follow-

Great diſturbances in Conſtantinople.

Vitalianus eſpouſes the cauſe of the catholics againſt the Eutychians.

The emperor promiſes to comply with his demands.

The Getæ break into Illyricum.

[s] Surius, p. 173. [t] Marc. chron. Vict. Tununenſis, p. 632. [u] Marc. chron Jorn reg. ſucc, c. 48. p. 655.

Anaſtaſius dies.

following year, when Magnus alone was conſul, the emperor Anaſtaſius was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of July. Authors wary as to the circumſtances of his death: ſome write, that a violent ſtorm ariſing, the dread and terror with which he was ſeized, as being conſcious to himſelf of many cruel and unjuſt murders, put an end to his life [w]; others ſuppoſe him to have been killed by a flaſh of lightning [x]. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-ſeven years, and three months, wanting two or three days [y]. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end of his reign. He gave at firſt ſeveral inſtances of generoſity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, ſeeming to have nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of his ſubjects. But he ſoon abandoned himſelf to all manner of wickedneſs, ſelling the publick offices, and ſharing with the governors of provinces the ſpoils of the unhappy people, whom he ſuffered them to oppreſs with moſt enormous exactions. The eccleſiaſtic writers paint him in the blackeſt colours imaginable; but as he perſecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmoſt of his power, the Eutychians, they were perhaps ſo far prejudiced againſt him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Juſtin proclaimed emperor. His birth, education, &c.

ANASTASIUS being dead, Juſtin, then præfectus prætorio, was by the ſoldiers of the houſhold proclaimed emperor in his room. He was deſcended of an obſcure and mean family in Thrace, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards liſted himſelf among the troops that guarded Thrace; and having on ſeveral occaſions given ſignal proofs of an extraordinary valour, and addreſs, he was raiſed from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the poſt of a tribune, and from that ſoon after to the office of præfectus prætorio, which he held when he was preferred to the empire. Evagrius writes, that Amantius, the deceaſed emperor's great chamberlain, having intruſted Juſtin with large ſums to purchaſe the votes of the ſoldiery in favour of Theocritus, his intimate friend, Juſtin diſtributed the money in his own name; and having by that means ſecured the army to his intereſt, he was by them ſaluted

[w] Theod. p 505. Marc. chron. Chron. Al. p. 764 [x] Zonar. p. 47. Cedren. p. 362. [y] Evagr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 381. Chron. Al. p. 764.

ſaluted with the title of Auguſtus, as ſoon as the death of Anaſtaſius was known [z]. Thus Evagrius, whoſe account does not at all agree with what we read in the letters ſaid to have been written by Juſtin himſelf to Hormiſda biſhop of Rome ſoon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and againſt his will, to the imperial dignity *. But by what means ſoever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and by his ſteady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent adminiſtration healed in great meaſure the diviſions which had long rent the church, as well as the ſtate, into factions and parties. He was ſcarce warm in his throne, when Amantius, Theocritus, and ſeveral of the deceaſed emperor's relations, perſons of great intereſt and authority in the empire, conſpired againſt him; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by ſome who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and among the reſt Amantius and Theocritus, were publicly executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who hated them as the avowed patrons of the Eutychians, and the chief promoters of the late perſecution againſt the catholics [a]. The following year 519, Juſtin being conſul with Eutharic, the ſon-in-law of Theodoric, king of Italy, all the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by Anaſtaſius, were by the emperor's orders reſtored to their ſees, and ſeveral ſynods aſſembled, in which the doctrine of the church was eſtabliſhed, and that of Eutyches condemned [b]. The following year, Vitalianus, of whom we have made mention above, was raiſed to the conſulſhip with Ruſticus, but was ſoon after diſpatched in the palace by the emperor's orders, upon his attempting to gain over ſome of the chief officers, with a deſign to depoſe Juſtin, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had eſpouſed the catholic cauſe in the reign of Anaſtaſius; but his caballing againſt Juſtin, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the Eutychians, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms againſt his ſovereign [c]. The following year, Juſtinian, the emperor's nephew, being conſul with Valerius, Cabades, king of Perſia, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Juſtin, offering to conclude a laſting peace with him, provided he would adopt Coſrhoes, the Perſian king's youngeſt

Some conſpire againſt him, but are diſcovered and puniſhed.

Vitalianus put to death.

[z] Evagr. l. iv. c. 1, 2. * Vide Baron. ad ann. 518. [a] Jornes. ſucc. c. 48. p. 132. [b] Evagr. l. iv. c. 3. [c] Idem, ibid.

youngeſt ſon, whom, to the prejudice of his eldeſt ſon Caoſes, he had declared his ſucceſſor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the Roman emperor to eſpouſe his cauſe, and of firmly eſtabliſhing him in the kingdom. The propoſal was received at firſt with great joy both by Juſtin and his nephew Juſtinian; but Proclus, the quæſtor, a man of great integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws, demonſtrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, Coſrhoes might claim the Roman empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which ſo piqued Cavades, that he immediately entered Iberia, with a deſign to invade from thence the Roman territories. Gurgenes, king of the Iberians, had recourſe to Juſtin, who diſpatched a body of troops to his aſſiſtance, under the conduct of Sittas and the famous Beliſarius, who was then but a youth, and ſerved in the guards of Juſtinian, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. Sittas and Beliſarius broke into that part of Armenia which belonged to the Perſians, and laid it waſte; but being met by Narſes and Aratius, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the Roman dominions. Narſes and Aratius revolted ſoon after from the Perſians, and ſerved under Beliſarius in Italy. The emperor, well pleaſed with the conduct of Beliſarius gave him the command of the forces in Daras, on the frontiers of Perſia [d]. Theſe things happened in the third conſulſhip of Severinus Boëtius, and the firſt of Symmachus, who were ſucceeded in 523, by Maximus alone in the weſt, and he by Juſtin, the ſecond time conſul, and Opilio, during whoſe conſulſhip we find nothing tranſacted in the empire that deſerves notice. In 525, when Probinus or Probus, and Philoxenus, were conſuls, Juſtin, by an edict, deprived the Arians of all their churches in his dominions; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and Theodoric, king of Italy, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Arius. But what relates to that prince, we reſerve for the hiſtory of the Oſtrogoths in Italy. The ſame year the city of Antioch was almoſt utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their biſhop Euphraſius, under the ruins [e]. The cities of Epidamnus, Corinth, and Anazarbus in Cilicia, underwent the ſame fate, but were at a vaſt expence reſtored, as well as Antioch,

The Perſian war.

Beliſarius commander of the troops in Daras.

The Arians deprived of their churches.

A great earthquake at Antioch.

[d] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 11, 12. [e] Evagr. l. iv. c. 5 6.

Antioch, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor, who was ſo affected with their misfortune, that putting off the purple, and laying aſide the diadem, he appeared for ſeveral days in ſack-cloth [f]. In 526, Olybrius alone was conſul, and ſucceeded in that dignity by Mavortius, during whoſe conſulſhip, Juſtin, on the firſt of April, declared his nephew Juſtinian his partner in the empire. He was the ſon of Sabatius, by Bigleniza, the ſiſter of Juſtin, called by the Romans Vigilantia. He was a native of Taureſium, but brought up at Bederina, the birth-place of his uncle Juſtin, both cities on the confines of Thrace and Illyricum; whence he is by ſome ſtyled a Thracian, by others an Illyrian. He was ſent, when a youth, by Juſtin, then commander in chief of the Roman army, as an hoſtage to Theodoric, king of Italy, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, ſuffered him to return to Conſtantinople, where he was immediately honoured with the title of nobiliſſimus, and upon the death of Vitalianus, raiſed to the chief command of the army in his room [g]. Some authors write that Juſtin, at the requeſt of the ſenate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the ſenate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that Juſtinian was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other enſigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then as Zonaras obſerves, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor Juſtin died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of Auguſt, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and ſome days. His death is generally aſcribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents in keeping cattle, till he liſted himſelf in the army; but was nevertheleſs a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon addreſs, in the management of the moſt difficult affairs, well ſkilled in the art of war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which hr was raiſed.

Juſtin aſſumes Juſtinian for his partner in the empire.

Juſtin dies.

His character.

JUSTINIAN, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his firſt and chief buſineſs to ſecure the frontiers towards Perſia. With this view he ordered Beliſarius, commander of the troops

What gave riſe to the Perſian war.

[f] Idem, ibid. c. 8.

[g] Vide not. Alam. in Procop. ſecret. hiſt.

troops in Daras, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of Mindon, which might be as a curb upon the Perſians, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that ſide. Beliſarius had no ſooner begun the work, than Cabades, who ſtill reigned in Perſia, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, diſpatched a body of troops againſt him. On the other hand, Juſtinian ordered the two brothers Curtzes and Buzes, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount Libanus, to join Beliſarius. But notwithſtanding this reinforcement the Romans, in the battle which enſued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken priſoners, and among the reſt Curtzes, to whoſe raſh and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the Perſians, finding the fort abandoned by the Romans, levelled it with the ground [h]. War being thus declared, Juſtinian appointed Beliſarius, general of the eaſt, ordering him to make an inroad into Perſia. Perozes, the Perſian general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood of Daras; whereupon a battle enſuing, the Perſians were defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men. As the Perſians fled in great confuſion, the Romans would, in all likelihood, have cut moſt of them in pieces, had not Beliſarius, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, ſounded a retreat [i]. The like ſucceſs attended the Roman armies in Armenia, where Mermeroes, who commanded another army, conſiſting of Perſarmenians, Sunites and Hunns, was ſurpriſed and defeated by Dorotheus, the Roman governor of Armenia, and Sittas, general of the forces quartered in that province. Mermeroes, being put to flight, the Romans made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong holds in Perſarmenia, and among the reſt of Pharangium, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one Simeon. About this time, Narſes and Aratius, two brothers, who, in the latter end of Juſtin's reign, had commanded the Perſian army in Armenia and gained ſome advantages over Beliſarius and Sittas, as we have related above, revolting from the Perſians, came over to the Romans, who were now maſters of the greateſt part of Perſarmenia, their native country. Narſes, the emperor's quæſtor in thoſe parts, who was likewiſe a Parſarmenian, received them with extraordinary marks of kindneſs and eſteem, making them rich preſents

The Romans defeated.

And the Perſians in their turn by Beliſarius.

And by Dorotheus in Perſarmenia.

Narſes and Aratius revolt to the Romans.

[h] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 13. [i] Idem, c. 15.

preſents in the emperor's name, which encouraged their younger brother, by name Iſaac, to follow their example, after having held a private correſpondence with the Romans, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a ſtrong-hold in the territory of Theodoſiopolis, named Bolus [k]. Juſtinian, notwithſtanding the advantages gained by his troops in Meſopotamia and Armenia, diſpatched embaſſadors to Cabades, with propoſals for an accommodation; but the treaty being ſoon broken off, the Perſians, early in the ſpring of 530, invaded the Roman territories under the command of Azarethes, who was joined by an incredible number of Saracens, commanded by Alamundarus their king, who, as he was a perſon of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, adviſed the Perſians to break into the Roman territories, not by the way of Meſopotamia and Oſrhoene, as they uſually did, but to march directly into Syria, which country they might lay waſte, and plunder Antioch itſelf, before the army in Meſopotamia could receive the leaſt intelligence of their motions. The Perſian generals approving the ſcheme, the army began to march; but Beliſarius, apprized of their deſign, flew with a ſtrong detachment to the frontiers of Syria, where the Perſians finding him, to their great ſurprize, ready to diſpute their paſſage, they reſolved to proceed no farther, but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, Beliſarius, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far ſuperior to him in numbers, was for ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on againſt the enemy, by whom, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, they were put to the rout, Beliſarius, with a ſmall body of horſe, who were aſhamed to forſake him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the enemy from purſuing the fugitives. The next day the Perſians, who had loſt in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a ſecond battle, retired in good order, the Romans, who were greatly diſheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them [l]. The following year 531, Juſtinian being deſirous of concluding a peace with the Perſians, that he might be at leiſure to make war upon the Vandals, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had ſeized, diſpatched Hermogenes to the king of Perſia, with very reaſonable propoſals. But Cabades, inſtead of hearkening to them, ſent early in the ſpring a freſh army into Meſo-

The Perſians attempting to break into Syria, are prevented by Beliſarius.

The Romans engaging againſt the opinion of Beliſarius, are defeated.

[k] Idem, c. 15, 16. [l] Idem, c. 18.

potamia under the command of Chanaranges, Aſpendes, and Mermeroes, who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and ſword, ſat down before Martyropolis, a city about thirty miles north of Amida on the river Nimphius, which parted the Perſian and Roman dominions. The place was no-ways in a condition to maintain a ſiege, being deſtitute both of ſoldiers and proviſions. The emperor had recalled Beliſarius to adviſe with him about a war with the Vandals, on which he was chiefly bent; and Sittas, who had ſucceeded him in the command of the troops in the eaſt, had not ſufficient ſtrength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs ſtood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of Maſſagetes was marching into Perſia, with a deſign to invade from thence the Roman dominions. This intelligence Juſtinian turned to his great advantage, by perſuading the Perſian deſerter, who brought it, to ſpread a report in the army before Martyropolis, that the Maſſagetes were in the Roman pay, and their true deſign was to fall upon the Perſians, and raiſe the ſiege. This report, with the news that was ſoon after brought of the death of Cabades, inclined the Perſian generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by Sittas and Hermogenes, with whom they firſt concluded a truce, retiring from before Martyropolis, and ſoon after a peace upon the following terms: 1. That the Roman emperor ſhould pay to Coſrhoes, who had ſucceeded his father Cabades, a thouſand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes ſhould reſtore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the Roman forces in Meſopotamia ſhould no longer reſide at Daras, but at Conſtantina, as he had formerly done. 4. That the Iberians, who had ſided with the Romans, ſhould be at liberty to return to their own country, or ſtay at Conſtantinople [m]. Upon theſe terms the Romans and Perſians concluded an eternal peace, as it was ſtyled, in 532, the ſixth year of Juſtinian's reign, which, as it was without conſuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the faſti; The ſecond year after the conſulſhip of Lampadius and Oreſtes. About this time happened at Conſtantinople the greateſt tumult we find mentioned in hiſtory. It began amongſt the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of John

The Perſians beſiege Martyropolis.

A perpetual peace concluded between the Romans and Perſians.

A great tumult at Conſtantinople.

[m] Evagr. l. iii. c, 38. Agath l iv. c 13. Niceph l. xvii. c. 10. Theoph. ad ann. Juſt 5, 6. Cedren. p. 366. Hiſt. miſcell. l. xvi. Procop. bell. Perſ, ibid.

John the præfectus prætorio, and of Trebonianus, then quæſtor, forcing Hypatius, nephew to the emperor Anaſtaſius, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great ſolemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned miniſters were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately diſcharged them, hoping by that means to appeaſe the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and moſt of the ſenators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and diſheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his eſcape by ſea, had not the empreſs Theodora, with a manly courage, perſuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by ſeaſonably putting him in mind of the old ſaying, How glorious a ſepulchre is a kingdom! Juſtinian, thus encouraged, reſolved to continue in the palace, and, with the aſſiſtance of the few ſenators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the laſt. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried Hypatius in triumph to the circus; where while he was beholding the ſports from the imperial throne, among the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, Beliſarius, who had been recalled from Perſia, entering the city with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, and appriſed of the uſurpation of Hypatius, marched ſtrait to the circus, fell ſword in hand upon the diſarmed multitude; and being ſeaſonably joined by Mundus, governor of Illyricum, at the head of a band of Heruli, cut above thirty thouſand of them in pieces, took Hypatius the uſurper, and Pompeius, another of the nephews of Anaſtaſius, priſoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whoſe orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies caſt into the ſea. Their eſtates were confiſcated, and likewiſe the eſtates of ſuch ſenators as had joined them; but the emperor cauſed great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards reſtored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children [m]. Marcellinus ſuppoſes that this tumult was raiſed by Hypatius, Pompeius, and Probus, all three nephews to the emperor Anaſtaſius, each of them ſetting up for himſelf; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many ſtately buildings laid in aſhes [n]. The tumult being thus appeaſed, and a peace concluded with the king of Perſia, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in Africa, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned Beliſarius

The manly courage of the empreſs Theodora.

The tumult quelled with the death of 30,000 perſons.

[m] Procop. bell Perſ. l i. p. 265. [n] Marc. chron.

liſarius carried on with amazing ſucceſs in the reign of Juſtinian, firſt with the Vandals in Africa, and afterwards with the Goths in Italy, we ſhall ſpeak at length hereafter. Theſe two wars laſted from 533, to 541, a year remarkable for the triumphant return of Beliſarius to Conſtantinople, and no leſs on account of its being the laſt that is marked by conſuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by conſulſhips, tho' conſuls were ſtill created for ſome time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the Goths in Italy, the Hunns, probably ſtirred up by them, paſſed the Danube, and entreing Illyricum, laid waſte the whole country, took above thirty-two caſtles, deſtroyed Caſſandria, and returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty, and an hundred and twenty thouſand captives. At the ſame time the Armenians, ſhaking off the Roman yoke, gained ſome advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundleſs report ſpread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of Beliſarius, would no longer truſt him with the command of his armies, encouraged Coſrhoes to invade the Roman dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty ſolemnly concluded a few years before. Buzes, who commanded in the eaſt, inſtead of aſſembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, diſappeared all on a ſudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleaſure. As Coſrhoes met with no oppoſition, he bent his march to Syria; and having taken and plundered Beræa, Hierapolis, and ſeveral other cities, he laid ſiege to Antioch itſelf, which he ſoon maſtered, and gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all they met to the ſword. The king himſelf ſeized on all the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the great church; cauſed all the valuable ſtatues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into Perſia: and having thus ſtripped the proud metropolis of the eaſt of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to ſet fire to it, and lay it in aſhes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being ſpared by the outrageous and inſulting enemy. Thus periſhed the moſt wealthy, beautiful and populous city of the eaſt. Such of the inhabitants as eſcaped the common ſlaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and ſold in Perſia to the higheſt bidder [c]. Juſtinian, upon the firſt

The Hunns commit great ravages in Illyricum.

Coſrhoes invades the Roman dominions.

Antioch beſieged, taken, and laid in aſhes.

[c] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr. Agath. ibid.

firſt news of the Perſians entering the Roman territories, had diſpatched embaſſadors to Coſrhoes, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged ſeveral frivolous pretences for the hoſtilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on Juſtinian; but after he had waſted Syria, and enriched himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accomodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the Romans ſhould, within two months, pay to the Perſian king five thouſand pounds weight of gold, and an annual penſion of five hundred. 2. That the Perſians ſhould relinquiſh all claim to Daras, and maintain a body of troops to guard the Caſpian gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned ſum Coſrhoes ſhould immediately withdraw his troops out of the Roman territories. The treaty being ſigned, and the ſtipulated ſum paid, Coſrhoes began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war was ſtill continued, the cities of Apamea and Chalcis; and croſſing the Euphrates, laid waſte Meſopotamia, carrying with him from thence an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon Juſtinian, now well appriſed, that with Coſrhoes no treaties were binding, reſolved to purſue the war with the utmoſt vigour, and with that deſign ſent for Beliſarius, then employed againſt the Goths in Italy, and, upon his arrival at Conſtantinople, appointed him general againſt the Perſians. While that brave commander was making the neceſſary preparations to take the field early in the ſpring of the enſuing year 542, the Lazians, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the Roman troops in that country, revolted to the Perſians, and delivered up to them all their caſtles and ſtrong-holds. Lazica, formerly part of Colchis, lay between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the Roman emperor, and received at his hands the enſigns of royalty. Their preſent king's name was Gobazes, who had ſerved the Romans with great fidelity, and continued attached to their intereſt, till Joannes Tzibus, commander of the Roman troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring Iberians, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the Lazians, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the pay-

A peace concluded with the king of Perſia.

Who nevertheleſs ravages Meſopotamia.

The Lazians revolt to the Perſians.

[p] Procop. l. ij. c. 2.

ment of his ſoldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his ſubjects, tho' otherwiſe well affected to the empire, to have recourſe to the king of Perſia, who, upon the firſt invitation, entered their country, and being aſſiſted by the natives, drove out the Romans, and placed every-where Perſian garriſons in their room [q]. In the mean time Beliſarius, not appriſed of the revolt of the Lazians, entered Perſia at the head of a powerful army; and having made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong-hold called Siſibranum, laid waſte Aſſyria; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the diſtempers that began to rage in his army, to return, before the end of the ſummer, into the Roman dominions. Coſrhoes was no ſooner informed of the invaſion of Beliſarius, than quitting Lazica, he haſtened into Aſſyria; but being informed on his march, that the Romans were retired, he put his army into winter quarters, and withdrew to Cteſiphon [r]. The ſpring following, he invaded anew the Roman territories, bending his march through Comagena, with a deſign to enter Paleſtine, and enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of that fertile and wealthy province. Beliſarius, who was returned to Conſtantinople, upon the firſt news of this invaſion, flew to Europus on the Euphrates, and there drew together what forces he could ſome time after Coſrhoes had paſſed that river; which ſo alarmed the Perſian king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviſeable to drop his intended expedition into Paleſtine, and return to his own dominions, before Beliſarius was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being ſoon after obliged to recall Beliſarius, and ſend him into Italy, where the Goths had gained great advantages over the Romans as we ſhall relate hereafter, Coſrhoes reſolved once more to invade the Roman territories, notwithſtanding the dreadful plague that raged in Perſia, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a ſhameful overthrow of thirty thouſand Romans, who, attempting to break into Perſarmenia, had been defeated by four thouſand Perſians. Upon this ſucceſs he invaded Meſopotamia, and ſat down before Edeſſa; but not being able to maſter the place, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and ſoon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thouſand pounds weight of gold, and ſending him a celebrated phyſician, by name Tribunus, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous diſtemper *. Not long after the concluſion of the truce, Coſrhoes,

Beliſarius enters Perſia, and ravages Aſſyria.

Coſrhoes attempts to invade Paleſtine.

But, dreading Beliſarius, drops that enterprize.

[q] Idem. ibid. c. 15, 29. [r] Idem ibid. * Procop. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr. l. iv. c. 27.

hoes, obſerving the Lazians no-ways pleaſed with their late change, and apprehending they would ſoon revolt from him to the Romans, reſolved to prevent a ſecond revolution, by cauſing Gabazes their king to be murdered, and tranſplanting the natives into Perſia, and peopling the country, which opened him a paſſage into the Euxine ſea, with Perſians, and other nations well affected to his intereſt. But his deſign being diſcovered to Gubazes, by thoſe who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourſe, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner imaginable, to Juſtinian, who, forgetting his paſt conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loſs of time, diſpatched eight thouſand men, under the command of Dagiſtæus, to his aſſiſtance, who being joined by a numerous body of Lazians, laid ſiege to Petra, one of the ſtrongeſt places of Lazica, defended by a Perſian garriſon, and ſtored with all manner of proviſions. Coſrhoes, alarmed at this ſudden revolution, ſent a powerful army, under the conduct of Mermeroes, to the relief of the place. At their approach, Dagiſtæus, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmoſt conſternation towards the Phaſis. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes advanced to Petra, the garriſon of which place, conſiſting at firſt of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite diſabled, and unfit for ſevice. Mermeroes repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garriſoned the place with three thouſand men, and returned with the reſt of his army into Perſarmenia, not thinking it ſafe to continue in Lazica, whither, he was informed, freſh forces were marching, under the conduct of Rocithangus, by birth a Thracian, who had ſerved in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the beſt commanders of his age. At his departure he left a body of five thouſand men encamped on the banks of the Phaſis, to watch the motions of the Romans and Lazians. Of theſe Gubazes and Dagiſtæus ſurpriſed one thouſand, as they were ſtraggling about in queſt of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put moſt of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. The Romans made themſelves maſters of their camp, in which, beſides their enſigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a conſiderable number of mules and horſes. They purſued the fugitives to the confines of Iberia, intercepted ſeveral other parties that were conveying proviſions into Petra; and having

The Lazians revolt to the Romans.

The Romans obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Petra.

The Perſians put to flight.

having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. Cosrhoes was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched Corianes, with an army of Alans as well as Persians, into Lazica. But Corianes was attended with no better success than the other Persian generals; for being met on the banks of the Hippus in Colchis by Gubazes and Dagistæus, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself slain[3]. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Gabazes, at whose request Dagistæus, who had shamefully abandoned the siege of Petra, as we have related above, was recalled, and Bessas, an officer of great experience appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested Petra, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the Persian garrison with such obstinacy, as savoured of madness and despair. Bessas ordered Petra to be dismantled; and leaving only twelve thousand men in Lazica, viz. three thousand in Archæopolis the metropolis, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the Phasis, under the command of Odonachus, he retired with the rest into Armenia, his own government. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes entered Lazica; and having first obliged Odonachus to withdraw into the Roman territories, he laid siege to Archæopolis, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, being repulsed with great loss by the garrison. Notwithstanding these hostilities, the Persian embassadors, who had been sent to Constantinople the preceding year, continued still there, and soon after the reduction of Petra, concluded a five years truce with the emperor upon his paying to the Persian king an immense sum, which raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute, as they styled it, to the king of Persia[t]. But Justinian was glad to come to an agreement with the Persians upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the Goths in Italy, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no sooner expired, than the Persians, invading anew Lazica, took by stratagem the strong castle of Telepsis; and then falling upon the Roman army, which lay encamped at a small distance, put them to flight at the first onset. Gubazes,

The Persians utterly defeated.

Petra taken by the Romans.

A truce between the Romans and Persians.

[3] Idem, l. iv. c. 25, 26. Procop. l. ii c. 10. [t] Idem, l. ii. c. 27, 28, 29.

zes, king of Lazica, provoked at the cowardice of the Roman generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour, which incensed them to such a degree, that they agreed to dispatch him: and acordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the Persians, by wresting the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the Romans into the hands of the Persians. The Lazicans, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have revolted from the Romans, and joined the Persians, had not Justinian appeased them, by causing all those, who were any-ways accessory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the Persians, to the number of sixty thousand men advanced, under the command of Nachoragan, into Lazica, and laid siege to Phasis, but Justin, who commanded the Roman troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thousand of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest, with their general, to save themselves within the Persian dominions. This defeat so disheartened Cosrhoes, that he immediately dispatched embassadors to Constantinople to sue for a peace; which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes [u]. The public rejoicings for the peace with Persia, after such a long and destructive war were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many stately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at Constantinople, and swept off many thousands of people. The same year 558, the Hunns, passing the Danube in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for Constantinople, and laying waste the countries through which they passed, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But Belisarius, tho' now weakened by old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them [w]. However,

The king of Lazica barbarously murdered by the Romans.

The Persians defeated.

A peace concluded.

The Hunns break into Thrace.

Are put to flight by Belisarius.

[u] Idem, ibid. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 8, 9. Agath. l. iii. p. 81—90. [w] Agath. l. v. p. 155.

ever the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the Roman dominions, agreed to pay them an annual penſion, upon their promiſing to defend the empire againſt all other barbarians, and to ſerve, when required in the Roman armies [x]. This was the laſt exploit performed by Beliſarius, who upon his return to Conſtantinople, was diſgraced, ſtripped of all his employments, and confined to his houſe. Agathias aſcribes his diſgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deſervedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, perſuaded the emperor, whoſe jealouſy encreaſed with his years, that Beliſarius aſpired at the ſovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to ſecond him in his ambitious views; that the ſoldiery were ſtill more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations, the emperor, forgetting the paſt ſervices of the moſt deſerving of all his ſubjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the reſtorer of the antient military diſcipline, recalled him, according to Agathias, without ſo much as ſuffering him to purſue his late victory over the Hunns; and upon his arrival at Conſtantinople, which he deſerved to enter in triumph, confined him to his houſe, after having, with the utmoſt ingratitude, deveſted him of all his authority, honours and employments [y]. The more modern writers pretend, that Juſtinian cauſed his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to ſuch poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople. But the antient authors aſſure us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, reſtored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther diſgrace, to his death. About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, viz. Ablavius, Marcellus, and Sergius, conſpired againſt him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being diſcovered by ſome perſons, whom Ablavius had attempted to draw into it, the conſpirators were ſeized, before they could put their deſign in execution. Marcellus, after having defended himſelf with great reſolution againſt the officers who were ſent to arreſt him, ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword. Ablavius and Sergius were publicly executed, and the reſt of the conſpirators

Beliſarius diſgraced.

A conſpiracy againſt Juſtinian.

Juſtinian acts.

[x] Idem. p. 156, 157. [y] Agath. hiſt. Juſtin. c. 9.

conſpirators baniſhed [z]. The emperor eſcaped the conſpiracy; but did not long outlive it, being ſoon after carried off by a natural, but ſudden, death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and ſeven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with ſurpriſing ſucceſs by his two renowned generals Beliſarius and Narſes, and the new form which he gave the Roman juriſprudence, have deſervedly procured him the ſurname of Great. Of his public buildings the reader will find a diſtinct account in Procopius, who aſſures us, that there was ſcarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect ſome ſtately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair ſome city, fort, or caſtle [a]. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, Africa and Italy, after they had been long held, the former by the Vandals, and the latter by the Goths, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of theſe two nations. In peace he ſignalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the Juſtinian code. In the very beginning of his reign he publiſhed an edict, directed to the ſenate of Conſtantinople, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he choſe the moſt famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian Tribonianus, who were to collect into one volume all the conſtitutions contained in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodoſian codes, and join to them ſuch as had been publiſhed by Theodoſius the younger, and the other lawful emperors his ſucceſſors, down to Juſtinian himſelf. Whatever in thoſe laws ſeemed ſuperfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their ſenſe and meaning was to be rendered more clear, and the names of the princes who publiſhed them, the place, the time and the perſons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each conſtitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in a little more than a year; ſo that it was publiſhed in the beginning of the third year of Juſtinian's reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the conſtitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Juſtinian; whereas the Theodoſian

His code.

[z] Procop hiſt. ſecr 3. 13. [a] Idem, de ædif.

Theodosian code began with Constantine the Great. Justinian, not satisfied with the code alone, undertook soon after a more noble, and far more difficult work, which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the Roman laws, especially on the edictum perpetuum, their different treaties, &c. in all above two thousand volumes. This hard and crabbed task was completed in the space of three years by Tribonianus and sixteen other able civilians, and called by the Latins digesta, because the opinions of the antient civilians were there digested into order, and by the Greeks pandectæ, as containing all the antient jurisprudence.

His pandects. When this great work was near completed, Justinian ordered Tribonianus, Theophilus and Dorodeus to compile, for the

His institutes. benefit of the youth, the institutes, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the pandects [b]. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and Justinian himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the eighth year of his reign, that is in 534, he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted since the publication of the first, and several others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. This second code, styled de repetita prælectione, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code de repetita prælectione [c]. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second, viz. to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian. After the publication of the institutes, pandects and code, Justinian enacted several laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the novellæ constitutiones. These were published from time to time by Justinian, not in the Latin, excepting some few, but in the Greek tongue,

His code de repetita prælectione

His novellæ.

[b] Vide Balduin in Justinian p. 497. Ritters, in jure Justin. in præm. c. 1. num. 4. Edmund. Meril. ad 50 decis. Justin.

[c] Balduin. Ritters, ibid.

tongue, and collected into one volume after his death. [d]. Juſtinian is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the Roman juriſprudence, but for his piety, prudence, juſtice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a perſon in his high ſtation. As for the ſecret hiſtory, filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt Juſtinian, and the empreſs Theodora, it is, by the ableſt critics, looked upon as not the work of Procopius, but as a ſcandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raiſed was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful paſſion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embelliſhing with ſtately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he ſeemed to countenance the Eutychians, no doubt, at the inſtigation of the empreſs Theodora, who held their doctrine; which has given occaſion to many bitter invactives againſt her memory. Juſtinian may deſervedly be called the laſt Roman emperor; for in his reign the majeſty of the empire ſeemed to revive, but ſoon vaniſhed again, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the preſent hiſtory.

[d] Cujac. l. viii. obſ. c. ult. Balduin. Juſtin. p. 573. Ritterſ. in proœm. c. 4. num. 9.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Roman hiſtory, from the death of Juſtinian the Great, to the depoſing of Irene, and the promotion of Nicephorus.

JUSTINIAN dying without iſſue, Juſtin, the ſon of his ſiſter Vigilantia, whom, in his life-time, he had deſigned for his ſucceſſor, was by the ſenate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great ſolemnity, by John patriarch of Conſtantinople. As the people were highly diſpleaſed with the deceaſed emperor, for aboliſhing the office of conſul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, Juſtin promiſed

Juſtin proclaimed emperor.

miſed to reſtore it; and accordingly took upon him that title on the firſt of January of the year 566, diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people, according to the antient cuſtom. During his conſulſhip, the Avari, or Abari, a Scythian nation, ſent embaſſadors to demand the penſion formerly paid them by Juſtinian; but the Maſſagetes, who at this time began to be called Turks, and inhabited the country bordering on the Tanais to the eaſt, preſſing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the Avari, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, Juſtin not only refuſed to pay them the uſual penſion, but threatened to make war upon them, if they offered to diſturb the peace of the empire. The courage and reſolution which the emperor exerted on this occaſion, gave ſo great ſatisfaction to the people, that they began to prefer him even to Juſtinian, who, they ſaid, had, with the ſpoils of his own ſubjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But Juſtin ſoon forfeited, by his cruelty, and inſatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year, he cauſed Juſtin his kinſman to be ſeized in his houſe, and conveyed to Alexandria, where he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime but becauſe he was beloved by the people. The empreſs Sophia, niece to the late empreſs Theodora, a woman of a cruel, haughty and ſuſpicious temper, is thought to have put him upon this, and ſeveral other bloody executions [a]. The following year 569, is remarkable for the irruption of the Lombards into Italy, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued for the ſpace of two hundred years, and upwards. But of their wars with Juſtin and his ſucceſſors, till the total reduction of Italy, and of the kings of the Lombards who reigned there from Alboin to Deſiderius, taken priſoner by Charlemagne, we ſhall ſpeak at length hereafter. Italy was anew diſmembered from the empire, and great part of it loſt in the reign of Juſtin; but ſome amends was made for ſo great a loſs by the acquiſition of Perſarmenia, the inhabitants, who were cruelly perſecuted by the Perſians, on account of the chriſtian religion, which they profeſſed, ſhaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of the Roman emperor, to whom they ſubmitted, upon certain articles ſworn to by both parties. Coſrhoes, informed of their revolt, diſpatched embaſſadors to Conſtantinople,

He refuſes to pay the uſual penſion to the Avari.

He cauſes Juſtin his kinſman to be murdered.

The Lombards invade Italy.

The Perſarmenians revolt to the Romans.

[a] Evagr. l. ii. c. 14. Phot. c. 113.

nople, to divert the emperor from eſpouſing their cauſe, which, he ſaid, was contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two empires. Juſtin, deſpiſing their menaces, reſolutely anſwered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and aſſiſtance to a brave nation, who, profeſſing the ſame religion with himſelf, were on that ſcore cruelly perſecuted and oppreſſed. Hereupon Coſrhoes, having with incredible expedition raiſed a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march directly into Syria, under the conduct of Artabanus, while he himſelf with the other invaded Meſopotamia. Juſtin in the mean time, utterly neglecting the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, wallowed in his uſual pleaſures, till news was brought him, that the Perſians had already broken into his dominions. He then diſpatched Martianus, captain of his guards, into the eaſt, but without men, money or arms; ſo that he was forced to inrol ſuch vagabonds, thieves and robbers, as offered themſelves to him in his way. With theſe, however, he ſurpriſed and put to flight a ſmall body of Perſians, and elated with that advantage, however inconſiderable, he had the confidence to ſit down before Niſibis, the inhabitants, who ſcorned to ſhut their gates, rallying him from the walls, and asking him, Whether he had been placed there with his men to watch ſheep, or beſiege the town? The emperor nevertheleſs, highly incenſed againſt him for protracting, as he ſaid, the ſiege, deprived him of his command, and ſent one Acacius to ſucceed him; which ſo diſpleaſed the officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of Acacius, that they abandoned the ſiege, and retired into Syria. In the mean time Artabanus, having paſſed the Euphrates, advanced to Antioch; but not being able to reduce that metropolis, he ſat down before Heraclea, which he took by aſſault, and laid in aſhes. From Heraclea, he marched to Apamea, which ſubmitted upon terms; but was nevertheleſs by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of Apamea, he joined the king, who had undertaken the ſiege of Daras; which being now carried on with freſh vigour, the garriſon was in the end obliged to ſubmit, after having held out with great reſolution and intrepidity for the ſpace of five months. The loſs of Daras, a place of the utmoſt importance, and the wonderful progreſs of the Lombards in Italy, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to ſuch a degree, that he was ſeized with

The Perſians invade the Roman dominions.

The Romans abandon the ſiege of Niſibis.

The Perſians take ſeveral places.

Juſtin ſeized with a kind of madneſs.

a kind of madneſs, which rendering him altogether incapable of managing the public affairs, Tiberius, by birth a Thracian, who had diſcharged, with great reputation, the firſt employments in the ſtate, was, by the advice and intereſt of the empreſs Sophia, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, appointed to govern in his room. Tiberius immediately diſpatched Trajan, a perſon highly eſteemed for his wiſdom and addreſs, to Coſrhoes, with a letter from the empreſs Sophia, wherein ſhe acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable ſtate of the empire, and conjured him by all that was ſacred, to forbear inſulting an helpleſs woman, or invading a weak and defenceleſs ſtate. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity formerly ſhewn him by the emperor Juſtinian, who, upon his being ſeized with a dangerous malady, ſent the beſt phyſicians of the empire to attend him. Coſrhoes was ſo ſenſibly affected with this letter, that looking upon it as highly ungenerous to purſue the war, he immediately conſented to a truce for three years [f]. The following year 573, the emperor, who continued ſtill indiſpoſed, by the advice of the empreſs Sophia, raiſed Tiberius to the dignity of Cæſar, reſigning to him the whole management of affairs, and reſerving for himſelf the bare name of emperor. Tiberius's firſt care was to put himſelf in a condition of making head againſt the Perſians, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as ſoon as the truce was expired. With this view he raiſed a very numerous and formidable army; but at the ſame time endeavoured, by means of his embaſſadors, to change the truce into a laſting peace, and to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the two empires. Coſrhoes, deaf to all propoſals, would not ſo much as admit the embaſſadors to his preſence, being bent upon recovering Perſarmenia; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, and was already marching to Cappadocia, with a deſign to beſiege Cæſarea, the metropolis of that province; but Juſtinian, the brother of Juſtin, who had been baſely murdered at Alexandria, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by a precipitous

Tiberius governs in his room.

The generoſity of Coſrhoes.

Tiberius declared Cæſar.

Coſrhoes breaks into the Roman dominions.

He defeated, and dies of grief.

[f] Evagr. l. v. c. 7—13. Cedren. l. iii. c. 18. Menand c. 16

precipitous and diſorderly flight. Coſrhoes was ſo grieved for this overthrow, that he fell ſick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. Juſtinian in the mean time, entering Perſia with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and ſword, till the latter end of June, when he returned in triumph to the Roman territories [g]. The following year, the emperor Juſtin died after having reigned ſixteen years, nine months, and ſome days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the ſtate is ſaid to have ſuffered no leſs from his inactivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predeceſſors [h]. Upon his death, Tiberius, who had for ſome years governed the empire with an abſolute ſway, was by the ſenate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of Auguſta upon Anaſtatia, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme diſappointment of Sophia, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a preſumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when ſhe found him married to another, and attempted to raiſe Juſtinian to the empire. But the plot being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the emperor cauſed all her treaſures to be ſeized, which was the only puniſhment inflicted upon her; and depriving Juſtinian of the command of the army in the eaſt, ſent Mauritius to ſucceed him. Mauritius was deſcended from an antient Roman family; but born in Arebiſſus, a city of Cappadocia, had ſerved in the army from his infancy, and was no leſs eſteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the eaſt, he found Hormiſda, who had ſucceeded Coſrhoes in the kingdom of Perſia, obſtinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous propoſals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of Perſia, and falling unexpectedly upon the Perſian army, commanded by the king in perſon, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal plate and treaſure, which he immediately ſent to Conſtantinople, and made an incredible number of priſoners, who were likewiſe ſent to the emperor, by whoſe orders they were richly cloathed,

Juſtin dies.

Tiberius declared emperor.

The empreſs Sophia, conſpires againſt him.

The Perſians defeated by Mauritius.

[g] Evag. l. v. c. 17. Agath. l. iv. c. 13.

[h] Paul. Diacon. de geſt. Langob. l. iii. c. 11.

thed, and ſuffered to return to Perſia, Tiberius hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But Hormiſda, determined to purſue the war at all events, diſpatched his two generals, Tamochoſroes and Aduaſmanes, to the borders, at the head of the moſt numerous army that had been ſeen for many years in Perſia. Mauritius, however, according to the ſuccinct and confuſed account which Evagrius gives us of this war, gained a complete victory over them, diſperſed their numerous forces, took ſeveral caſtles, ſtrong-holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immenſe booty, and made ſuch numbers of captives, as were ſufficient to people the iſlands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies againſt other nations at enmity with the empire [i]. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of eſteem and affection by Tiberius, who ſoon after gave him in marriage his daughter Conſtantina, and raiſed him to the dignity of Cæſar; which was declaring him his ſucceſſor [k]. In the mean time, Hormiſda, quite diſheartened after the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long obſerved by that faithleſs prince, as we ſhall ſee anon. The year following the Avari or Abari, dwelling on the banks of the Danube, made a ſudden irruption into Pannonia, under the conduct of their chagan, or king, and made themſelves maſters of Sirmium. The chagan, elated with this ſucceſs, diſpatched embaſſadors to Conſtantinople to demand the annual penſion, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and beſides an immenſe ſum by way of intereſt. But Tiberius, highly provoked at the arrogance of the embaſſadors, inſtead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The Avari, not caring to venture an engagement, retired beyond the Danube, watching an opportunity of invading anew the Roman territories [l]. The year following, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, in 586, died the emperor Tiberius, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with Juſtin. All the antients ſpeak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time before his death, he had cauſed Mauritius to be declared emperor, in the preſence

He gains a ſecond victory, takes ſeveral places, &c.

He marries the emperor's daughter, and is declared Cæſar.

The Avari break into the empire.

Tiberius dies.

Mauritius ſucceeds him.

[i] Evag. l. v. c. 9. [k] Niceph. l. xviii. c. 6. Evag. ibid.
[l] Menand. c. 23 Theophyl. Simocat. c. 3.

ſence of John the patriarch of Conſtantinople, of all the nobility and the chief citizens, as a perſon the beſt qualified in the whole empire for that high ſtation. Hormiſda, king of Perſia, no ſooner heard of the death of Tiberius, than he broke into the empire at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with Tiberius was no longer binding. Againſt him the emperor diſpatched one John a Thracian, who at firſt gained ſome ſmall advantages over the enemy; but being ſoon after defeated, he was recalled, and Philippicus, who had married the emperor's ſiſter, ſent in his room. The new general was attended with better ſucceſs; for having engaged the Perſians, who, encouraged by the predictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to the battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loſs to their camp. The next morning the Perſians renewed the fight, but were again defeated with a far greater loſs than they had ſuſtained the day before. After this victory, Philippicus detached Heraclius, his lieutenant, with part of his army, ordering them to enter and lay waſte the enemy's country. The Perſian general, named from his office Cardariga, being informed by ſome deſerters that the Roman army was divided, rallied his forces; and falling in the dead of the night upon Philippicus, put him to flight, and took a great number of priſoners. Heraclius, in the mean time, having paſſed the Tigris, laid waſte the country far and wide, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and then returned, loaded with booty, to Philippicus, who was drawing all his forces together with a deſign to retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms with ſome remarkable exploit. But in the mean time the emperor, being informed of his late miſconduct, ordered him to reſign the command of the army to Priſcus, and return to Conſtantinople. Priſcus was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was univerſally abhorred by the ſoldiery, on account of his ſeverity and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival, they roſe up in a general mutiny againſt him, plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of Edeſſa. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged Germanus, governor of Phœnicia, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not held long, before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, ſent Philippicus again into the eaſt to bring them back to

The Perſians defeated by Philippicus.

Who is defeated by them in his turn.

A general mutiny in the Roman army.

their duty. Germanus was for reſigning the command to him; but the mutinous ſoldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both againſt his own will and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige, to continue in the poſt to which they had raiſed him. In the mean time, the Perſians, taking advantage of theſe diſturbances, broke into the empire, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword. But Germanus, marching againſt them, engaged them, according to Evagrius, with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſcarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into Perſia [m]. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appeaſed, after it had laſted a year and upwards, by Gregory, biſhop of Antioch, a perſon greatly beloved and revered by the ſoldiery for the ſanctity of his life, and the kindneſs he had on ſeveral occaſions ſhewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they ſubmitted in the end to Philippicus, who, after having publiſhed a general act of oblivion, marched without loſs of time againſt the Perſians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himſelf, by name Marazas, and almoſt the whole army, were cut in pieces, only two thouſand two hundred of ſo great a multitude having eſcaped the general ſlaughter [n]. The ſame year, the city of Antioch was once more almoſt utterly deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thouſand perſons were either buried under the ruins, or ſwallowed up by the earth [o]. The following year 588, Sittas, one of the citizens of Martyropolis, having betrayed that important place to the Perſians, Philippicus early in the ſpring laid ſiege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and Commentiolus appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the Perſians ſoon after his arrival, gained a complete victory over them, made himſelf maſter of a caſtle called Ochas, built on an high rock over-againſt Martyropolis, and from thence ſo annoyed the garriſon with his warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, and deliver up the place. Hormiſda, aſcribing the bad ſucceſs of his arms to the cowardice of his general, by name Baranes, deprived him of his command, ſending him at the ſame time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. Barames, to revenge this affront, conſpired

The Perſians defeated by Germanus.

The mutiny appeaſed by Gregory, biſhop of Antioch.

The Perſians defeated by Commentiolus.

[m] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact c. 8, 9. [n] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 10, 15. [o] Evagr. l. iii. c. 10.

conſpired againſt Hormiſda, who was univerſally hated on account of his cruelty; and having eaſily gained over the greateſt part of the army, and amongſt the reſt Ferrochanes, who had been ſent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conſpirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a ſtrong guard to the public priſon. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his ſons, to be ſawed aſunder in his preſence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated with great humanity by his eldeſt ſon Coſrhoes, whom the rebels had raiſed to the throne. But the depoſed king, not able to bear ſo great a change, inſtead of acknowledging the kindneſs ſhewn him by his ſon, who dared not releaſe him, trampled under foot whatever was ſent him; which provoked Coſrhoes to ſuch a degree, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he cauſed him to be beaten to death. Though the Perſians abhorred Hormiſda, yet the averſion they conceived againſt Coſrhoes, on account of this unnatural murder, was ſo great, that the nobility, people, and ſoldiery, conſpiring againſt him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the Roman dominions. Mauritius, touched with compaſſion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at Conſtantinople with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his condition, and having preſented him with immenſe ſums, ſent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering Perſia, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged Barames, their ringleader, to take refuge among the neighbouring barbarians, and, reſtoring the baniſhed prince to the throne of his anceſtors, returned in triumph to the Roman territories [p]. Upon the reſtoration of Coſrhoes, a profound peace enſued in the eaſt, ſo that the emperor was at leiſure to purſue the war againſt the Avari, who, paſſing the Danube, had entered Thrace, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in that province. Mauritius marched againſt them in perſon at the head of the army lately returned from the eaſt; but after ſeveral battles fought with dubious ſucceſs, he was in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, which, however, the king of the Avari did not long obſerve: for entering into an alliance with the Gepidæ,

Hormiſda, king of Perſia depoſed, and Coſrhoes, his ſon, raiſed to the throne.

Coſrhoes, driven out, reſtored by Mauritius.

The Avari invade the empire.

[p] Niceph. l. ii. c. 4. Evagr. ibid.

the Sclavi, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging that he would utterly aboliſh the Roman name, and eſtabliſh a new empire over all people and nations. After he had laid waſte Thrace, he approached Conſtantinople with his numerous army; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting Europe, and retiring with their families and effects to Chalcedon, and other places in Aſia. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending ſtorm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, aſſuring them, that heaven would not ſuffer the peace, which the chagan had confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unneceſſary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, ſwept off daily great numbers of them, and among the reſt ſeven of the chagan's ſons; which ſo terrified the barbarians, that they reſolved to abandon the Roman territories, and return beyond the Danube. The chagan, when upon the point of departing, offered to ſet at liberty the Roman captives, of whom he had twelve thouſand, for a very inconſiderable ſum an head. But the emperor refuſing to ranſom them, becauſe they had been for the moſt part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, the chagan, tranſported with rage, put them all to the ſword. This occaſioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at Conſtantinople, where the populace inſulted the emperor in a moſt outrageous manner [q]. The following year, the Avari, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five ſucceſſive battles overthrown by Priſcus, with the loſs of above thirty thouſand men, and obliged to quit the Roman dominions. Priſcus returned to Conſtantinople; but Peter, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the Danube, was ordered to croſs that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the ſoldiers, who had conceived an irreconcileable averſion to Mauritius ever ſince he refuſed to ranſom the captives, would by no means comply with, looking upon it as given on purpoſe to expoſe them to new hard-

Obliged by a plague to return to their own country.

Mauritius diſobliges the army and ſoldiery.

[q] Theophylact. l. vii. c. 1.—15. & l. viii. c. 2. Cedren. ann. Maur. 19. Zonar. p. 137.

hardſhips. Hereupon a general mutiny enſuing, they declared a centurion, by name Phocas, emperor, beſtowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of Auguſtus. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of Phocas, being brought to Conſtantinople, the populace, ever fond of change, roſe againſt Mauritius, who finding himſelf abandoned by his guards, embarqued on a ſmall veſſel with his wife and children, propoſing to retire in diſguiſe to ſome place of ſafety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr Autonomus, about an hundred and fifty furlongs from Conſtantinople. In the mean time, Phocas, arriving with his army, entered the city amidſt the loud acclamations of the populace, and was ſolemnly crowned in the church of St. John Baptiſt, with his wife Leontia, by the patriarch, after he had promiſed to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of Nice and Chalcedon. The following days he exhibited public ſports, during which warm diſputes ariſing between the two factions, viz. the blue and the green, Phocas ſent his guards to appeaſe the tumult, who having uſed roughly a tribune of the blue faction, thoſe of the ſame party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that Mauritius, who would do them juſtice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealouſy of the tyrant, who thereupon immediately ordered Mauritius to be dragged from his aſylum to Chalcedon, where, by the tyrant's orders, five of his children were firſt inhumanly murdered in his preſence, and then he himſelf beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with ſuch firmneſs and chriſtian reſignation, as can hardly be matched in hiſtory, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, *Juſt art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments*; nay, he was ſo far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not ſuffer this kind fraud to take place, but diſcovered it to the executioners. The heads of the emperor and the young princes were for ſome days left expoſed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. Mamas[r]. Such

The army on the Danube declare Phocas emperor.

Mauritius retires.

Phocas crowned emperor at Conſtantinople.

Mauritius, and five of his children put to death.

was

[r] Theoph. l. viii. c. 10. Niceph. l. viii. c. 41. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. l. v, c. 23.

was the end of Mauritius, after he had lived ſixty years, and reigned ſixteen years, three months and ſome days [s]. The tyrant, not ſatisfied with the death of Mauritius, cauſed Peter his brother, Commentiolus, who had the chief command of the army, George the ſon of Philippicus, and Præſentinus, an officer of great diſtinction, and much attached to the family of the deceaſed emperor, to be inhumanly maſſacred. Theodoſius, the eldeſt ſon of Mauritius, had been ſent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to ſolicit ſuccours from Coſrhoes, whom he had reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was ſeized, and executed at a place called Leucacta, at a ſmall diſtance from Nicæa in Bithynia [t].

The emperor's brother, and ſeveral others, murdered by Phocas.

PHOCAS, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at Conſtanple, ſent, according to cuſtom, his own image, and that of his wife Leontia, to Rome, where they were received, in the month of April of the preſent year 603, with loud and joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incenſed againſt Mauritius, on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other miniſters in Italy. Gregory, ſurnamed the great, then biſhop of Rome, cauſed the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr Cæſarius, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he ſaid was effected, by a particular providence, to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities and heavy oppreſſions, under which they had long groaned [u]. Had we no other character of Phocas and Leontia, but that which has been conveyed to us in Gregory's letters, we ſhould rank him amongſt the beſt princes mentioned in hiſtory. But all other writers paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, tranſmitted to us by ſeveral hiſtorians, evidently ſpeak him a moſt cruel and blood-thirſty tyrant. He was of middling ſtature, ſays Cedrenus [w], deformed, and of a terrible aſpect: his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a ſcar, which, when he was in a paſſion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and women, blood-thirſty, inexorable, bold in ſpeech, a ſtranger to compaſſion, in his principles an heretic. His wife Leontia was no better than he; in their reign therefore, continues the

Phocas's character.

The calamities of his reign.

[s] Niceph. ibid. Cedren. annal. an. Phoc. 1. [u] Greg. l. xi ep. 38. [w] Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1.

the ſame writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were ſwept off either by famine or peſtilence; the earth refuſed her fruits in ſeaſon; the winters were ſo ſevere, that the ſeas were frozen, and the fiſh deſtroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circenſian games with extraordinary pomp, and diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people; but finding that, inſtead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded ſome, killed others, and ſeizing great numbers of them, dragged them to priſon: but the populace riſing, ſet them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcileable averſion to the tyrant [x]. The death of Mauritius was no ſooner known in the eaſt, than the celebrated Narſes, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of Perſia, revolted; and ſeizing on the city of Edeſſa, eaſily perſuaded Coſrhoes to join him, in order to depoſe the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. Coſrhoes, upon the firſt invitation, entered the Roman territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without oppoſition all Meſopotamia. Hereupon Germanus was ſent into the eaſt; but Narſes meeting him not far from Edeſſa, engaged him, and put him to flight. Germanus dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, Leontius, who was ſent to ſucceed him, having upon his arrival, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by Narſes, was in like manner defeated, and his army diſperſed; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, expoſing him thus to the outrages and inſults of the populace. Phocas, deſpairing of ſucceſs ſo long as Narſes continued in the Perſian intereſt, left no ſtone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, and repeated aſſurances of indemnity and favour, perſuaded him to return home, he no ſooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promiſes and engagements, he cauſed him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and diſſatisfaction of the Romans, by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent ſervices he had rendered the empire, and to the no leſs ſatisfaction of the Perſians, who dreaded the very name of Narſes, and beſides were highly provoked againſt him for his having lately forſaken them

He is hated by the people.

Narſes revolts.

And defeats Germanus ſent againſt him.

Phocas gains over Narſes, who is by his orders burnt alive.

[x] Idem ibid.

them [y]. Though deſtitute of ſo renowned a leader, they purſued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all Meſopotamia and Syria; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immenſe booty, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. Phocas finding himſelf univerſally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to ſtrengthen and ſecure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607, married his daughter Domitia to Priſcus, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent ſhews that were exhibited on occaſion of the nuptials, the people having ſaluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of Auguſti, the jealous emperor ordered Theophanes and Pamphylus, who ſuperintended the ſports, and had expoſed the images of Priſcus and Domitia, without any evil deſign, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewiſe put Priſcus to death, had not the people interpoſed in his behalf [z]. The jealouſy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one Peronia, who was privy to all the ſecrets of Conſtantina, the widow of Mauritius, informed the emperor, that ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with Germanus, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a deſign to raiſe her ſon Theodoſius, whom ſhe believed ſtill living, to the empire. Hereupon Conſtantina was immediately ſeized, and being put to the rack, confeſſed, that Romanus, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conſpiracy. Romanus diſcovered upon the rack ſeveral others, and among the reſt Theodorus, prefect of the eaſt, Helpidius, John, Ziza, and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with Romanus and Germanus, the tyrant not ſparing even the daughter of the latter. As for Conſtantina, ſhe was carried to the place where her huſband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed with her three daughters [a]. The jealouſy of the ſuſpicious tyrant being heightened by theſe diſcoveries, incredible multitudes of perſons of all ranks were daily dragged to priſon, which by that means was ſo crouded, that great numbers died daily ſuffocated with the ſtench and noiſomneſs of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compaſſion for the unhappy perſons detained there, yielded her houſe adjoining to it to enlarge it [b]. While Phocas thus raged at homes Coſrhoes

The emperor's cruelty.

Conſtantina, with her daughters, and many others, put to death.

[y] Cedren. & miſc. hiſt. ad an. Phoc. 3. [z] Theoph. hiſt. miſcel. l. xvii. c. 40. [a] Idem ibid. Niceph. l. xviii. c. 41. [b] Glic. annal. in Conſt. mag.

Cosrhoes in the east laid waste without opposition Syria, Palestine and Phœnicia, putting all to fire and sword; and the following year having put to flight the troops that were sent against him, he entered Galatia, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in Paphlagonia, advanced as far as Chalcedon [c]. In the mean time Phocas, instead of protecting his people against any implacable and insulting enemy, raged with greater fury than Cosrhoes himself; for this year, the sixth of his reign, he not only put to death all those who were any-ways related to Mauritius, but caused Commentiolus, governor of Thrace, and one of the best officers of the empire, with several other persons of great distinction, to be inhumanly murdered. These cruelties alarmed Priscus, son-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending sooner or later the same fate, resolved by some means or other to provide for his own safety, and to rid the world of so great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that Heraclius, governor of Africa, was privately carrying on a conspiracy in that province, instead of discovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the senate to the party of the conspirators, and at the same time dispatching persons, in whom he could confide, to Heraclius, advised him to send, without loss of time, his son Heraclius, and Nicetas, the son of Gregoras his lieutenant, with what forces he could spare, to support the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt [d]. Phocas, in the mean while, not apprized of the danger that threatened him, dispatched Bonosus, whom he had lately appointed count of the east, with a considerable army to make head against the Persians; but while he was on his march, he received fresh letters from the emperor, enjoining him to hasten to Antioch, where the Jews, rising against the christians, had massacred great numbers of them, and among the rest Anastasius, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whose dead body they had ignominiously dragged thro' the streets, and insulted in a most outrageous manner. Bonosus having attempted in vain to appease the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers sword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the city [e]. Thus was the tumult suppressed at Antioch; but at the same time far greater disorders happened at Constantinople, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public shews for his cruelty, drunkenness

Syria, Palestine and Phœnicia over-run by the Persians.

Priscus conspires against the emperor.

An insurrection of the Jews at Antioch.

A tumult at Constantinople.

[c] Glic in annal. p. 170 Theoph. hist. misc. l. xvii Cedren. in annal. Phocæ. [d] Glic. Theoph. Cedr. ibid. [e] Hist. miscel. l. xvii. Ann Phoc. 7. Cedren. ann, 7.

drunkenneſs and debaucheries, provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, tranſported with rage, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, who were either beheaded on the ſpot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the ſea; which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ſet fire to the palace, and the public priſon; by which means thoſe who were detained there made their eſcape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by thoſe in whom he moſt confided. The chief authors of it were Theodorus, a Cappadocian, the præfectus prætorio, Helpidius, who had the care of the warlike engines, and Anaſtaſius, the comes largitionum. Theſe, with ſeveral others of great authority near his perſon, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by Anaſtaſius, the emperor ordered all thoſe who had been privy to it, Anaſtaſius himſelf not excepted, to be put to death [f]. Phocas eſcaped this danger; but the following year 610, the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom he had long deſerved. For Heraclius, the ſon of the governor of Africa, who bore the ſame name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as ſuch by the people of Africa, ſailed from thence with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for Conſtantinople, while Nicetas marched thither by the way of Alexandria and the Pentapolis. Heraclius ſteered his courſe to Abydus, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy by ſeveral perſons of rank, who had been baniſhed by Phocas. From Abydus he ſailed to Conſtantinople, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. Phocas took refuge in the palace; but one Photinus, whoſe wife he had formerly debauched, purſuing him with a party of ſoldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having ſtripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black veſt, carried him in chains to Heraclius, who commanded firſt his hands and feet, then his arms and privy parts, and at laſt his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the ſoldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that Heraclius having reproached him with his evil adminiſtration, he anſwered with great calmneſs, It is incumbent upon you to govern better [g]. Such was the deſerved end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he had reigned ſeven years and ſome months. Upon his

A conſpiracy againſt the emperor diſcovered.

Heraclius proclaimed emperor in Africa.

Phocas, overcome in a ſea-fight, is depoſed and put to death.

[f] Hiſt. miſcel. an 7. Phoc.

[g] Niceph. l. xviii. c. 26. Miſcel. ann. 7. Phoc.

his death, Heraclius was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by Sergius, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, he placed the imperial crown on the head of Fabia, thenceforth called Eudocia, the daughter of Rogatus, an African, who had been formerly bethrothed to him. Heraclius was deſcended of a noble and opulent family in Cappadocia, of a majeſtic aſpect, well ſkilled in the art of war, courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predeceſſor, were highly pleaſed with the change: but their joy was ſomewhat allayed by diſmal tidings from the eaſt, where the Perſians made themſelves maſters of Edeſſa and Apamea, and penetrating as far as Antioch, cut off almoſt to a man a body of Romans, who attempted to ſtop them, committing everywhere, without controul, moſt dreadful ravages, and unheard-of cruelties. Heraclius, to anſwer the expectation the world had conceived of him, cauſed new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being ſo entirely exhauſted, that, of the many thouſands who had ſeven years before revolted from Mauritius, and declared for Phocas, only two ſoldiers were now living, the reſt being cut off, ſays Cedrenus, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince [h]. The new raiſed troops were ſent into Cappadocia under the command of Criſpus, who nevertheleſs could not prevent the Perſians from over-runing that province the following year, and making themſelves maſters of Cæſarea, which they ſacked, and laying waſte both that province and Armenia, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives [i]. On the third of May of the ſame year 611, the empreſs Eudocia was delivered of a ſon; but ſhe died ſoon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The ſon was called Heraclius, and afterwards Conſtantine the younger [k]. Heraclius, not finding himſelf in a condition to reſtrain the Perſians by force of arms, diſpatched embaſſadors to Coſrhoes, offering to pay him a yearly penſion, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But Coſrhoes, deaf to all propoſals, ſent the next year a formidable army into Syria, under the conduct of Riſmizus, who, after having ravaged without oppoſition that country, broke into Paleſtine, and took the city

Heraclius proclaimed emperor.

The Perſians make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities.

Ravage Cappadocia and Armenia.

[h] Cedren. Heracl. ann. 1. Heracl.

[i] Theoph. hiſt. miſcel. ann. 2.

[k] Zonar. p. 140.

Over-run Egypt and Paleſtine, And take Jeruſalem.

city of Jeruſalem, where they committed unheard of cruelties. They are ſaid to have ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians to the Jews, who purchaſed them, not with a deſign to uſe them as ſlaves, but to vent their inveterate hatred, and implacable rage againſt the chriſtians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent. Zacharias, the patriarch, was carried into Perſia, with an immenſe booty, and part of the croſs, as was believed, on which our Saviour ſuffered [l]. The ſame year Heraclius married Martina, his brother's daughter, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual pomp by Sergius, the patriarch of Conſtantinople [m]. To this inceſtuous marriage Zonaras and Cedrenus aſcribe all the calamities that afterwards befell him. The following year the Perſians over-ran all Egypt, took and pillaged the city of Alexandria, and advancing from thence, as they met with no oppoſition, into Africa, laid ſiege to Carthage; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmoleſted into Perſia, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the ſpoils of the ſeveral provinces through which they paſſed [n]. Heraclius, who continued all this time at Conſtantinople, where he created his ſon Conſtantine Cæſar, and gave the title of Auguſta to his daughter, being well appriſed, that he had not ſufficient ſtrength to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, ſent once more embaſſadors to Coſrhoes, putting him in mind of the kindneſs formerly ſhewn him by Mauritius, and offering to conclude a laſting peace with him upon what terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable. But Coſ-

Coſrhoes will hearken to no terms.

rhoes, elated with his ſucceſs, and aiming at nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of the Roman name, returned the embaſſadors the following blaſphemous anſwer; Let your maſter know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his ſubjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the ſun, the great god of the Perſians*. Heraclius, by this impious and inſulting anſwer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the chagan or king of the Avari; and having, with the conſent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the churches,

Heraclius raiſes a powerful army.

as the treaſury was quite drained, he raiſed a powerful army, conſiſting not only of Romans, but of Hunns, Avari, and other barbarous nations. With theſe forces he reſolved to march in perſon againſt Coſrhoes; and accordingly having appointed

[l] Theoph ad. ann. Heracl. 5. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Hiſt. miſcel l. iv. Cedren. ann. Heracl. 6. Leont. in vit. Joan. Eleemoſ. * Hiſt. miſcell. l. xviii.

appointed his ſon to govern in his abſence, and under him Sergius the patriarch, and the patrician Bonus, a perſon of great wiſdom and experience, he ſet out from Conſtantinople the day after Eaſter, training on his march ſuch of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time Saes, the Perſian general, who had ravaged all Cappadocia, taken by ſtorm the city of Ancyra, and penetrated as far as Chalcedon, hearing that Heraclius was advancing with a mighty army, ſent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, ſaid the treacherous Perſian, would end in a laſting peace between the two empires. The emperor complied with his requeſt; and believing him in earneſt, ſent ſeventy perſons of diſtinction on an embaſſy to the king of Perſia. But theſe the Perſian general, with the utmoſt treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into Perſia, where they were thrown into priſon, and treated with great inhumanity by Coſrhoes. Saes met with the puniſhment his treachery deſerved; for the king, highly provoked againſt him for having ſeen the Roman emperor, and not brought him away priſoner with the reſt, cauſed him to be flayed alive [o]. One Sarbaras was appointed to command in his room, who entering Aſia at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province. Heraclius, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of Armenia; and having put to flight a party of Perſians, who guarded the ſtreights leading into that province, he purſued his rout towards Pontus. As the year was far ſpent, the Perſians, imagining he deſigned to take up his winter quarters in Pontus, withdrew to theirs; which they had no ſooner done, than Heraclius broke into their territories, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword. This ſudden irruption obliged the Perſians to quit Cilicia, which they had entered, and haſten to the defence of their own country. Heraclius, appriſed of their approach, drew together his men diſperſed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were entirely defeated, the Romans remaining maſters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the ſeaſon, that was already far advanced, prevented from purſuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himſelf to Conſtantinople [p]. The following year Coſrhoes ſent

He marches in perſon againſt the Perſians.

The treachery of their general.

Heraclius invades Perſia, and gains a great victory.

[o] Theoph. ibid. Cedren. annal. ann. 4. [p] Niceph. in Herac. c. 5. Theoph. & Cedren. ad. ann. 13.

ſent early in the ſpring Sarbarazas or Sarmanazaris to lay waſte the Roman provinces, which obliged Heraclius to quit Conſtantinople, and haſten into the eaſt. Upon his arrival in Armenia, he diſpatched embaſſadors to Coſrhoes with new propoſals for an accomodation; which being by the Perſian monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded Perſia anew, took ſeveral towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without controul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thouſand choſen men near the city of Gazacum or Gazacotis, he directed his march thither with a deſign to ſurprize him. But Coſrhoes, receiving timely notice of his approach, inſtead of making the neceſſary preparations to receive him, betook himſelf to a precipitous flight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered Gazacum without oppoſition, where he is ſaid by Theophanes and Cedrenus to have found the immenſe treaſures of Cræſus, king of Lydia, which he ſeized; and having ſecured them, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the ſun, he ſet fire to the city, and marching with all poſſible expedition in purſuit of the king, he arrived at Thebatman, where Theophanes places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waſte the countries through which he paſſed, continued his march to the frontiers of Media. But the ſummer being far ſpent, he thought it adviſeable to give over the purſuit. Accordingly having ſet apart three days to return public thanks for the ſucceſs of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the goſpels, purſuant to a cuſtom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was enjoined there to winter in Albania, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the Perſians, deſirous of recovering the immenſe booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were conſtantly repulſed with great loſs. As the weather proved very ſevere, and the captives, fifty thouſand in number, were more affected with it than the reſt, as being accuſtomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be releaſed without ranſom, giving them leave to return unmoleſted to their reſpective countries [q]. The following campaign proved no leſs ſucceſsful to the Romans, Heraclius, having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general Sarablacas, tho' the Lazians and other auxiliaries had ſhame-

Puts Coſrhoes to flight.

Ravages the Perſian dominions and takes ſeveral places.

An inſtance of his good nature.

He gains great advantages over the Perſians.

fully

[q] Theoph. Cedren. Niceph. ibid.

fully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, he took the field next year early in the ſpring; and croſſing the Euphrates, made himſelf maſter of Samoſata, and ſeveral other places. Sarbarazas, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to check the progreſs of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the Sanis. In this laſt battle the emperor gave ſignal proofs of his conduct, and perſonal courage. After this victory, Heraclius took up his winter-quarters at Sebaſtia, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. Coſrhoes, tranſported with rage on ſeeing his armies thus ſhamefully defeated, ſeized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to Heraclius, raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the catholics, ſparing none but ſuch as embraced the doctrine of Neſtorius. At the ſame time by his embaſſadors, he engaged in his cauſe the Avari, the Hunns, the Sclavonians, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading Thrace, and laying ſiege to Conſtantinople, were to divert the emperor from purſuing the war in Perſia. Heraclius, appriſed of theſe negotiations, tho' carried on with ſecrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of Conſtantinople; the ſecond under the conduct of Theodorus, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of Sais, who threatened to invade Aſia, while the emperor himſelf led the third into Lazica, in order to invade from thence the Perſian dominions. Purſuant to this plan, Heraclius advanced into Lazica, and being there joined by forty thouſand Chazari, or, as Cedrenus calls them, eaſtern Turks, he entered Perſia in the depth of winter; and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte ſeveral provinces. On the other hand the chagan, or king of the Avari, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of Perſia, breaking into Thrace, committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid ſiege to Conſtantinople; but being in ſeveral attacks repulſed by the garriſon, and having loſt the flower of their army, they thought it adviſeable to drop the enterprize and retire. About the ſame time Sais, who had under his command the flower of the Perſian army received a dreadful overthrow from Theodorus, who loſt but a very ſmall number of men. The following year 626, Heraclius, invading Perſia in the depth of winter, advanced as far as Nineveh, where he was met by Razaſtes, to whom Coſrhoes, diſtruſting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle enſuing, the Perſians, after

Coſrhoes ſtirs up the barbarians.

Who ſit down before Conſtantinople; but are forced to raiſe the ſiege.

The emperor gains other victories.

an obſtinate diſpute, were put to flight, and their general himſelf ſlain, the Romans having loſt on that occaſion but fifty men; which the eccleſiaſtic writers aſcribe to the miraculous aſſiſtance of heaven. In this battle the emperor behaved with his uſual bravery, having killed three Perſian commanders with his own hand [r]. Coſrhoes, upon the news of this defeat, fled to Seleucia on the Tigris, and there ſhut himſelf up with his wives, children and treaſures, while Heraclius, having now no army to oppoſe him, made a dreadful havock of the moſt fertile provinces of the Perſian dominions, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. At Diſtagerda he found the enſigns and ſtandards, which at different times had been taken from the Romans, and in other places reſcued incredible numbers of Roman captives. In the mean time Sarbarazes, to divert Heraclius from ravaging Perſia, laid ſiege to Chalcedon; but, after he had continued ſome time before the place, without being able to reduce it, Coſrhoes ſent private orders to Chardarichas, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into Perſia. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's ſon at Conſtantinople, by whom it was immediately ſent to Sarbarazas, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the ſame time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger ſon Merdaſa his ſucceſſor; which Siroes, his eldeſt ſon no ſooner underſtood, than he joined Chardarichas; and being aſſiſted by the Roman captives, whom he ſet at liberty purſuant to the advice given him by Heraclius, he ſeized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with Merdaſa, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural ſon, moſt outrageouſly inſulted by all the nobility [s]. Siroes, thus raiſed to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with Heraclius, upon terms no leſs honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he reſtored all the provinces that had been ſeized by his predeceſſor, with three hundred enſigns, and the wood which was ſuppoſed to have been part of the croſs on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by Coſrhoes in triumph from Jeruſalem into Perſia. He likewiſe ſet at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the reſt Zacharias patriarch of Jeruſalem [t]. A peace

One of the Perſian generals revolts.

Coſrhoes depoſed and his ſon Siroes put in his room.

Who concludes a peace with the Romans.

[r] Idem ad ann. Heracl. 17. [s] Theoph. hoc ann. & Cedren. [t] Idem, ibid.

peace being thus concluded, Heraclius returned to Conſtantinople, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at ſome diſtance by his ſon Conſtantius, the patriarch, and almoſt all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with ſongs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deſerved better of the empire; for in the ſpace of ſix years he recovered the ſeveral provinces which had been diſmembered from it by the Perſians, fully revenged all the indignities offered to the Roman name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the moſt potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to ſuch a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. Theſe things Heraclius performed, though, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found it over-run by ſeveral barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military diſcipline decayed, and the army conſiſting of raw and unexperienced levies, ſcarce deſerving the name of ſoldiers. Heraclius, having paſſed the winter at Conſtantinople, in the ſpring of the following year 628, took a progreſs to Jeruſalem, carrying with him that part of the croſs which had been taken by the Perſians fourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church ſolemn thanks to the Almighty for the many ſignal victories he had been pleaſed to grant him, and for chuſing him to reſcue that ſacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the chriſtian name, he reſtored it with great ſolemnity to its former place. Upon this occaſion was inſtituted the feſtival of the exaltation of the holy croſs, which is celebrated to this day by the church of Rome on the fourteenth of September [u]. Of the miracles that are ſaid to have happened on this occaſion, the reader will find a particular account in Cedrenus, and other eccleſiaſtic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor publiſhed an edict baniſhing all the Jews from Jeruſalem, and forbidding them under ſevere penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From Jeruſalem, Heraclius took a farther progreſs into the eaſtern provinces. Upon his arrival at Hierapolis in Phrygia, he received news of the death of Siroes, the new king of Perſia, murdered, according to ſome, by Sarbaras, one of his generals, according to others, by his own ſon Ardeſer, who ſucceeded him, but was aſſaſſi-

Heraclius carries back the croſs to Jeruſalem.

[u] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Heracl. 19.

nated in the ſeventh month of his reign by Barrazas, whom the Perſians, a few months after, depoſed and put to death, raiſing Barahanes, the ſon of Coſrhoes, to the throne in his room. Barahanes, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, was ſucceeded by Hormiſda, the laſt Perſian king of the race of Artaxerxes; for in his reign the Saracens put an end to the Perſian monarchy, and eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Arabians in its room, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. From Hierapolis the emperor removed to Edeſſa, where he received embaſſadors from the king of India in the eaſt, and from Dagobert, king of the Franks, in the weſt, ſent to congratulate him on his late ſucceſs againſt the Perſians, and to court his friendſhip and alliance [w]. While the emperor continued at Edeſſa, Athanaſius, the patriarch of the Jacobites, a man of great addreſs, having inſinuated himſelf into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in Chriſt, which created a dangerous ſchiſm in the church, and gave riſe to warm diſputes, Heraclius ever after maintaining it to the utmoſt of his power, and countenancing the Monothelites, that is, thoſe who acknowledged but one will in Chriſt. This hereſy, however, did not prove ſo prejudicial to the church as the peſtilent and impious doctrine of the impoſtor Mohammed, which was firſt broached in the reign of Heraclius, and by him ſuffered to take ſo deep a root, that his ſucceſſors were never able to ſuppreſs it. The impoſtor died this year, the twenty-firſt of the reign of Heraclius, and 630th of the chriſtian æra, after having reduced, with the aſſiſtance of the rabble, whom he had ſeduced, and of the Saracens, who had joined him, the cities of Mecca and Medina, and part of Arabia, Heraclius, in the mean time neglecting the affairs of the ſtate, to promote and eſtabliſh the hereſy of the Monothelites, which he had lately embraced. Mohammed, who, by a double uſurpation, had declared himſelf both the king and prophet of the Saracens, was ſucceeded by Eububezer his kinſman who reduced great part of Perſia, and breaking into Paleſtine in 632, laid waſte the territory of Gaza, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops. The following year Eububezer died, and was ſucceeded by Haumar, who made himſelf maſter of Boſtra, and ſeveral other cities of Arabia, and gained a complete victory over Theodorus, the emperor's brother, ſent to

Perſia conquered by the Saracens.

Heraclius embraces the doctrine of the Monothelites.

Mohammed preaches his doctrine.

He reduces the cities of Mecca and Medina.

The Saracens make themſelves maſters of ſeveral provinces.

[w] Theoph. ann. 22. Heracl. Aimoin. iv. c. 24.

to oppoſe him. Hereupon Heraclius appointed Boanes to command in the room of his brother, and at the ſame time diſpatched Theodorus Sacellarius into Arabia. The latter was met near Emeſa, by the Saracens, under the command of Haumar; but he prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had enjoined Boanes, who lay encamped at Damaſcus, to join him. In the mean time Heraclius, dreading the iſſue of the war, leaving Edeſſa, haſtened to Jeruſalem, and repaired from thence to Conſtantinople, carrying with him the croſs, and what ever elſe was of value in the city, which, he feared, would ſoon fall into the enemy's hands. The following year Boanes having engaged the Saracens, was by them entirely defeated, Heaven itſelf ſeeming to eſpouſe their cauſe; for a violent wind aroſe in the beginning of the engagement, which blowing the duſt in the faces of the Romans, rendered them quite incapable of managing their arms; ſo that they were driven headlong into the Jerinochta, in which river moſt of them periſhed. After this victory they made themſelves maſters of Damaſcus; and advancing from thence into Phœnicia, reduced that province without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. Haumar, encouraged with this ſucceſs, took the field early next ſpring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, he ſent one to invade Egypt, and led the other in perſon againſt Jeruſalem. They were met upon the borders of Egypt by Cyrus, biſhop of Alexandria, who, by promiſing in the name of the people to pay them an annual penſion of two hundred thouſand denarii, prevailed upon them to ſpare the country, and retire. This agreement was obſerved for three years, during which the Saracens never offered to moleſt the Egyptians. But in the mean time the emperor being adviſed to break the agreement, one Manuel, by birth an Armenian, was appointed governor of Egypt, and ſent thither with a ſtrong body of troops; ſo that the commiſſioners from the Saracens, when they came at the year's end to demand the uſual penſion, were received with contempt and diſdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a prieſt, but a Roman general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not ſubmit to ſuch ignominious conditions. The Saracens, provoked at this anſwer, flew to arms; and invading Egypt, put Manuel to flight, and made themſelves maſters of the whole country. The emperor not having ſufficient ſtrength to drive them out, ſent Cyrus to them, promiſing to ſtand to the former agreement, provided they

They defeat the Romans, and take Damaſcus.

They reduce Egypt and Syria.

withdrew out of Egypt. But the Saracens, refuſed to quit upon any terms their new conqueſt [x]. The loſs of Egypt, which had continued ſubject to the empire ever ſince the time of Auguſtus, happened in the twenty-fifth year of Heraclius's reign, and 634th of the chriſtian æra. Egypt being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by Haumar ſent into Syria; which province they conquered in the ſpace of two years, making themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong holds there, and of Antioch itſelf, the metropolis of the eaſt. Haumar in the mean time entering Paleſtine, marched without oppoſition to Jeruſalem, which city he took in 636, after a two years ſiege. Thus were the moſt wealthy and beautiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the Saracens, an upſtart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt ſuitable to their original. But of them we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place. Heraclius in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progreſs of this new enemy, was ſo taken up with unſeaſonable diſputes about religion, with public feſtivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him. The eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his ſupine and unaccountable ſecurity, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven for countenancing the Monothelites, and perſecuting the catholics: for, not ſatisfied with holding the doctrine of thoſe heretics himſelf, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called ectheſis, or expoſition. But, before he could put this wicked deſign in execution, he died of a dropſy, which was attended with ſtrange and unaccountable ſymptoms. His death happened in the month of May, after he had reigned thirty years, and ſome months [y].

Jeruſalem beſieged, and taken by the Saracens.

Heraclius dies.

HERACLIUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, who died after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, poiſoned, as was ſuppoſed, by his ſtep-mother Martina, to make room for her own ſon Heracleonas; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. But he had not held the empire quite ſix months, when the ſenate revolting, depoſed him; and after having cut off his noſe, and pulled out Martina's tongue, ſent them both into baniſhment. Pyrrhus, the heretical patriarch of Conſtantinople, ſuppoſed to have been privy to the death of Conſtantine, abandoning his ſee, fled

[x] Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 24, 25. [y] Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 31.

fled into Africa. The ſenate having thus delivered the empire from the uſurper Heracleonas, advanced Conſtans, the ſon of Conſtantine, and grandſon of Heraclius, to the throne. The firſt years of this prince's reign are almoſt quite barren of events; for Theophanes, and the other Greek writers, only tell us, that, in his ſecond year, Haumar began to build a temple at Jeruſalem; that in his third happened an eclipſe of the ſun, and violent ſtorms in his ſixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concuſſions: for the ſame year the Saracens, not ſatisfied with Syria, Meſopotamia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Paleſtine, broke, like a torrent into Africa; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name Gregory, made themſelves maſters of that ſpacious and fruitful country. The following year 648, Mahias or Mahuvias, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the iſland of Cyprus; which he eaſily reduced, and laid in aſhes the city of Conſtantia. From Cyprus he ſailed to the iſland of Aradus, which he took, together with the city; and from thence ſteering his courſe to Rhodes, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, deſtroying the famous coloſſus of the Sun, one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſix years after it had been ſet up by Laches or Chares. It had been overturned ſixty-ſix years after it was erected, by a violent earthquake, which ſhook the whole iſland; and the Rhodians, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the braſs as in a manner ſacred, they had never preſumed to apply it to any other uſe; but Mahuvias cauſed it to be broken to pieces, and ſold it to a Jewiſh merchant of Emeſa, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels. While Mahuvias was thus employed in the iſland of Rhodes, his countrymen, breaking into Armenia, laid waſte that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at Conſtantinople, or buſying himſelf only in matters of religion, and promoting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the Monothelites, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His ſupine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged Mahuvias to make an attempt upon Conſtantinople itſelf. With this view he fitted out a ſtrong fleet at Tripolis in Phœnicia, and would, in all likelihood, have ſuceeeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both chriſtians and the ſons of a Grecian trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public priſon, crouded with chriſtian captives, with their aſſiſtance killed the ameras, as the Saracens called him, or the governor of the place, ſet fire

Conſtans declared emperor.

Africa conquered by the Saracens.

And likewiſe the iſlands of Cyprus, Aradus, and Rhodes.

Armenia laid waſte.

fire to the fleet, deſtroyed all the naval preparations, and then eſcaped, in a ſhip provided for that purpoſe, into the Roman dominions. Mahuvias, having with incredible expedition fitted out another fleet, ſailed to Phœnice in Lycia, where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded by Conſtans in perſon, who with much-ado eſcaped in diſguiſe to Conſtantinople [z], whence to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year againſt the Sclavi or Sclavonians, who had ſeized on that country, which to this day is called from them Sclavonia. The emperor defeated them in ſeveral encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to Conſtantinople, where he found embaſſadors from the Saracens, now divided among themſelves, come to ſolicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted them, yielding to them the many provinces they had ſeized, upon their paying to him and his ſucceſſors, by way of tribute, a thouſand nummi a year, with a horſe and a ſlave. The following year 659, the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother Theodoſius, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, cauſed him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet quite appeaſed, he ordered him ſoon after to be murdered; which he had no ſooner done, than he was ſeized with dread and terror, imagining that he ſaw his brother conſtantly ſtanding before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirſt. Haunted and terrified with this imagination, and the remorſe of his conſcience, he left Conſtantinople, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to Sicily, reſolving to transfer the ſeat of the empire to Syracuſe; but the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, appriſed of his deſign, kept in that metropolis his wife and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a ſecond Cain, from place to place; but his guilt purſuing him whitherſoever he went, he became an object of compaſſion even to his moſt inveterate enemies. In the mean time Mahuvias, who had cauſed his competitor Hali to be murdered, and now reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, ſent his ſon Izod to lay waſte the Roman territories, who advancing as far as Chalcedon, and having made himſelf maſter of Amorium, a ſtrong city of Phrygia, left a garriſon in the place, and returned with an immenſe booty to his father. Amorium however, was ſoon after ſurpriſed,

The emperor's fleet defeated.

A peace with the Saracens.

The emperor murders his brother.

The Saracens ravage the Roman territories.

[z] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 15—18.

priſed, and retaken by Andreas, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the Saracens he found in the place to the ſword. During the emperor's ſtay in Sicily, a war broke out between the Franks and Lombards; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of Italy, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at Tarentum, marched directly to lay ſiege to Beneventum, taking Luceria, and ſeveral other cities belonging to the Lombards, in his way. But Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, marching after a ſignal victory over the Franks, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raiſing the ſiege in great haſte, retired to Naples. Not long after, a body of twenty thouſand Romans was almoſt entirely cut off, with Saburrus their general, by Romoald the ſon of Grimoald *. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aſide all thoughts of diſpoſſeſſing the Lombards of that part of Italy which they held, took a progreſs to Rome, which he entered in great pomp, being met ſix miles from the city by Vitalianus, biſhop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in Rome, and cauſed the moſt remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to Conſtantinople, he returned to Naples, and from thence to Syracuſe, where he reſided for the ſpace of five years, oppreſſing his people with moſt enormous exactions, and even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and ſacred veſſels. Having thus rendered himſelf both odious and contemptible to all his ſubjects, one Andrew the ſon of Troilus, reſolved to rid the world of ſo great a plague; and accordingly diſpatched him in the bath of Daphne at Syracuſe, by repeated blows on the head with the veſſel that was made uſe of to pour hot water upon him. Thus periſhed Conſtans II. in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, and 668, of the chriſtian æra. Upon his death, the people of Syracuſe proclaimed one Mezizius, by birth an Armenian, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comelineſs of his perſon. The news of his promotion no ſooner reached Conſtantinople, than Conſtantine, the ſon of the deceaſed emperor, having, with the utmoſt expedition, equipped a fleet, ſailed to Sicily; and having defeated, taken, and put to death the uſurper, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor in his room [a]. He muſt have continued ſome time in the weſt, ſettling the provinces that were ſtill ſubject to the empire there; for we are told by Zonaras, that he was, by

The emperor's unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Lombards.

His avarice.

He is murdered.

His ſon Conſtantine Pogonatus made emperor.

* Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. 6. [a] Theoph. annal. ad ann Conſt. 27. Paul. Diac. l. v. prope fin.

by the people of Conſtantinople, ſurnamed Pogonatus, becauſe, at his departrue from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of Conſtantinople received him, on his return from Sicily, with loud acclamations; but he had not been long in the city, when ſome, miſled by a ſtrange notion, that as there were three perſons in the trinity, ſo there ought to be three emperors on the throne, preſſed him to take his two brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, for his partners in the empire. This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power put them to death, and cauſed the noſes of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire [b]. While theſe things paſſed at Conſtantinople, the Saracens, entering Africa, where the people had inſulted ſome of their garriſons committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the country returned with eighty thouſand captives.

Several provinces ravaged by the Saracens.

The following year they made a deſcent upon Sicily, took and plundered the city of Syracuſe, and over-ran the whole iſland, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword. They laid waſte in like manner Cilicia; and having paſſed the winter at Smyrna, they entered Thrace in the month of April of the following year 672, and laid ſiege to Conſtantinople itſelf; but were received with ſuch vigour and reſolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it adviſeable to withdraw in the month of September to Cyzicus. However, the enſuing ſpring they renewed the ſiege, continuing thus to attack the city in the ſummer, and retire to Cyzicus in the winter for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſay the Greek writers, though from ſome of them it appears, that in the fourth year of the ſiege, a peace was concluded between the Romans and Saracens, as we ſhall relate anon. In this long ſiege, the Saracens loſt incredible numbers of men, and many ſhips conſumed by ſea-fire as it was called, becauſe it burnt under water, being the invention of one Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Egypt. The enemy at length deſpairing of ſucceſs, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was ſhipwrecked off the Scyllæan promontory. About the ſame time three of the emperor's lieutenants, viz. Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus, gained a ſignal victory in Syria over Suphianus who commanded there a numerous body of Saracens; but loſt in the engagement thirty

They beſiege Conſtantinople;

But dropt that enterprize. Their fleet ſhip-wrecked and their army defeated.

[b] Theoph. Cedren. ad hunc ann.

thirty thouſand of his men [c]. Theſe misfortunes encouraged the Mardaites, or Maronites to ſeize on mount Libanus, where they fortified themſelves; and being joined by multitudes of chriſtian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount Taurus and Jeruſalem, made frequent incurſions into Syria, and ſo harraſſed and terrified the Saracens, that Mahuvias, not thinking himſelf able to contend with them and the Romans at the ſame time, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with Conſtantine; which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That it ſhould be inviolably obſerved by both nations for the ſpace of thirty years. 2. That the Saracens ſhould retain the provinces they had ſeized. 3. That they ſhould pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his ſucceſſors three thouſand pound weight of gold, fifty ſlaves, and as many choice horſes. This peace was thought as affairs then ſtood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire [d]. It was ſcarce concluded, when the Bulgarians, leaving their native ſeats on the banks of the Volga or Bulga, whence ſome think they took their name, advanced as far as the Danube, which they paſſed without oppoſition, to the number of one hundred thouſand perſons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they paſſed. The emperor ſent a conſiderable army againſt them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he choſe rather to conclude a peace, by promiſing to pay them an annual penſion, than to purſue an expenſive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domeſtic, laboured with indefatigable pains to eſtabliſh in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the ſtate. In order to this, he aſſembled the ſixth general or œcumenical council, which was opened at Conſtantinople on the twenty-ſecond of November of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned, and by that means tranquillity, in a great degree, reſtored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had ſo much at heart the purity of the faith, to raiſe diſturbances, as they had done under the preceding emperors. Conſtantine enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, juſtice and moderation well deſerved, the Saracens religiouſly obſerving the treaty between them and the empire, and the Lombards being, by their inteſtine broils, diverted from

They conclude a peace with the empire.

The Bulgarians break into Thrace.

The ſixth œcumenical council.

[c] Idem ibid. ad ann. Conſt. 5. [d] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 9.

from extending their conquests in Italy. In the beginning of the year 685, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the month of September, after having reigned seventeen years and some months [c].

Constantine dies.

Justinian II.

He was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth but sixteen years old. With him Abdelmelech, the new prince of the Saracens, confirmed the peace made with the empire, and at the same time proposed by his embassadors a new treaty, in virtue of which Justinian was to repress the Maronites, who by their frequent excursions from mount Libanus, greatly harrassed the Saracens; and Abdelemech to pay him for this service a thousand nummi a day, an horse, and a slave. To this treaty the young and unwary prince readily agreed, and immediately dispatched Magistrianus, with a chosen body of troops, against the Maronites, whom he overcame, and put out of a condition of molesting the Saracens for a long time after. In the second year of his reign, he marched in person against the Bulgarians, who had been allowed to settle in Lower Mæsia, from them afterwards called Bulgaria, and without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took several of their strong holds. But the Bulgarians, soon recovering from their consternation, drew together their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and restore the captives, he had taken. He was attended with better success against the Sclavi or Sclavonians, whom he defeated in several battles; which encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the Saracens, tho' Abdelemech had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obstinately bent upon a war, he raised a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named Mohammed; who causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of Sebastopolis; but in the engagement that ensued, was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time gained over the commander of the Sclavi in the emperor's service; whose unexpected desertion, with twenty thousand of his men, caused such a consternation in the Roman army, that

Is put to flight by the Bulgarians.

Makes war upon the Saracens.

[c] Cedren. ad ann. Const. 17. Niceph. c. 3.

that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, being purſued with great ſlaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much-ado reached Leucate, where tranſported with rage, he cauſed the Sclavi or Sclavini who had continued with him, to the number of ten thouſand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the ſea. From Leucate he returned to Conſtantinople, where, without betraying the leaſt concern for his late diſgrace, or attempting to reſtrain the victorious Saracens, by whom the abandoned provinces were harraſſed in a moſt cruel manner, and Armenia entirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embelliſhing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the reſt he erected a magnificent banquetting-houſe, from him called Juſtinianeum, and a theatre near the palace, cauſing a church dedicated to the virgin Mary, to be pulled down to make room for it. This unchriſtian and unpopular action gained him the ill-will of the people, whoſe averſion to him was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary and cruel conduct of his two chief miniſters Stephen and Theodotus. The former, by nation a Perſian, cauſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be put to death, upon ſuſpicions altogether groundleſs; and in the end came to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a moſt diſreſpectful manner Anaſtaſia Auguſta, the emperor's mother. Theodotus was by profeſſion a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intruſted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty Stephen himſelf, cauſing under various pretences, ſuch of the nobility as ſeemed to deſpiſe him, to be put to no leſs cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on ſeveral occaſions ſhewn to him, and his two favourite miniſters, reſolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly ordered Stephen the eunuch, and Rufus one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of Conſtantinople in the night-time, and maſſacre them in their houſes, beginning with the patriarch Callinicus. But this bloody and inhuman maſſacre was happily prevented in the following manner: Leontius, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the eaſt, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in priſon, was at this time ſet at liberty, and appointed governor of Greece, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, ſeveral of his friends came to viſit him, and among the reſt two monks, Gregory the ſuperior of a monaſtery, and Paul, who, as they were ſkilled in Aſtronomy,

He is defeated by them.

He renders himſelf odious to the people.

The cruelty of his miniſtery.

He orders a general maſſacre.

ſtronomy, ſays Cedrenus, had foretold him, while he lay in priſon expecting every moment his laſt doom, that he ſhould attain to the empire before his death. Theſe, upon his expoſtulating with them for having deceived him with vain promiſes, encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity to make good their prediction; which, they ſaid, he might eaſily do, the emperor being univerſally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. Leontius hearkened to them; and taking with him his own ſoldiers, that is, thoſe who had been appointed to attend him into Greece, he broke open the priſon and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of St. Sophia; which being ſoon crouded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the aſſembled multitude, *This is the day which the Lord hath made.* The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed Leontius emperor, and haſtening to the palace, ſeized on Juſtinian, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his noſe, and with one voice baniſhed him to Cherſona. At the ſame time Theodotus and Stephen were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive [f]. This revolution happened in the tenth year of Juſtinian's reign, and 694th of the chriſtian æra.

Juſtinian depoſed.

THE firſt year of Leontius's reign, was not diſturbed by any foreign wars or domeſtic troubles. In the ſecond Sergius, who commanded the Roman troops in Lazica, betrayed that province to the Saracens, who the following year invaded Africa, made themſelves maſters of Carthage, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by John the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had ſent againſt them. The Saracens, to repair the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, equipped another fleet, and returning to Africa, obliged John to fly to the ſea-coaſt, where he embarqued with the troops under his command for Conſtantinople. But the fleet having touched at Crete, ſome of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning Africa to the enemy, prevailed upon the ſoldiers to revolt, and proclaim Apſimar one of Leontius's generals emperor. Apſimar, or, as he was afterwards called, Tiberius, readily accepted the imperial dignity, and ſailing without loſs of time to Conſtantinople, ſurprized the city, took Leontius priſoner,

Leontius.

The Saracens maſters of Africa.

Leontius depoſed, and Apſimar made emperor.

[f] Theoph. Cedren. ann Juſt. 10. Niceph. c. 4.

priſoner, and having cauſed his noſe to be cut off, confined him to a monaſtery in Dalmatia, after he had reigned ſcarce three years [g]. Tiberius, thus raiſed to the empire, ſent his brother Heraclius into Cappadocia, to watch the motions of the Saracens. He, taking advantage of ſome diviſions that reigned among them, penetrated into Syria as far as Samoſata, waſting all before him, and returned to Cappadocia loaded with booty, after having put to the ſword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thouſand of the enemy [h]. Notwithſtanding this loſs, the Saracens broke into the Roman territories the following year, and laid ſiege to Antaradus in Syria; but not being able to maſter that place, they ſat down before Mopſueſtia in Cilicia, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, Boanes, ſurnamed Heptadæmon, betrayed Armenia to the Saracens. The ſame year Tiberius baniſhed Philippicus a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into Cephalenia, for relating a dream, which Tiberius, interpreted, as portending the empire to him. The following year, the nobility of Armenia, taking arms againſt their new maſters, drove them out with great ſlaughter, and ſent to Tiberius, demanding his aſſiſtance. But in the mean time Mohammed, entering Armenia with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, they invaded Cilicia once more, under the conduct of Azar; but were, to the number of ten thouſand either cut in pieces by Heraclius, or taken priſoners, and ſent in chains to Conſtantinople [i]. In the mean time Juſtinian, the depoſed emperor, who had been confined to a monaſtery at Cherſona, having betrayed a great deſire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of Tiberius, and the evils attending a civil war, reſolved to prevent them, by either killing Juſtinian, or ſending him in chains to Conſtantinople; but he, ſuſpecting their deſign, fled privately to the chagan or king of the Chazari, who received him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, and gave him his ſiſter Theodora in marriage. But being ſoon after gained by the rich preſents and large promiſes of Tiberius, he undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate

200,000 Saracens cut in pieces.

Armenia betrayed to the Saracens.

Who are defeated in Cilicia.

[g] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leont. 3. Niceph. c. 5. [h] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 2. [i] Idem ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 3, 4, 5.

fortunate prince alive, or to ſend him his head. The deſign was revealed by one of the king's domeſtics to Theodora, and by her to her huſband, who thereupon fled to Trebelis king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was received with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. We are told, that being overtaken, on his flight from the country of the Chazari, by a violent ſtorm near the ſtreights of Danaprium, Myaces, one of his domeſtics, apprehending the veſſel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleaſed Heaven to reſtore him to his throne, he anſwered ſternly, Let God drown me this moment, if I ſpare any of them[k]. Trebelis not only entertained the fugitive prince with extraordinary magnificence, but, having raiſed a powerful army, marched with him ſtrait to Conſtantinople, and laid ſiege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying and reviling both princes from the walls; but the third day of the ſiege, ſome Romans having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the reſt; which Tiberius no ſooner knew, than he fled with his treaſures to Apollonias, leaving Juſtinian once more maſter of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus reſtored to his former dignity, he diſmiſſed Trebelis, loaded with rich preſents, and beſtowed upon him part of the Roman dominions, called afterwards Zagoria. Having, after a diligent ſearch, got into his power Tiberius, Leontius, by whom he had been driven out, and Heraclius the brother of Tiberius, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the ſhews ſitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconſtant multitude repeating in the mean time that verſe of the pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder*, &c. After this inſulting pageantry, he cauſed their heads, and that of Heraclius, to be cut off. As for Callinicus the patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then baniſhed him to Rome, that he might have the cruel mortification of depending for his ſubſiſtence upon the biſhop of that city, whoſe authority he had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power[l]. The emperor, having now got rid of thoſe whom he moſt dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury againſt all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitudes of citizens and ſoldiers, and diſpeopleing, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his reſtoration

Trebelis, king of the Bulgarians, eſpouſes the cauſe of Juſtinian.

Who is reſtored.

Leontius and Tiberius put to death.

[k] Niceph. c. 5. [l] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 7 Niceph. ibid.

reſtoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to Trebelis king of the Bulgarians, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded Thrace, at the head of a mighty army, with a deſign to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better ſucceſs than his ingratitude deſerved, his army being utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to make his eſcape in a light veſſel to Conſtantinople. The following year he equipped a mighty fleet, not with a deſign to oppoſe the Bulgarians, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of Cherſona and the Boſphorans, who had reſolved to diſpatch him, or deliver him up to Tiberius, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was embarqued a numerous army, with expreſs orders to put all the inhabitants of thoſe parts to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, of guilty or innocent. Theſe cruel orders were executed with the utmoſt barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the ſword; ſome were by the cruel ſoldiery roaſted alive, others caſt into the ſea, &c. The children, however, were ſpared; which the inhuman emperor no ſooner underſtood, than, tranſported with rage, he diſpatched freſh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all maſſacred; but ſome of the leading men among the Boſphorans having made their eſcape and taken refuge in the country of the Chazari, with the aſſiſtance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in ſeveral encounters the emperor's forces; and, renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed Philippicus, the ſon of Baidanes, who had been baniſhed by Tiberius to Cephalenia, as we have related above, but happened to be then at Cherſona. The troops that were ſent againſt them by Juſtinian, finding they could not reduce the city of Cherſona, purſuant to his orders, and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, reſolved to conſult their own ſafety, by acknowledging Philippicus; which they did accordingly, joining thoſe againſt whom they had been ſent. Philippicus, thus proclaimed and ſupported by two powerful armies, marched ſtrait to Conſtantinople, which he entered without oppoſition, the emperor being then at Sinope in Paphlagonia with a body of Thracians, againſt whom Philippicus diſpatched Elias prince of the Boſphorans; who, having gained over the Thracians, took the emperor priſoner, and cutting off his head, ſent it to Philippicus, by whoſe orders it was conveyed to Rome. Tiberius, the emperor's ſon by Theodora, took ſanctuary in a church; but was drag-

Juſtinian defeated by the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

Philippicus proclaimed emperor.

Juſtinian killed.

ged from the altar, which he graſped, and ſlain by Maurus a patrician, in the preſence of Anaſtaſia his grand-mother [m]. Such was the deſerved end of Juſtinian II. in the eighth year after his reſtoration, and 711th of the chriſtian æra.

Philippicus. PHILIPPICUS had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than, openly eſpouſing the cauſe of the Monothelites, he ſummoned a council of biſhops, who were all infected with that hereſy, and conſequently eaſily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the ſixth general council. The emperor was induced to ſummon this council by a Monothelite monk, who had foretold him he ſhould one day attain the empire, if Cedrenus is to be credited, and now promiſed him a long and happy reign, provided he aboliſhed the ſixth general council, and eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the Monothelites. But while Philippicus was thus buſying himſelf in matters relating to religion, the Bulgarians, breaking unexpectedly into Thrace, advanced to the very gates of Conſtantinople; and, having laid waſte the country, and put to the ſword an incredible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, loaded with booty. At the ſame time, the Saracens, invading the Roman territories, committed dreadful ravages, took the city of Medæa and ſeveral other places, and returned likewiſe unmoleſted, carrying with them great numbers of captives. Theſe calamities rendering Philippicus odious to the people, one Rufus, at the inſtigation of two patricians, viz. Theodorus, and Georgius commander of the troops in Thrace, entering the palace with a company of Thracians, while the emperor was repoſing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiſcovered [n]. Nicephorus writes, that Rufus, ſeizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there cauſed his eyes to be plucked out [o]. Be that as it will, the next day, being Whitſunday, the people, aſſembling in the great church, proclaimed Artemius, chief ſecretary to Philippicus, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch [p]. Artemius, or, as he was afterwards called, Anaſtaſius, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon ſucceſs in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief ſtudy to heal the diviſions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the ſtate; for, in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed Leo, an Iſaurian, a perſon of great experience in wa

The Bulgarians break into Thrace.

Philippicus depoſed.

Anaſtaſius ſucceeds.

[m] Theoph. ad ann. Juſt. 8. Niceph. c. 6. [n] Theoph. ad ann. Phil. 2. [o] Niceph. c. 7. [p] Idem ibid.

war, commander in chief of all his forces, and ſent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of Syria, to protect Aſia Minor againſt the inroads of the Saracens. Being informed, that the Saracens deſigned to lay ſiege to Conſtantinople, he cauſed a great number of light ſhips to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered ſuch of the citizens as had not laid up proviſions for three years, to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was ſailed to Phœnicia, he ordered his to aſſemble from the different ports of the empire at Rhodes, appointing John, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral puniſhing with more ſeverity than prudence ſome refractory ſeamen, the reſt mutinied and killed him; and being well appriſed they could by no other means avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, they declared Anaſtaſius unworthy of the empire, and obliged one Theodoſius, a perſon of a mean extraction and then receiver of the revenue at Adramyttium to accept of the purple. Anaſtaſius, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fled to Nice in Bithynia, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Conſtantinople; which city Theodoſius immediately beſieged by ſea and land, and reduced, after having continued ſix months before it. He had no ſooner entered the city, than he diſpatched the magiſtrates and the patriarch to acquaint Anaſtaſius with what had happened, who, upon promiſe of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himſelf up to the new prince, by whom he was baniſhed to Theſſalonica, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years [q]. But Leo, whom Anaſtaſius had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refuſing to acknowledge Theodoſius, drew together all the forces in the eaſt, with a deſign, as he gave out, to reſtore the depoſed emperor; but being perſuaded by Maſalnias, prince of the Saracens, to aſſume the purple, and powerfully aſſiſted by Artavaſdes, an Armenian, a man of great intereſt in that country, he marched, at the head of a conſiderable army, to Nicomedia, where he met, defeated, and took priſoner the ſon of Theodoſius, who had been ſent againſt him. From Nicomedia he purſued his march to Conſtantinople, being acknowledged emperor in all the places through which he paſſed. Hereupon Theodoſius finding it was in vain to contend with ſo powerful a rival,

The ſeamen mutiny, kill their admiral and declare Theodoſius emperor.

Leo revolts from Theodoſius.

[q] Idem, c. 8. Theoph Cedren. ad ann. Anaſt.

diſpatched to him Germanus the patriarch, and ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, offering to reſign the purple, on condition his life was ſpared. To this Leo readily agreed; and Theodoſius, deveſting himſelf of the purple, entered, with his ſon, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus Theophanes and Cedrenus [r]. But Nicephorus writes, that the officers of the army, finding Theodoſius unequal to the high ſtation to which he had been raiſed, perſuaded him to abdicate, and chooſe Leo in his room [s]. Be that as it will, Leo was received with loud acclamations at Conſtantinople, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of March of the preſent year 716, by the patriarch Germanus, after he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to preſerve, and, to the utmoſt of his power, defend, the orthodox faith. He was a native of Iſauria, of a mean extraction, and had ſerved ſome time in the low ſtation of a common ſoldier, from which he was raiſed by Juſtinian II. and admitted on account of the tallneſs of his ſtature and comelineſs of his perſon, amongſt the ſpatarii, that is, the emperor's guards. Anaſtaſius appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which poſt he held when he aſſumed the purple. He is diſtinguiſhed from the other emperors bearing the name of Leo by the ſurname of Iconomachus, which was given him on account of his combating the worſhip of images. In the firſt year of his reign, Maſalnias, prince of the Saracens, at whoſe inſtigation he had aſſumed the purple, took by ſurprize the city of Pergamus; which is looked upon by the hiſtorians, as a puniſhment juſtly inflicted by Heaven upon the wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who hearing the Saracens were preparing to invade Aſia, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being purſuaded by a magician, that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city againſt all the attempts of the enemy [t]. In the ſecond year of Leo's reign, Solyman, one of the generals of the Saracens, broke into Thrace; but he dying, Haumar was appointed to command in his room, who loſt moſt of his men by the ſeverity of the winter. However, in the following ſpring he approached Conſtantinople, and inveſted it by land, while Suphiam and Izeth, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from Egypt and the other from Africa, blocked it up by ſea; but moſt of their ſhips being deſtroyed,

Theodoſius abdicates.

Leo crowned emperor.

Pergamus, taken by the Saracens.

Who beſieges Conſtantinople; but are forced to abandon the enterprize.

[r] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leon. 1. [s] Niceph. c. 9
[t] Idem ibid. Theoph. Cedren. ubi ſupra

ſtroyed, either by the artificial fire, of which we have ſpoken above, or by ſtorms, they thought it adviſeable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities, which the inhabitants ſuffered during the ſiege, can hardly be expreſſed; thirty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed with hunger, and the like number to have been ſwept of by the plague [u]. Haumar, prince of the Saracens, highly provoked at the diſappointment of his armies and fleets before Conſtantinople, began to rage with great fury againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, forbidding them at firſt the exerciſe of their religion, and ſoon after commanding them, on pain of death to renounce it, and embrace the abominable ſect of Mohammed. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profeſſion of the religion, if we may ſo call it, of their inſulting maſters, while ſome few, notwithſtanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with unſhaken conſtancy, the true religion, at the expence of their lives [w]. The ſame year, Sergius, governor of Sicily, revolting, declared one Baſilius, the ſon of Onomagulus, emperor, changing his name into that of Tiberius; but Paul, an officer of the houſhould, who was ſent againſt the uſurper, having got him into his power and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, reſtored the iſland to its former tranquillity. Sergius, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongſt the Lombards in Italy [x]. The ſame year, the empreſs Maria was, to the unſpeakable joy of the emperor and the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, delivered of a ſon, named Conſtantine, and commonly nicknamed Copronymus, from his having defiled the ſacred font at his baptiſm. Theophanes, the true author of the hiſtory intituled miſcella, which is aſcribed to Paulus Diaconus, tell us falſly, that Germanus the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church [y]. The joy for the birth of the young prince was ſomewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of Bulgarians headed by the late emperor Anaſtaſius, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon thoſe barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and ſupport his claim to the crown. They laid ſiege to Conſtantinople, hoping, by means of the partizans of Anaſtaſius, among whom were ſeveral perſons of great

They perſecute the chriſtians.

Sergius revolts in Sicily; but is cut off.

Conſtantine Copronymus born.

Anaſtaſius attempts to reſume the empire.

[u] Cedren. ann. Leon. 2. Beda de ſex ætat. Paul. Diacon. l. vi. c. 47. [w] Theoph. ad ann. Leon 3 [x] Niceph. c. 19. Theoph. Cedren. ibid. [y] Hiſt. miſcel. p. 74.

distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation, with a vigorous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate Anastasius, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of Thessalonica [z]. Leo, having happily weathered this storm, Constantine crowned emperor. caused his son Constantine to be solemly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to his posterity. The ceremony was performed by the patriarch Germanus, on Easter-day in 720, the fifth of Leo's reign [a]. In the mean time the Saracens, under the conduct of their new prince Ized, who had succeeded Haumar, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and landing in Sardinia, raged there with unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by the intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another Ized, surnamed Mualabis, having set up for himself in Persia, the emperor was more at leisure to reform several abuses, that had crept into the court and state under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign and 725th of the christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches, and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the east by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus; but Leo, having deposed Germanus, and raised Anastasius to the see of Constantinople in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at Constantinople, and the images to be pulled down and destroyed by his officers throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by Constantine the Great. The people, struck with horror in seeing the images of our Saviour and his saints thus insulted, and either torn in pieces, or burnt by the emperor's officers, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon Leo's statues and images, flew to the palace; but being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to disperse and suffer the edict to take place. But in the west, especially in Italy, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave Luitprand, king of the Lombards, an opportunity of seizing on Ravenna and several other cities of the exarchate.

Leo's edict against images.

A tumult at Constantinople.

The people revolt in Italy.

[z] Niceph. c. 10. [a] Idem, c. 11. Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leon. 5.

exarchate. He was, however, ſoon after driven out by the Venetians; who, at that time, made no ſmall figure in Italy. Gregory II. then pope, or biſhop, of Rome, jealous of the growing power of the Lombards, had, by a letter to Orſus duke of Venice, prevailed upon him to eſpouſe the intereſt of the emperor, and lead his forces againſt Ravenna; which city he ſurprized, before Luitprand, who was then at Pavia, had the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. Gregory had, from the very beginning, oppoſed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worſhipping of images; and now, preſuming upon the eminent ſervice he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to Leo earneſtly entreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well appriſed, that Gregory had been prompted by his own intereſt, and not by that of the empire, to prevent the Lombards from making new conqueſts in Italy, was exaſperated to ſuch a degree againſt him, for continuing ſtill to oppoſe his edict, that he ſent private orders to his officers in Italy, eſpecially to Paul exarch of Ravenna, and to Mauritius, governor, or, as he was then ſtyled, duke, of Rome, enjoining them to get Gregory, by ſome means or other, into their power, and ſend him dead or alive to Conſtantinople. But the people of Rome, who had a great veneration for their biſhop, diſcovering the plot, guarded him ſo carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three aſſaſſins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third eſcaped, by taking ſanctuary in a monaſtery, and there embracing a religious life. Gregory, finding himſelf thus ſupported by the people of Rome, ſolemnly excommunicated the exarch, for publiſhing, and attempting to put in execution, the emperor's edict, writing at the ſame time letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in the catholic faith, and oppoſe, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he ſtyled it, and heretical edict. Theſe letters made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of Italy, though of different intereſts and often at war with each other, viz. the people of Rome, the Venetians, and the Lombards, entering into an alliance, reſolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the utmoſt of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of Rome and thoſe of the Pentapolis, now Marca d' Ancona, did not ſtop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's ſtatues, openly revolted,

Gregory II. oppoſes the emperor's edict.

Leo attempts upon his life.

The exarch excommunicated.

The people of Italy revolt.

revolted, and refuſing to acknowledge an iconoclaſt, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they choſe magiſtrates of their own; nay, they had ſome thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a ſtrong army to Conſtantinople: but this ſcheme was oppoſed by the pope as impracticable. In Ravenna the people roſe in defence of the images againſt Paul the exarch; and having killed him and all the iconoclaſts in the city, ſubmitted to Luitprand king of the Lombards, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the general diſcontent that reigned among the ſubjects of the empire. In Naples the people took arms againſt Exhilaratus their duke (for Naples was then governed by dukes ſent from Conſtantinople) and murdered him, with his ſon Adrian and one of his chief officers, for preſſing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the Lombards, with whom they had been almoſt conſtantly at war, they continued firm and conſtant in their obedience to Leo, and received Peter, who was appointed duke of Naples in the room of Exhilaratus. The people of Rome, finding the emperor inflexible in his deſign againſt the worſhip of images and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the diſturbances, reſolved at length to renounce their allegiance to Leo, and to continue united under the pope as their head, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath to defend him againſt all the attempts both of the emperor and the Lombards, whom they had but too much reaſon to miſtruſt [b]. Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and other Greek writers, tell us, that the Romans, withdrawing their obedience to Leo, choſe pope Gregory for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the Romans to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated Leo as an heretic, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance to him, and ſolemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, ſay they, had the temporal and independent dominion of the pope over Rome its riſe, which was afterwards enlarged by Pepin and Charles the Great, and extended to the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and ſeveral other cities of Italy. But it appears from Paulus Diaconus, Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, Joannes Damaſcenus, who all flouriſhed nearer thoſe times, and in the places where the

Ravenna ſubmits to the Lombards.

The inhabitants of Naples, kill their duke or governor.

The Romans revolt.

And chuſe the pope for their head.

The riſe of the temporal dominion of the pope.

[b] Anaſt. in Greg. II. Paul Diac. l. vi. Sigon. ad ann. 725, 726. Epiſt. 1 & 2 Greg. ad Leon.

the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of Gregory himſelf to Leo, that he acknowledged him for his lawful ſovereign as long as he lived, as did likewiſe Gregory III. his ſucceſſor [c]. The Latin writers take no notice of Gregory's excommunicating and depoſing the emperor, or abſolving his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when Leo depoſed the patriarch Germanus and appointed Anaſtaſius in his room, Gregory excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earneſtly entreated him not to abuſe the power with which he had been truſted, to introduce innovations in the church [d]. However, the authority of the Greek hiſtorians has been preferred to that of the Latins, by all the proteſtant, and moſt of the Roman catholic, writers; but with very different views. The proteſtants followed them, that they might thence take occaſion to make a compariſon between our ſaviour and the pope. When the multitude, ſay they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, ſaying, *My kingdom is not of this world*: when the Romans offered the principality to Gregory, he readily accepted it, and from the ſervant of ſervants became the lord and maſter. Our Saviour expreſly commanded tribute to be paid to Cæſar: the pope would ſuffer no more tribute to be paid to Leo his lawful ſovereign, &c. [e]. On the other hand, the Roman catholics, by ſtanding to what the Greeks write, think they can defend the pope from all uſurpation, and eſtabliſh his temporal power and juriſdiction upon a better and more plauſible foundation, viz. the unanimous conſent of the people, conferring upon him, freely and without conſtraint, the principality [f]; not reflecting, that thoſe, who thus choſe him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful ſovereign; and conſequently that Gregory, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and uſurpation. But from what we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the Lombards in Italy, it will plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the ſovereignty of Rome at this time, but many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its riſe in Rome, but in the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which were taken by the celebrated Pepin, from Aſtulphus king of the Lombards, and given to pope Stephen, whom ſome call the ſecond, others the

[c] Anaſt. Bibl. in Greg. II. Greg. II. in epiſt. 1. ad Leon. & Greg. III. epiſt. 3. ad. Bonifac. [d] Vide Anaſtaſ. ad ann. 658. [e] Vide Spanh. contra Maimburg. in hiſtor. imag. p. 52. [f] Giannetas. hiſt. Neap. l. v. p. 94.

the third, of that name. As for the ſovereignty of Rome, the popes did not enjoy it, as we ſhall demonſtrate in a more proper place, till the year 876, when it was yielded to the apoſtolic ſee, as it began then to be called, by Charles ſurnamed the Bald. But to return to Leo: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty againſt thoſe, who refuſed to comply with his edict; while the Saracens, breaking into the eaſtern provinces, laid them waſte without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives.

Conſtantine married to Irene.

In the ſeventeenth year of his reign and 732d of the chriſtian æra, he married his ſon Conſtantine to the daughter of the king of the Chazari, after ſhe had been inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion, and received at her baptiſm the name of Irene, a word ſignifying in the Greek tongue peace. The ſame year, the emperor cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a deſign to chaſtize and bring back to their duty the Romans and other people of Italy, who had revolted on occaſion of the edict againſt images; but, the fleet being ſhipwrecked in the Adriatic ſea, Leo could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppoſe the execution of his edict, than by cauſing the revenues of the Roman ſee in Calabria and Sicily to be confiſcated [g]. In the laſt year of Leo's reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at Conſtantinople, which overturned many churches, monaſteries, and private houſes, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after Leo died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, who no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, than he led an army againſt the Saracens, who had made an irruption into Aſia. In his abſence Artabazdus, who had married his ſiſter, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people and proclaimed emperor, he cauſed the ſons of Conſtantine to be ſecured; but as he was well apprized, that the report he had induſtriouſly ſpread of Conſtantine's death would be ſoon contradicted, he began to conſult with the patriarch Anaſtaſius, by what other means he might keep the people ſteady in their allegiance to him. Anaſtaſius had been a zealous iconoclaſt in the late reign; but to curry favour with Artabazdus, who had a great veneration for images, and to eſtrange the minds of the people from Conſtantine,

Leo's fleet ſhipwrecked.

Leo dies, and is ſucceeded by Conſtantine Copronymus.

Artabazdus revolts;

[g] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 17.

ſtantine, he aſſembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy croſs, he took the following oath: By him who died upon this wood, I ſwear, That Conſtantine one day addreſſed me with theſe words; I do not believe him to be the ſon of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Chriſt, but a mere man; for Mary was delivered of him after the ſame manner, as Mary my mother was delivered of me. This depoſition of the patriarch, whether true or falſe we cannot take upon us to determine, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately depoſed Conſtantine with one conſent, and, with repeated acclamations, ſaluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus his eldeſt ſon for his partner in the empire [h]. This gave riſe to a civil war, the greateſt, ſays Cedrenus, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that had happened ſince the beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that Artabazdus and his ſon Nicephorus, being defeated by Conſtantine in ſeveral encounters, were in the end beſieged in Conſtantinople; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to ſubmit. Artabazdus and his two ſons were taken and delivered up to the emperor, who cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and either baniſhed, maimed, or put to death all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the revolt. Anaſtaſius the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on an aſs, with his face to the tail. However, the time-ſerving prelate was continued in his ſee, becauſe the emperor could not find a worſe, ſays Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room [i]. Conſtantine, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, reſolved to march once more againſt the Saracens, who were at war among themſelves. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he entered Syria; and having overthrown the enemy in ſeveral encounters, made himſelf maſter of Germanicia and ſome other ſtrong-holds, which had been long in their hands. The Saracens, notwithſtanding their domeſtic quarrels, to divert the emperor from purſuing his conqueſts in Syria, aſſembled a mighty fleet, which ſteered its courſe to the iſland of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ſhips of war and a great number of tranſports with land-forces on board. But the Roman fleet coming unexpectedly

But is defeated, and Conſtantinople taken by Conſtantine.

Conſtantine recovers ſeveral places from the Saracens.

[h] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [i] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 3.

Deſtroys their fleet.

pectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that iſland, deſtroyed the whole navy, except three ſhips, which they ſuffered to eſcape with the news of ſo great a calamity [k]. However the emperor was diverted from purſuing the advantages that might have thence accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and were by far the moſt deſtructive that had been known in any age. In Syria and Paleſtine ſeveral cities were ſwallowed up, others entirely ruined, and ſome, if we may give credit to Nicephorus, removed, without any conſiderable damage, ſix miles and upwards from their former ſeats. At the ſame time, happened an extraordinary darkneſs, which laſted from the fourth of Auguſt to the firſt of October, there being little or no diſtinction during that time, between day and night [l]. This calamity was followed by another ſtill more terrible, viz. a plague, which, breaking out in Calabria, ſoon ſpread all over Sicily, Greece, the iſlands in the Ægean ſea, and at length reached Conſtantinople, where it raged for three years together with ſuch fury, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead [m]. The plague no ſooner ceaſed, than Conſtantine, having cauſed his ſon Leo, then ſcarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into Armenia, and, taking advantage of the diviſions that ſtill reigned among the Saracens, made himſelf maſter of Miletene, Theodoſiopolis, and ſeveral other places. But he was diverted from purſuing his conqueſts in the eaſt, by a ſudden irruption of the Bulgarians, who, provoked at the emperor's cauſing ſome forts to be built on the frontiers of Thrace, broke into that province, and, advancing as far as the long wall, laid waſte the whole country. Conſtantine, having recalled his forces out of the eaſt, marched againſt them in perſon; but being ſurprized by the enemy in a narrow paſſage called Beragaba, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to Conſtantinople [n]. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict publiſhed by his father againſt images, forbidding at the ſame time any worſhip to be paid to the ſaints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the biſhops as oppoſed the execution of this edict, were driven from their ſees; and the monks,

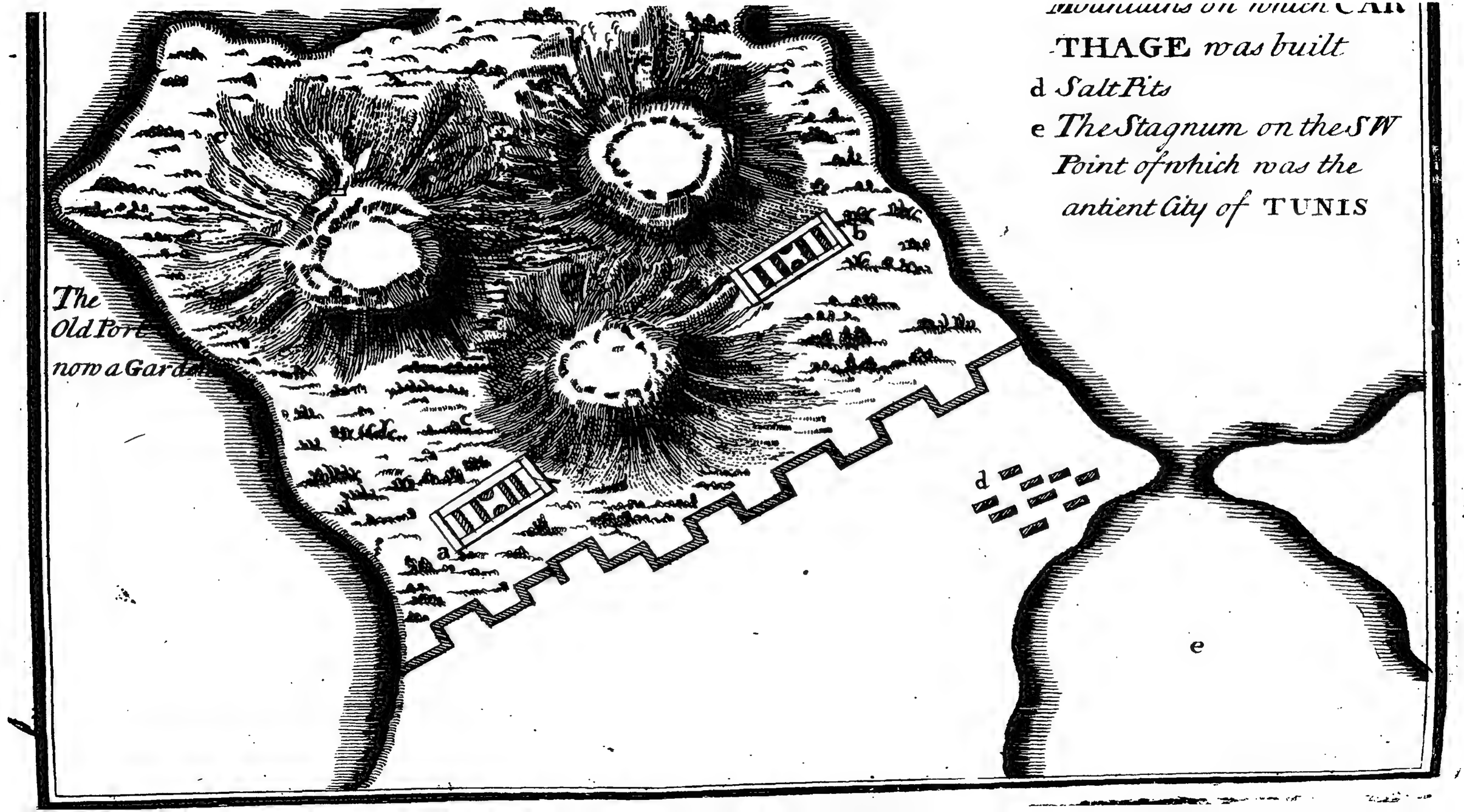
Dreadful earthquakes.

A violent plague.

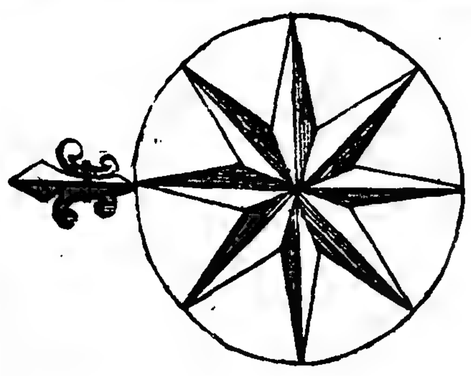
Conſtantine defeated by the Bulgarians.

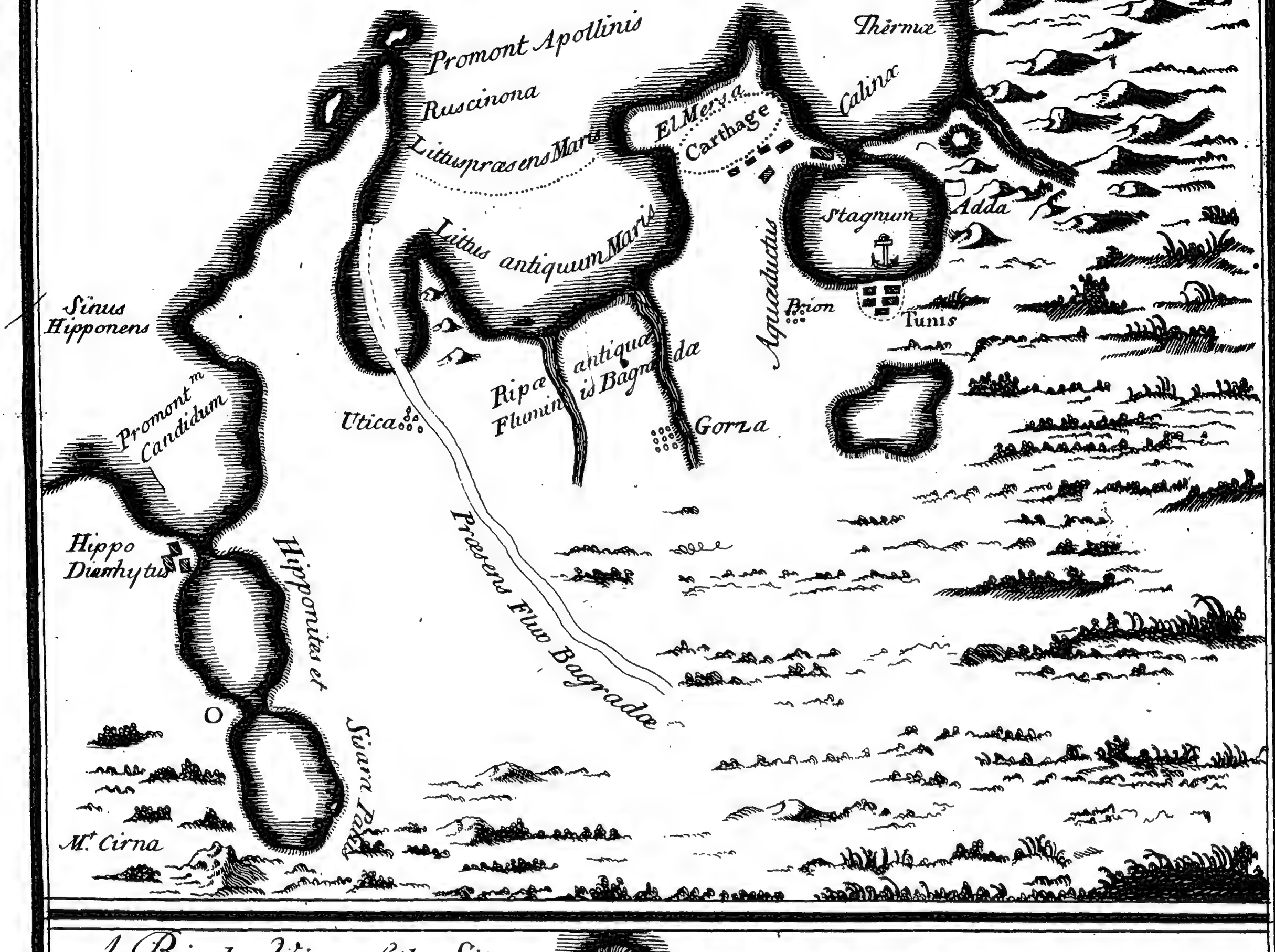
He perſecutes the worſhippers of images.

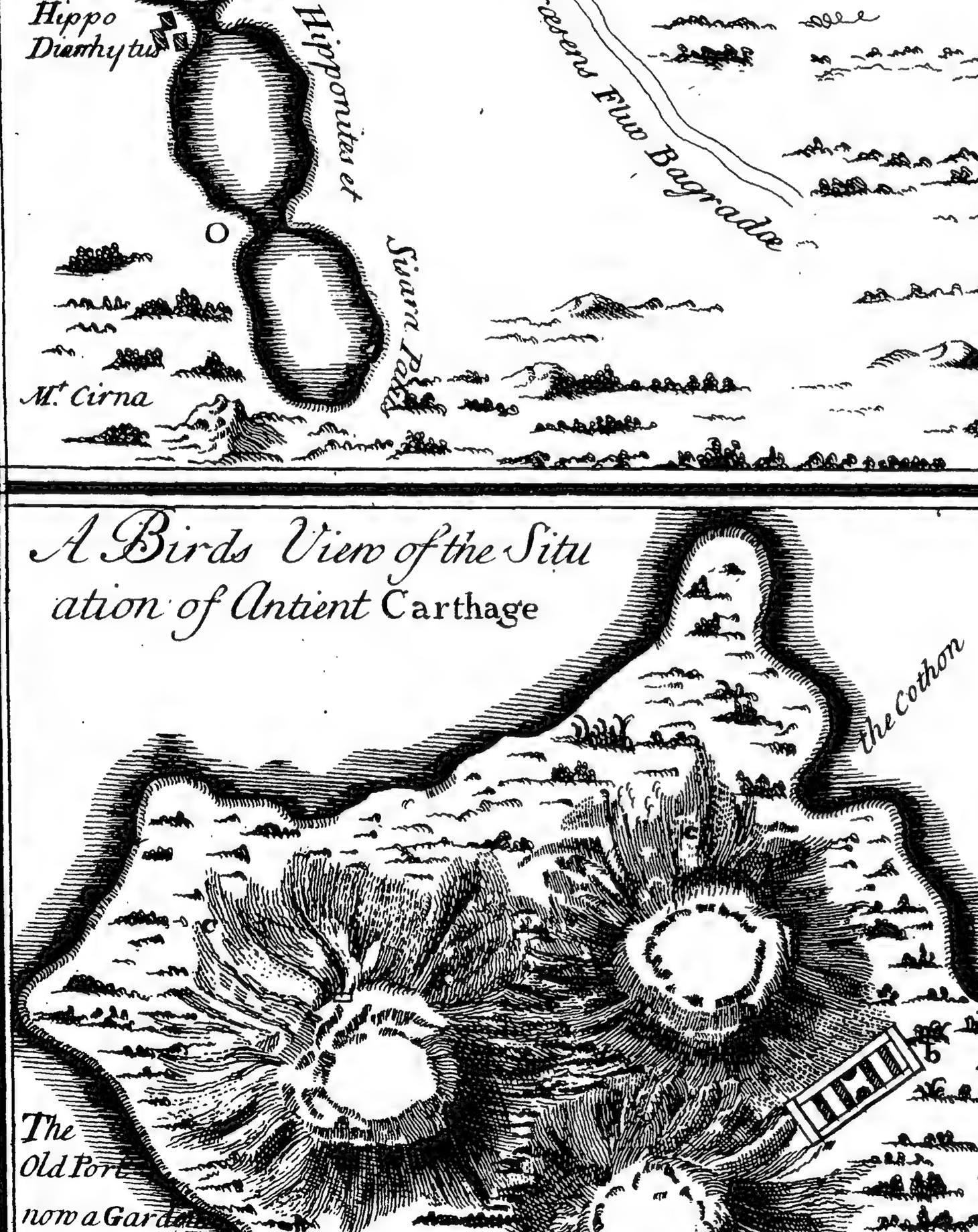
[k] Niceph. in Conſt. c. 13. [l] Idem ibid. Theoph. ad ann. Conſt 6. Cedren. ibid. [m] Niceph. Theoph. Cedren. ibid. [n] Theoph ad ann. Conſt. 19.


Mountains on which CAR
THAGE was built
d Salt Pits
e The Stagnum on the SW
Point of which was the
antient City of TUNIS
The
Old Port
now a Gard
a
b
d
e

CHARTA *exhibens Situm antiquum* CARTHAGINIS UTICÆ TUNETIS *et Sinus* CARTHAGINIENSIS







a *Cisterns or Reservoirs for the Aquæduct*

b *Cisterns for Rain Water*

c *A birds View of the three Mountains on which* CARTHAGE *was built*

d *Salt Pits*

e *The Stagnum on the S W Point of which was the antient City of* TUNIS

monks, who preached againſt either, ſent into baniſhment, or ſentenced to death. At the ſame time, an edict was publiſhed in Conſtantinople, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any one to embrace a monaſtic life; nay, at Conſtantinople moſt of the religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the ſtreets. But of this perſecution the reader will find a more particular and diſtinct account in the eccleſiaſtic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place[o]. The twenty-third year of Conſtantine's reign and 763d of the chriſtian æra is remarkable for an extraordinary froſt, which began on the firſt of October, and laſted till the latter end of February. At Conſtantinople both ſeas were frozen for an hundred miles from the ſhore, the ice being ſo thick as to bear the heavieſt carriages, and covered with ſnow twenty cubits deep. When the froſt broke, mountains of ice and frozen ſnow being driven by the winds through the ſtreights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the caſtle of Conſtantinople. The reader will find a ſurprizing account of this froſt in Theophanes, who, with thirty others, paſſed the ſtreights upon one of theſe floating iſlands, as he ſtyles it [p]. The month following, ſeveral prodigies appeared, or were thought to appear, in the air. At the ſame time, a comet, which the Greeks called docites, becauſe it reſembled a beam, was ſeen for ten days in the eaſt, whence it moved to the weſt, and ſhone there for one-and-twenty days more, the people being ſtruck with terror and amazement at the ſight of theſe prodigies, and apprehending the laſt day to be at hand. Conſtantine in the mean time continued to perſecute with great ſeverity thoſe who appeared moſt zealous and forward in the worſhip of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the Bulgarians; who, breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties. But Conſtantine marching in perſon againſt them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to Conſtantinople. This the emperor ſtyled his noble war, becauſe not one chriſtian periſhed in it. However, he owed the victory, it ſeems, to the treachery of ſome Bulgarians, whom Elerich their king diſcovered by the following device: He wrote to Conſtantine, pretending a deſire to reſign the crown, and lead a private life at Conſtantinople; for which purpoſe he begged

A ſurpriſing froſt.

Several prodigies.

Conſtantine defeats the Bulgarians.

Is deluded by their king.

[o] Vide Theoph. Cedren. &c. ad ann. Conſt. 19—23. [p] Vide Theoph ad ann. Conſt. 23, 24.

begged the emperor to ſend him a ſafe conduct, and at the ſame time to acquaint him what friends he had among the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Conſtantinople, being unwilling to truſt his perſon or deſign to others. Hereupon Conſtantine, not ſuſpecting any deceit, ſent him a liſt of the names of thoſe who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no ſooner received, than he cauſed them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himſelf thus deluded, reſolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the ſpring againſt Elerich; but being ſeized on his march with a violent fever, he returned to Achadiopolis, whence he was conveyed to Selymbria, and from thence by ſea to Strongylum, where he dyed on the fourteenth of September of the year 775, after he had reigned twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-ſix days [g]. As Conſtantine was a moſt zealous iconoclaſt, and did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs the worſhip of the ſaints, their images, and relics, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the other writers of thoſe times, paint him in the blackeſt colours, biaſſed in ſome meaſure, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, by paſſion, intereſt, and prejudice. However, ſtanding even to the accounts of his declared enemies, we muſt allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well ſkilled in war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which he was raiſed. As for the great ſeverity which he exerted againſt ſuch as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worſhip images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the chriſtian religion. After all, his ſeverity againſt the worſhippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all chriſtian writers, againſt the worſhippers of idols. He defended the empire with equal bravery and ſucceſs againſt the Saracens and Bulgarians; but was not in a condition to prevent the loſs of the far greater part of his dominions in Italy, Aſtulphus, king of the Lombards, having reduced in 751, the city and exarchate of Ravenna with the Pentapolis, which were ſoon after wreſted from him by Pepin king of France, and given to pope Stephen III. and hence ſprung the temporal dominion of the pope in Italy, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of Ravenna comprehended Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Ceſena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Ceavia,

He marches againſt them but dies.

His character.

The exarchate and Pentapolis given to the pope.

[g] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Conſt. 25.

Ceavia, and Secchia; the Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, compriſed Rimini, Peſaro, Conca, Fano, Sinogaglia, Ancona, Oſimo, Umana, Jeſi, Foſſombrone, Montefeltro, Urbino, Cagli, Luceoli, and Eugubio, as appears from the grant of Lewis the Pious, confirming the donation of Pepin. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a ſubject of the empire; but adding the ſovereignty to the prieſthood, and the ſceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in Italy on the ruins of the eaſtern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of Calabria and Brutium, with the dukedoms of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. But of the ſtate of Italy at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the Lombards.

CONSTANTINE was ſucceeded in the empire by his ſon Leo, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, took his ſon Conſtantine, whom he had by Irene, for his partner in the empire, cauſing him to be ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and beſtowing at the ſame time the title of nobiliſſimi on his two brothers, Anthemius and Eudoxius, Nicephorus, his ſecond brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time [h]. Conſtantine was crowned in the latter end of April of the year 776, and the following month Nicephorus, Leo's brother, formed a conſpiracy againſt the emperor and his ſon; but the plot being diſcovered, he was apprehended, and baniſhed with his accomplices to Cherſona. The ſame year Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, who had done great miſchief to the empire in the preceeding reign, moved with an earneſt deſire of embracing the chriſtian religion, reſigned his crown and repaired to Conſtantinople, where he was received by Leo with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and, after he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empreſs Irene [i]. In the third year of Leo's reign, ſome advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the Saracens, who, by way of revenge, began to perſecute the chriſtians in a moſt cruel manner, cauſing all their churches in Syria to be pulled down and levelled with the ground. The following year, Leo, who had hitherto diſſembled his real ſentiments concerning the worſhip of images, openly declared againſt that ſuperſtitious, as he ſtyled it, and idolatrous practice; reviving the edicts of his father and

Leo III.

Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, embraces the chriſtian religion.

Leo an enemy to images.

[h] Theoph. ad. ann. Leon. 1. [i] Idem ad ann. 2.

and grandfather, and puniſhing, with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch as preſumed to pay any kind of worſhip to the ſaints, the virgin Mary, or their images. Having found two images in the cloſet of the empreſs Irene, he never after admitted her to his bed, and cauſed thoſe who had conveyed them to her to be racked to death [k]. He did not long outlive them, being ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died on the ſixteenth of September 780, after having reigned five years and ten days. Theophanes writes, that Leo, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been depoſited there by the emperor Heraclius, and was enriched with carbuncles of an ineſtimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the ſame time ſeized with a fever, which, by a juſt judgment, ſoon put an end to his life [l].

Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus and Irene.

Leo was ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed Porphyrogenitus, becauſe he was born while his father was emperor; but, as he was then only ten years old, his mother Irene took upon her the adminiſtration. The young prince had ſcarce reigned forty days, when ſome of the ſenators and great officers conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to prefer his uncle Nicephorus to the imperial dignity; but Irene, having ſeaſonably diſcovered the plot, cauſed the chief authors of it to be ſeized, and confined to different iſlands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, ſhe obliged all the late emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and adminiſter the ſacrament to the people on Chriſtmas-day, when ſhe and her ſon reſtored to the church the crown of Heraclius, which Leo had ſeized. The ſame year 780, the Saracens, upon the news of Leo's death, broke into the eaſtern provinces; but were driven back with great loſs by the troops, which Irene had, upon the firſt notice of their motions, diſpatched againſt them [m]. The following year, the empreſs, to procure a ſtrong alliance by the marriage of her ſon, ſent embaſſadors into France, to propoſe a match between him and the daughter of Charles king of that country, who was afterwards ſurnamed the Great, and crowned emperor of the weſt. The propoſal being well received by Charles, an eunuch, by name Eliſæus, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named Rotdrudris, the Greek tongue, and inſtruct her in the manners and cuſtoms of the Greeks [n].

A conſpiracy diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed.

The

[k] Idem ad ann. 5. Cedren in comp. annal. [l] Theoph. ibid. [m] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [n] Idem ad ann. 2.

The ſame year, Helpidius governor of Sicily revolted; but was driven out of the iſland by Theodorus a patrician, whom Irene had ſent with a powerful fleet againſt him, and obliged to take refuge among the Saracens in Africa, who acknowledging him for emperor in oppoſition to Conſtantine, fell with ſuch fury upon the eaſtern provinces, that Irene was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herſelf to pay them an annual penſion [o]. The peace with the Saracens was ſcarce concluded, when the Sclavi or Sclavini, breaking into Greece and Peloponneſus, ſeized on thoſe countries. Againſt them the empreſs diſpatched Saturacius a patrician, who overcame them in ſeveral battles; but ſuffered them to continue in the countries they had ſeized, upon their promiſing to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between Conſtantine and Rotdrudris, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by Irene, who obliged her ſon, much againſt his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean deſcent, named Mary, by birth an Armenian or Paphlagonian, and the niece or daughter of one Philaretus, remarkable for his good nature and charitable diſpoſition. Some aſcribe the breaking off the match with Rotdrudris to the ambition of Irene, apprehending, that Conſtantine would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empreſs was provoked againſt Charles, on account of his invading the dukedom of Benevento in Italy, which ſhe had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empreſs on that occaſion diſobliged her ſon to ſuch a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, appriſed of the miſunderſtanding that paſſed between him and his mother, and deſirous of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counſels of a woman. Conſtantine hearkening to their inſinuations, they reſolved to ſeize on Saturacius, who governed with an abſolute ſway, as Irene's firſt miniſter, and, after having baniſhed him, to oblige the empreſs to reſign the adminiſtration. But Saturacius, having notice of their deſign as ſoon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to Irene, who cauſed all thoſe who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods and ſent into baniſhment. As for her ſon, ſhe chaſtized him with her own hands, and, ha-

Helpidius revolts.

An annual penſion paid to the Saracens.

Miſunderſtanding between Conſtantine and Irene.

[o] Idem ibid.

Irene obliges the senate and soldiery to take an oath of allegiance to her.

ving confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge Constantine, but her alone, for their sovereign, so long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in the different provinces, except some legions in Armenia, who resolutely declared they would adhere to Constantine, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the Armenian legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim Constantine anew, and demand, with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. Irene, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and soldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. Constantine, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled and advanced to the first employments such as had been banished on his account, sending into exile Saturacius and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for Irene, he led her with great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to an house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure [p]. The same year 790, a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. Chrysostom on the scripture, written with his own hand. The following year, the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake, which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations and retire to the open fields [q]. The same year the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the Bulgarians, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in Thrace; but with what success, is uncertain: for Cedrenus writes, that he gained a great victory; but Zonaras will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to Constantinople, the friends of Irene, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence, and experience in public affairs, what by entreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, prevailed upon him to recal his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; which, however, the Armenian legions could never be induced to acknowledge [r]. Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew against the Bulgarians, encouraged thereunto

Constantine deprives her of the administration.

Irene recalled.

[p] Idem, & Cedren. ad ann. Const. 10. [q] Idem ad ann. 10; 11. [r] Idem ad ann. Const. fol. 2.

unto by ſome mathematicians, who promiſed him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to obtain it, the Bulgarians, taking advantage of his ill-grounded ſecurity, gave him a dreadfull overthrow. Beſides a great number of common ſoldiers, the beſt officers of the army and the moſt conſiderable men in the empire loſt their lives in the battle, with Pancratius the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occaſion to the overthrow [s]. The emperor growing jealous and diſtruſtful upon this defeat, ſome malicious and deſigning courtiers took care to improve that diſpoſition, by inſinuating to him, that the ſoldiers quartered in Conſtantinople had formed a deſign of preferring Nicephorus to the empire; which heightened his jealouſy to ſuch a degree, as he was conſcious to himſelf of his evil conduct, that he not only cauſed his eyes to be put out, but thoſe likewiſe of his other uncles, Nicetas, Anthemius, and Eudoxius, though nothing had been alledged againſt them. Alexius Moſoles, whom the Armenian legions had demanded for their leader, when they refuſed to conſent to the reſtoration of Irene, was, at her inſtigation, treated with the like ſeverity; which ſo provoked thoſe legions, that they refuſed to obey Camilianus, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon Conſtantianus, Artaſeras, and Chryſochires were ſent againſt them at the head of a ſtrong party; but the mutinous legions, having defeated and taken them priſoners, cauſed, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which ſo provoked Conſtantine, that he marched againſt them in perſon; and having defeated them in a pitched battle; put all their officers to death, cauſing the common ſoldiers to be led in chains to Conſtantinople, and conveyed from thence into different iſlands [t]. The Armenian legions, who had always ſuſpected and been ready to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Irene, being thus broken and diſperſed, ſhe began to put the emperor, now deſtitute of that ſupport, upon ſuch meaſures, as, ſhe thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empreſs Mary, whom ſhe had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, ſhe adviſed him to divorce her, and marry Theodota or Theodecta, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empreſs at Conſtantinople, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together.

The emperor defeated by the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

The Armenian legions broken and diſperſed.

Conſtantine divorces Mary and marries Theodota.

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ad ann 3.

This marriage occaſioned great conteſts among the clergy concerning the lawfulneſs of it, in which Irene artfully ſided with thoſe who oppoſed her ſon, encouraging them underhand to eſtrange the minds of the people from him. However, the ſucceſs which attended his arms againſt the Saracens and Bulgarians, prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately ſtirred up, by Irene and her emiſſaries, to depoſe him. The Saracens had broken into Cilicia; but were driven back with great loſs by the troops which Conſtantine ſeaſonably diſpatched againſt them. As for the Bulgarians, Cardames their king having ſent embaſſadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of Conſtantinople, and there take it by force, if it was refuſed him, Conſtantine replied, that ſince he was ſtricken in years, he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey, by coming in perſon to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army; upon the ſight of which the barbarians, ſtruck with a panic, fled in the utmoſt conſternation. Upon his return to Conſtantinople, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of Pruſa in Bithynia, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empreſs Theodota was delivered of a ſon; at which he was ſo overjoyed, that he returned in great haſte to Conſtantinople. Irene, taking advantage of his abſence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promiſed to depoſe Conſtantine, and commit the government to her alone. Purſuant to this promiſe, ſome of them, returning to Conſtantinople, ſeized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of Porphyra, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in ſuch a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmoſt agony, having reigned ſeven years alone, and ten with his mother [u]. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that five years before his uncles loſt their eyes by his orders, on the ſame day of the ſame month, and in the ſame chamber [w]. Nicephorus and Chriſtopher, her huſband's brothers, hearing of the death of Conſtantine, took ſanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and baniſhed to Athens, where they are ſaid to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raiſe diſturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of Leo Iſauricus; ſo that no one was now left to diſpute with Irene her title to the empire. She no ſooner received intelligence of the death of her ſon, than,

He puts the Bulgarians to flight.

He is murdered.

[u] Idem ad ann. 7. Conſt. fol. [w] Idem ibid.

than, leaving Pruſa, ſhe repaired to Conſtantinople; which ſhe entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four horſes, being attended by ſeveral patricians, who waited as her ſlaves on either ſide, while ſhe threw money among the people, as was uſual at the ſolemnity of a coronation [x]. In the mean time, the Saracens, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eaſtern provinces; and having defeated the forces Irene ſent againſt them, entered Thrace, made their excurſions to the very gates of Conſtantinople, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the ſecond of Irene's reign, her great favourite Saturacius, prompted by his boundleſs ambition, conſpired againſt her, with a deſign to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his deſign being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, Irene, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herſelf, in conſideration of his former ſervices, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empreſs ſhewed him, joined to a lively ſenſe of his ingratitude to her, made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon his mind, that he died of grief ſoon after [y]. Irene, finding ſhe could not depend even upon thoſe whom ſhe thought ſhe had moſt reaſon to confide in, made it her chief ſtudy to gain the hearts of her people. With this view ſhe remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of Conſtantinople, encouraged commerce, and, what moſt of all obliged the people, promoted, to the utmoſt of her power, the worſhip of images, cauſing them to be ſet up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted againſt them by former emperors [z]. In 802, Charles, ſurnamed the Great, who had been crowned emperor of the weſt by pope Leo III. on Chriſtmas-day of the year 800, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Conſtantinople, with propoſals of a firm and laſting peace between him and Irene. To theſe embaſſadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at Conſtantinople. The embaſſadors of Charles, among their other inſtructions, were ordered to propoſe a match between him and Irene, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their perſons. Irene readily entered into the negotiation; but Aetius an eunuch, who bore the chief ſway

Irene proclaimed empreſs.

Saturacius conſpires againſt her.

She ſtudies to gain the affections of the people.

A match propoſed between Irene and Charles the Great.

[x] Idem ad ann. Iren. 1. [y] Idem ad ann. Iren 3. [z] Idem ad ann. 4.

at court, by daily ſtarting new difficulties, put off from time to time the concluſion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himſelf, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand, to prefer it to his brother, by name Leo, at that time governor of Thrace and Macedon; but being well-appriſed, that his deſign would be unavoidably defeated, ſhould the treaty between Irene and ſo powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no ſtone unturned to divert the empreſs from it, at leaſt to get the concluſion of it ſuſpended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private deſign. In the mean time, the nobility, who hated Aetius, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, ſuſpecting his deſign, and apprehending the empreſs, over whom he had gained a great aſcendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take Leo for her partner in the empire, reſolved to ſet up Nicephorus, a patrician of great wealth and intereſt among the people. Accordingly, having firſt diſpoſed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that Irene not only deſigned to marry Charles, but to transfer the ſeat of the empire to the weſt, by which means the eaſtern empire would ſoon become a province to the new empire of the weſt, they aſſembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they ſeized on Irene without oppoſition; and confining her under a ſtrong guard to her chamber, conducted Nicephorus, their new emperor, with the uſual ſolemnity to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom Irene had obliged by ſeveral acts of generoſity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curſes againſt him. Nicephorus treated Irene with great civility and reſpect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to diſcover to him the place where her treaſures lay concealed; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, he confined her to a monaſtery, which ſhe herſelf had built in an iſland; but ſoon after removed her from thence to the iſland of Leſbos, where ſhe died of grief [a]. She is greatly extolled, notwithſtanding her unnatural conduct towards her ſon, by all the writers of thoſe times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worſhip of images, and the great pains ſhe took utterly to ſuppreſs the hereſy, as it was then called, of the iconoclaſts. She built a great many monaſteries and hoſpitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained,

Which is oppoſed by Aetius.

The nobility revolt, and ſet up Nicephorus.

Irene depoſed, and Nicephorus created emperor.

[a] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

if the writers of thoſe times are to be credited, both the eſteem and affections of her ſubjects. Her great attachment to the ſee of Rome, and the indefatigable pains ſhe took to get the doctrine of the iconoclaſts condemned in the ſecond council of Nice, by her aſſembled for that purpoſe, have ſo far biaſſed ſome writers of that party, that they have not been aſhamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy ſcripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her ſon, who perhaps well deſerved ſuch treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. Irene was thus depoſed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her ſon, and five alone.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Roman hiſtory, from the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Baſilius II.

THE embaſſadors who had been ſent, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, by Charles the Great to propoſe a marriage between him and the empreſs Irene, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their ſtay in Conſtantinople, and utterly diſconcerted the ambitious views of their maſter. However, as they were enjoined to conclude a firm and laſting peace with the eaſtern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well appriſed of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendſhip of Charles, received his embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which Charles was acknowledged emperor of the weſt, and all Italy to the rivers of Vulturnus and Aufidus yielded to him. Nicephorus, in the third year of his reign, cauſed Nicetas Triphyllius, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poiſon, for no other crime but becauſe he was beloved by the army. He gave ſeveral other inſtances of a moſt cruel, ſuſpicious, and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged Bardanes, governor of one of the eaſtern provinces, to revolt, and aſſume

Nicephorus.

Concludes a treaty with Charles the Great.

Bardanes revolts;

the

the title of emperor. Michael and Leo, two officers of great reputation in the army, joined him at firſt; but ſoon after, finding him unequal to ſo great a charge, they abandoned him and went over to Nicephorus, who raiſed them to the firſt poſts in the army. Bardanes, thus forſaken by his friends, ſent a ſubmiſſive meſſage to Nicephorus, and, upon his promiſing to pardon him, retired to a monaſtery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be entirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to Conſtantinople; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by perſons ſent for that purpoſe. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and ſecure the crown to his family, took his ſon Saturacius for his partner in the empire, and cauſed him to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Having thus ſettled his affairs at home, he marched againſt the Saracens, who had broken into the eaſtern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight, having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year, the Saracens, to the number of three hundred thouſand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without oppoſition as far as Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Minor, made themſelves maſters of that city and ſeveral other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of Ancyra in Galatia. Nicephorus marched againſt them with what forces he could raiſe; but not daring to venture an engagement, he diſpatched embaſſadors with rich preſents to Aaron their kaliff, who with much-ado was prevailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the emperor ſhould pay to the Saracens a yearly tribute of thirty thouſand pieces of gold, beſides three thouſand for his own head and as many for that of his ſon; and that he ſhould not preſume to repair ſuch forts as had been diſmantled. Nicephorus agreed to theſe terms; but the enemy was no ſooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demoliſhed; which ſo provoked the Saracens, that they returned the ſame year, and raged with more fury than ever, putting all to fire and ſword, both on the continent and in the iſland of Cyprus, where they demoliſhed the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabitants to the ſword. The following year they made a deſcent upon the iſland of Rhodes, and took a great number of priſoners; but their fleet ſuffered much by a violent ſtorm, which overtook them as they were returning home [x]. The ſame

But ſubmits.

Nicephorus defeated by the Saracens.

Nicephorus concludes a diſhonourable peace with them.

They invade the empire anew.

[x] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 2——6. Cedren. ibid.

ſame year Nicephorus married his ſon Saturacius to Theophania, a near relation of the late empreſs Irene, though ſhe had been ſome time before contracted to another, which gave occaſion to great complaints, and encouraged ſome to conſpire againſt him: but they were all detected and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; nay, many perſons of great diſtinction, eccleſiaſtics as well as laymen, were, upon bare ſuſpicions, dragged to priſon, and there either put to death or racked with the greateſt cruelty. In the ſeventh year of his reign, the Bulgarians, making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of Crumus, their king, ſurpriſed Sardica, a city of Mœſia, and put the whole garriſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to the ſword. Nicephorus marched againſt them with a conſiderable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, inſtead of purſuing them, he returned to Conſtantinople, and impoſed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of Sardica; which incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but were repulſed by the emperor's guards with great ſlaughter. In the ninth year of his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, and, marching at the head of it, entered the country of the Bulgarians, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Crumus, their king, alarmed at his approach, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But Nicephorus, rejecting them with indignation, purſued his ravages, waſting the country, deſtroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. Crumus, ſenſibly affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, ſent the emperor a ſecond ſubmiſſive meſſage, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But Nicephorus diſmiſſing the embaſſadors with ſcorn, Crumus, puſhed on by deſpair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in ſpite of all oppoſition, cut off almoſt the whole army, with the emperor himſelf, a great number of patricians, and moſt of the chief officers. Saturacius received a dangerous wound in the neck, but eſcaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of Nicephorus being found among the ſlain, Crumus cauſed his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for ſome time expoſed to the view of the ſoldiery, he incloſed the ſcull in ſilver, and made uſe of it inſtead of a cup [y]. Such was the end of Nicepho-

The Bulgarians take Sardica.

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

Nicephorus ravages with great cruelty the country of the Bulgarians.

He is defeated and ſlain.

rus,

[y] Theoph. ad ann. Nicep. 9.

rus, after having reigned eight years, as many months, and twenty-six days. He is said to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the Manichees, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries [z].

Saturacius. SATURACIUS fled, as we observed above, to Adrianople, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers, who had escaped the general slaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the same time knew himself to be universally hated both by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife Theophania. But, in the mean time, the senate caused Michael, who had married Procopia, sister to Saturacius, to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which Saturacius no sooner understood, than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died soon after, having reigned two months and ten days. Michael, mindful of the oath he had taken to Nicephorus and his son, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed, that Saturacius, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had resolved to deprive him of his sight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by Nicephorus the patriarch, after he had by a solemn promise under his own hand obliged himself to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding christian blood [a]. The new emperor a few days after caused his wife Procopia to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son Theophylact, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce warm in his throne, when the Saracens broke into the empire on one side, and the Bulgarians on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by Leo, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the Bulgarians Michael marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with shame and disgrace to Constantinople. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to such a degree, that he resolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly pressed Leo to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to Michael,

Michael proclaimed emperor.

Takes his son for his colleague.

Is defeated by the Bulgarians, and resigns the empire.

[z] Cedren. Zonar. in Niceph. Theoph. ibid. [a] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 9.

chael, and at the ſame time ſenſible of the dangerous ſtate of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his requeſt, though backed by the entreaties of the magiſtrates, the ſoldiery, and the patriarch. Michael no ſooner underſtood, that Leo had in the end ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired, with his wife Procopia and his children, to the monaſtery of Pharus, where he took the monaſtic habit on the eleventh of July 813, after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days [b]. Thus Theophanes, who lived at this time, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote. But Cedrenus gives us a very different account of the promotion of Leo. According to that writer, Michael had the advantage in the engagement with the Bulgarians, till Leo, who aſpired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which ſo diſheartened the Romans, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, leaving the Bulgarians maſters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, eſcaped to Adrianople, and from thence to Conſtantinople, attended by a ſmall body of horſe. In his abſence, Leo, by exclaiming againſt him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from Michael, and offer the empire to himſelf; which, however, he pretended to decline, till Michael Traulus or Balbus, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his ſword, as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with preſent death, if he did not immediately comply with the earneſt entreaties of the whole army, who, he ſaid, placed their ſafety and that of the empire in him alone. When news was brought to Conſtantinople of the revolt of the army and the uſurpation of Leo, ſome of the emperor's friends adviſed him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor ſharply reprimanded them, declaring, he had rather loſe his life, than involve the ſtate in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effuſion of much chriſtian blood. Accordingly he ſent to Leo the diadem, the purple robes, and the ſcarlet ſhoes, the enſigns of ſovereignty, requiring him to come, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, to Conſtantinople, and take poſſeſſion of the imperial palace. Thus Cedrenus, to whoſe authority we ſhould, without the leaſt heſitation, prefer that of Theophanes, were we ſure that the latter part of the hiſtory, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as ſome able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the

Leo raiſed to the empire.

reign

[b] Idem ad ann. Mic. 2. [c] Cedren. in Leon.

reign of Nicephorus, and that the remaining part was added by ſome other writer, who, favouring Leo, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether Leo uſurped the ſovereignty, or was raiſed to it by the voluntary abdication of Michael. The new emperor, upon his arrival at Conſtantinople, took care to have Michael and his wife, who had retired to the ſame monaſtery, ſeparated; and therefore confined him to a monaſtery on the iſland Prota, and baniſhed Procopia, with her children, to another place, having firſt cauſed Theophylact, their eldeſt ſon, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no iſſue [d]. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when the Bulgarians, elated with their late ſucceſs, entered Thrace, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Leo having drawn together what forces he could, marched out againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were ſlain on both ſides, but at length the Romans, over-powered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were purſued by the enemy in great diſorder, Leo, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians with a reſerve of choſen men, who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an entire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and more taken priſoners. Some reckon the king himſelf, by name Crumus, among the former; but others will have him to have been only wounded. However that be, the Bulgarians were ſo diſheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for ſome years after [e]. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the Bulgarians or the Saracens, who were at variance among themſelves, applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of the worſhip that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the obſervance of the council held at Conſtantinople in 754, under Conſtantinus Copronymus, and publiſhed an edict forbidding any worſhip to be paid to images, and commanding them to be removed out of the churches. Nicephorus the patriarch, Nicetas a patrician, and one of the empreſs Irene's relations, Theodorus a monk in great reputation, Theophanes the hiſtorian, and many others, were baniſhed for refuſing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redreſſing the abuſes both in the church and ſtate, Michael, ſurnamed Balbus, or the ſtammerer, whom he had preferred to the firſt employments, conſpired againſt

He gains a complete victory over the Bulgarians.

He oppoſes the worſhip of images.

...hael ...but con- ...s againſt

[d] Zonar. Cedren in Mich. [e] Idem ibid.

againſt him, with a deſign to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being diſcovered, Michael was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But as the officers were leading him on Chriſtmas eve, to the place of execution, the empreſs Theodoſia, by upbraiding her huſband with cruelty and irreligion for not reſpecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy ſacrament, prevailed upon him to reſpite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his eſcape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himſelf. But Michael having, by means of ſome religious perſons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permiſſion, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to diſcover them to Leo, unleſs they ſpeedily procured his releaſe, alarmed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved, without loſs of time, to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly, mixing themſelves with thoſe who performed divine ſervice in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a ſignal agreed on beforehand, they ſtarted up; but by miſtake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the perſon who preſided over the clerks, or, as we may call them, the dean of the chapel. Leo, in the mean time, well appriſed of their deſign, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conſpirators, now ſenſible of their miſtake; but defended himſelf with the chain of the incenſory, or, as ſome write, with the croſs, till, one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conſpirators ruſhing upon him, diſpatched him with many wounds, and in the end ſtruck off his head [f]. Such was the end of Leo IV. after he had reigned ſeven years, five months, and fourteen days. He is allowed, even by ſuch as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to have reformed many abuſes, that had long prevailed in the ſtate. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch Nicephorus, who had been baniſhed by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy

But is ſeized and condemned.

Leo murdered.

His character.

[f] Inat. in Taraſ. Theodor. ſuditæ. ep. lxi. Leo, Grammat. in Leon.

happy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there expoſed for ſome time to public view. After this, the conſpirators having ſeized on the empreſs Theodoſia, confined her to a monaſtery, and baniſhed her four ſons, viz. Sabbatius, called alſo Conſtantine, Baſil, Gregory, and Theodoſius, to the iſland of Prota, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by Michael's orders, in which cruel operation Theodoſius died. Michael, in the mean time, being ſet at liberty, and conducted by the conſpirators from the priſon to the palace, placed himſelf upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he ſtill was, with his irons, the keys being no-where to be found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael Balbus proclaimed emperor.

MICHAEL, thus raiſed to the empire, was a native of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, inhabited chiefly by Jews, and ſuch chriſtians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. Michael himſelf obſerved the Jewiſh ſabbath, denied the reſurrection of the dead, and held ſeveral other tenets condemned by the catholic church [g]. In the firſt year of his reign he recalled a great number of biſhops, monks, and others, who had been baniſhed by Leo for not complying with his edict forbidding the worſhip of images, but at the ſame time ſummoned them to diſpute in a council at Conſtantinople the point in queſtion. With this ſummons they refuſed to comply, alledging, that as the worſhipping of images had been already approved of and eſtabliſhed by a general council, it could admit of no diſpute. This anſwer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheleſs was ſo far from proceeding with rigor againſt them, that he indulged them in the uſe of images without the city.

He is an enemy to images.

In the ſecond year of his reign and 823d of the chriſtian æra, a civil war broke out in the eaſt, which involved the empire in endleſs calamities. It was raiſed by one Thomas, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to ſome, he was meanly born, and at firſt a menial ſervant to a ſenator at Conſtantinople, whoſe wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the puniſhment due to his crime, fled to the Saracens, among whom, after he had continued for the ſpace of twenty-five years, profeſſing their religion, he obtained of their kalif a conſiderable body of troops, boaſting, that he could eaſily ſubdue the whole Roman empire. The better to entice the Romans over to his intereſt,

Thomas revolts in the eaſt.

[g] Cedren. in Mich.

intereſt, he gave out, that he was Conſtantine, the ſon of Irene. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the eaſt, and inviolably attached to Leo, whoſe death he reſolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a grave aſpect, of extraordinary ſtrength and courage, and acceptable to the ſoldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eaſtern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated Michael, he ſoon raiſed a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all Aſia, ſeizing everywhere on the public revenues, and plundering ſuch cities as refuſed to ſubmit to him. And now being maſter of all Aſia and Syria, he aſſumed the purple and diadem, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of Antioch. Michael, in the mean time, diſpatched all the troops he could aſſemble againſt him; but Thomas, meeting them in Aſia, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a ſtrong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then croſſing over into Thrace appeared unexpectedly before Conſtantinople, not doubting but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his firſt approach. But to his great ſurprize, they received him with moſt opprobrious language, repulſed him in two ſucceſſive attacks, and in ſeveral ſallies killed great numbers of his men. Thomas made the neceſſary preparations for a third aſſault, being reſolved to make an utmoſt effort, and attack the city at the ſame time by ſea and land. But a moſt violent ſtorm ariſing, when he was upon the point of giving the ſignal, his fleet was diſperſed, and his battering engines overturned and rendered quite uſeleſs. This diſappointment, and ſome ſucceſsful ſallies of the beſieged, obliged him, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a reſolution to return before the city early in the ſpring; which he did accordingly: but Michael having in the mean time equipped a fleet and raiſed a land-army, he met with far greater oppoſition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great ſlaughter in a ſally, and his fleet driven aſhore by that of the emperor. The uſurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience, named Gregory, who, having been baniſhed by Michael to the iſland of Scirus, becauſe he was a near relation of Leo, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the uſurper, and been entruſted by him with the command

Makes himſelf maſter of Aſia and Syria.

Beſieges Conſtantinople.

of twelve thouſand men; but now obſerving, that fortune, which had hitherto attended Thomas in all his undertakings, began to forſake him, he reſolved to make his peace with Michael, the rather becauſe his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on ſo privately, but Thomas had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a ſufficient number of troops before Conſtantinople to carry on the ſiege, led the reſt againſt Gregory; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to purſue the ſiege. But in the mean time, Mortagon, king of the Bulgarians, hearing the emperor was beſieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or deſirous of gaining his friendſhip, marched at the head of a numerous army to his aſſiſtance. Thomas, when informed of his approach, was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould continue the ſiege, or march with all his forces againſt the barbarians, but at length reſolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the ſiege, he met and engaged the Bulgarians at a place called Cedoctus, but was by them put to flight with great ſlaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before Conſtantinople revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aſide all thoughts of purſuing the ſiege, and to retire to Diabeſis, a place diſtant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out againſt him, under the command of Catacelas and Olbianus, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, moſt of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. Thomas, with much ado, eſcaped to Adrianople, where he was immediately beſieged by the emperor's forces, and at length delivered up to Michael by his own people, no longer able to endure the famine and the unſpeakable hardſhips, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having cauſed his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an aſs round the camp. He died ſoon after in the utmoſt agony. Anaſtaſius, his adopted ſon, who for that honour had forſaken the monaſtic life, which he profeſſed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of Byria, met with the ſame treatment as his father had done. Pavium and Heraclea, two maritime cities of Thrace, which

He defeats and puts to death Gregory, who deſigned to betray him.

He isdefeated by the Bulgarians.

Is delivered up to the emperor, and put to death.

Thomas

Thomas had ſeized, refuſed to ſubmit, not ſo much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his oppoſing the worſhip of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by ſtorm. Some other cities and caſtles continued to hold out for ſome time, but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war entirely extinguiſhed [h].

In the mean time, the Saracens, who had ſettled in Spain and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, having equipped ſeveral ſhips, diſpatched them in queſt of ſome fruitful iſland, in which they might plant a colony. Apochapſus, who commanded this ſquadron, having ravaged moſt of the iſlands in the Mediterranean without oppoſition, all the ſhips and garriſons being gone to the aſſiſtance of Thomas, touched in the end at Crete; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleaſantneſs of that iſland, deſcribed it to his countrymen upon his return as a place, to uſe his expreſſion, flowing with milk and honey. Hereupon the Saracens, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet conſiſting of forty ſhips well armed and manned, put to ſea early in the ſpring; and landing in the iſland, encamped on the promontory Charax, whence Apochapſus ſent ſpies to diſcover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the iſland was quite deſtitute of ſoldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the leaſt oppoſition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be ſet on fire, that his men, laying aſide all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that iſland as their native country. The emperor, upon the firſt notice of this deſcent, diſpatched Damianus with a conſiderable body of troops to drive the Saracens out of the iſland. Damianus, being joined by Photinus, advanced, as ſoon as he had landed his forces, againſt the enemy, who killed him at the firſt onſet, and put his whole army to flight, Photinus having with much ado made his eſcape in a light veſſel, and carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor. The Saracens, having now no enemy to oppoſe them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called Chandax, pointed out to them by a monk. From thence they made frequent excurſions, and in a ſhort time reduced the whole iſland, which by its new maſters was thenceforth called Chandax, and by others Candia, from the above-mentioned city [i]. This happened in the ſecond year of the reign of Michael Balbus and the 822d of

The Saracens land in Crete.

And ſettle there.

The city of Candia built.

[h] Idem ibid. [i] Cedren. ibid.

the chriſtian æra. Michael, thinking it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he ſuffered the Saracens to ſettle in Crete, as ſoon as he had put an end to the civil war, diſpatched Craterus, with a powerful fleet and a numerous army, to recover the iſland. Craterus, having landed his men without oppoſition, fell upon the enemy with great reſolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither ſide; but ſoon after the Saracens, great numbers of them being ſlain and more taken priſoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confuſion. Had the Romans purſued them, they might have eaſily, in that conſternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themſelves maſters of their city. But, inſtead of following the fugitives, and aſſaulting, without loſs of time, the place whither they had all retired, they ſpent the night in riot and drunkenneſs, as if the war had been already concluded, without ſo much as placing a guard or centry to prevent their being ſurpriſed. The enemy, appriſed of their ſecurity, reſolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly ſallying out in the dead of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine and partly aſleep, and cut them off almoſt to a man. Craterus, their general, with great difficulty eſcaped on board a ſmall veſſel to the iſland of Cos. But the prince of the Saracens, not finding his body among the ſlain, diſpatched ſome veſſels with troops after him, who, landing on the iſland, ſurpriſed him, and nailed him to a croſs. After this defeat, the emperor, deſpairing of being able to recover the iſland of Crete, contented himſelf with defending the other iſlands, and reſtraining the piracies of the Cretan Saracens[k]. Beſides the loſs of the pleaſant and fruitful iſland of Crete, ſeveral other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, viz. great conflagrations, deſtructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inundations, ſtrange phænomena in the heavens, general dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions, violent ſtorms, &c. which are all aſcribed by Cedrenus to the contempt of images. But theſe calamities did not reclaim him from the looſe and diſſolute life which he led, without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the ſixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced Euphroſyne, the daughter of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, out of a monaſtery, where ſhe had led from her infancy a recluſe life and married

The emperor's forces defeated, and cut in pieces.

Several public calamities.

[k] Idem ibid.

married her. Soon after, Euphemius, an officer of great intereſt and authority in the army, falling in love with another ſacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monaſtery and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of Sicily, where the fact was commited, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged againſt Euphemius to be true to cut off his noſe. To avoid this puniſhment, Euphemius drew ſeveral other officers of the army into a conſpiracy; repulſed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the Saracens in Africa, promiſed to betray Sicily into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the Romans. To this the Saracen governor of Africa readily conſented; and having acknowledged him emperor, ſent him back with a ſufficient number of troops to make good his title. He landed in Sicily without oppoſition; and advancing to Syracuſe, endeavoured, by a flattering ſpeech, to perſuade the inhabitants, who ſtood on the wall, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the reſt he obſerved two brothers, who were men of great intereſt in the city, to pay him great reſpect and hear him with more attention than the reſt; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the reſt of his company to meet and ſalute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The Saracens, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but, being thus introduced by him, made themſelves by degrees maſters of the whole iſland; and paſſing over into Italy landed at Taranto; whence they drove the Romans, and got poſſeſſion of Calabria and the adjoining provinces [1]. The emperor died ſoon after of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and ſeven days; and was buried in the church of the apoſtles. His death happened on the firſt of October 829.

Euphemius acknowledged emperor by the Saracens.

He is killed.

The Saracens reduce Sicily.

Michael dies.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Theophylus, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conſpiracies, pretended to be a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and a ſevere aſſertor of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of Leo, yet he reſolved to puniſh all thoſe who had been

Theophylus.

[1] Cedren in Mich, ann. 8. Zonar. p. 173.

any-ways acceſſory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he ſummoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace Magnaura, or, as it was called from the five towers, Pentapyrgium. When they were aſſembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time reſolved to reward the eminent ſervices of thoſe, who had been inſtrumental in his promotion; but ſince death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himſelf as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore deſired them to withdraw from the reſt into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each perſon, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon thoſe, who had been acceſſory to the murder of Leo, readily diſcovered themſelves, in expectation of ſome great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confeſſion, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws againſt murder in execution, and to puniſh, according to their deſerts, thoſe who had not only ſhed innocent blood, but had inhumanly maſſacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the officer, purſuant to his orders, puniſhed all thoſe who had conſpired againſt Leo as murderers [m]. After this he ſent Euphroſyne back to the monaſtery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himſelf with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought againſt his miniſters, adminiſtering juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, and frequently viſiting in perſon the markets, in order to ſettle the prices of the neceſſary proviſions. In the third year of his reign, he married his favourite daughter, by name Mary, to Alexius Moſeles, an Armenian by birth, a perſon of comely and majeſtic aſpect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he repoſed in him an entire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raiſed him to the proconſulſhip, and at laſt, as he had yet no iſſue-male of his own, created him Cæſar, and ſent him at the head of a numerous army to reſtrain the Saracens, who committed dreadful devaſtations in Italy. Being attended there with uncommon ſucceſs, his rivals at court, jealous of the eſteem he was in with the emperor and the reputation he had acquired, repreſented him as one who aſpired at the empire, ſtrengthening their malicious ſuggeſtions with an old prediction, that A ſhould one day

He puniſhes the murderers of Leo.

He marries his daughter to Alexius Moſeles.

[m] Joann. Curopal. in Theophyl.

day drive out Th. This Alexius no ſooner underſtood, than he deſired leave of Theophylus to retire, and embrace a monaſtic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to theſe inſinuations denied his requeſt, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, Theophylus having a ſon ſoon after, and his daughter, who was married to Alexius, dying about the ſame time, he was at length prevailed upon, by the repeated importunities of his ſon-in law, to comply with his requeſt and ſuffer him to retire [n]. Beſides Alexius, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, viz. Manuel and Theophobus. The former had been raiſed, by Leo and the late emperor Michael, to the firſt poſts in the army. The latter was the natural ſon of a Perſian embaſſador, deſcended from the blood royal of that nation, who, dying ſoon after the birth of his ſon, left him at Conſtantinople, where he was educated after the Roman manner. All thoſe of the royal family of Perſia being either deſtroyed or driven out by the Saracens, who had made themſelves maſters of their country, the few Perſians, who had outlived the general ſlaughter of their nation, hearing of Theophobus, ſent to the emperor, deſiring him for their king. But Theophylus choſe rather to raiſe him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his ſiſters in marriage, giving at the ſame time, by a law enacted for that purpoſe, all his ſubjects leave to intermarry with the Perſians; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the Romans, who formed them into one body, called the Perſian legion, from which the emperor promiſed himſelf no ſmall ſervice in the expedition, which he was about to undertake againſt the Saracens, who had invaded the Roman territories. Againſt them the emperor, attended by Manuel and Theophobus, marched in perſon; but in the battle which enſued, the Romans, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate conteſt, gave ground and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The emperor, with his guard, two thouſand Perſians, and Theophobus, gained a neighbouring hill, where he was immediately ſurrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmoſt efforts to take him priſoner, his own men ſtriving with equal reſolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus ſpent, when night came on, the Romans, by the advice of Theophobus, filled all on a ſudden the air with loud acclamations, ſounding at the ſame time their trumpets and other warlike inſtruments.

Who embraces a monaſtic life.

The Romans defeated by the Saracens.

The emperor in great danger.

[n] Idem, ibid.

ſtruments. The Saracens, deceived by this ſtratagem, and concluding they had received ſome reinforcement, retired in great haſte, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his eſcape to the reſt of the army. The Perſians were ſo taken with the conduct of Theophobus on this occaſion, that they addreſſed the emperor, begging he would ſuffer them to ſerve under him in a ſeparate body, which was readily granted. The following year, he was attended with better ſucceſs; for having engaged the Saracens, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers of them, and took above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he carried in triumph to Conſtantinople. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next ſpring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf in great danger of been taken priſoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. Manuel, appriſed of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of choſen men, in order to bring him off. But he refuſing to retire, leſt by his retreat he ſhould diſcourage his army, Manuel preſenting his ſword to his breaſt, and telling him, that the ſtate would ſuffer more by his captivity than his death, threatened to kill him, unleſs he retreated with him to the reſt of the army. The emperor then complied, Manuel and his choſen band opening him a way through the midſt of the enemy. Theophylus had, at firſt, a juſt ſenſe of this eminent piece of ſervice, ſtyling Manuel his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and aſhamed of being indebted to one of his ſubjects for his ſafety, he readily gave ear to the malicious inſinuations of ſome courtiers, accuſing him of ambitious views, and privately reſolved to deprive him of his ſight; of which Manuel being ſeaſonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, he fled to the Saracens, and, upon condition he ſhould not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their ſervice, and was ſoon raiſed to the higheſt honours, and truſted with the command of their armies againſt the Cermatæ, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in ſeveral battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching Conſtantinople, the emperor, grieved for the loſs of ſo brave and faithful a commander, reſolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promiſing to reinſtate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to Manuel by a monk, he received it with

He defeats the Saracens.

His ingratitude to Manuel.

Who flies to the Saracens.

unſpeakable

unſpeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting againſt the Romans; but now, pretending a deſire of being revenged on thoſe by whom he had been unjuſtly accuſed to the emperor, he deſired leave of Iſhmael, prince of the Saracens, to make war upon the Romans in Cappadocia. Iſhmael, highly pleaſed with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given ſignal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his ſon to ſerve under him. Being arrived in Cappadocia, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his deſign, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by ſome Roman troops, he acquainted the prince with his deſign, deſiring him to return to the army and acquaint them with it. From Cappadocia he immediately repaired to Conſtantinople, where he was received with great ſolemnity by the emperor in the church of Belchernæ, raiſed to the higheſt poſt in the army, and choſen to ſtand as godfather to his ſon Michael, whom he ſoon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year, the Saracens invaded Cappadocia under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but both armies, ſeized, while they were already in ſight of each other, with a panic fear, betook themſelves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837, Theophylus invaded Syria, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, returned in triumph to Conſtantinople, leaving Theophobus to command the army. In his abſence the Perſians, now encreaſed to thirty thouſand, depending upon their ſtrength and numbers, ſeized on Theophobus at Sinople, and, notwithſtanding all his entreaties, proteſtations, and arguments, declared him emperor. Theophobus gave the emperor private notice of what had paſſed, aſſured him of his loyalty, though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, and laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to make his eſcape to Conſtantinople, where he was received by the emperor with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs, and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious Perſians were, at his requeſt, pardoned and received into favour; but diſperſed into ſeveral provinces [n]. Theophylus,

But returns to the Romans.

The Perſians mutiny.

The fidelity of Theophobus.

[n] Joann. Curopal. in Theoph. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

phylus, in ravaging Syria, had, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the prince of the Saracens, deſtroyed Sozopetra, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, breathing nothing but revenge, he raiſed a mighty army, ordering every ſoldier to engrave upon his ſhield the word Amorium, the birth-place of Theophylus and capital of Cilicia, which he was reſolved, at all events, to deſtroy. The emperor, informed of theſe mighty preparations, raiſed what forces he could, and marched with them to Dorylæum, diſtant about three days journey from Amorium. There, in a council of war, ſeveral officers adviſed him to decline an engagement with the Saracens, whoſe army was far more numerous than that of the Romans, and to remove the inhabitants of Amorium to ſome other place; but the emperor, imagining ſuch a proceeding would reflect no ſmall diſgrace upon him, reſolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly ſent thither a ſtrong detachment, under the command of Actius, general of the eaſt, Theodorus, Craterus, Theophilus Bubutzicus, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the prince of the Saracens diſpatched his ſon, with ten thouſand Turks and a ſtrong party of Armenians, to try the ſtrength of the emperor's forces. The two armies met at a place called Dazymenum; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the Saracens were at firſt put to the rout; but the Romans, in purſuing the fugitives, were ſo galled by the arrows of the Turks, that they not only gave over the purſuit, but betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The Perſians, however, though abandoned by the reſt of the army, ſtood their ground, and ſurrounding the emperor, made head againſt the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the Saracens, informed of his ſon's ſucceſs, marched directly to Amorium, and being there joined by the young prince, laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named Badiates, who, upon ſome diſcontent, had abjured the chriſtian religion. The Saracens, enraged at the reſolute oppoſition they had met with, put moſt of the men to the ſword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with theground. The emperor was ſo affected with the deſtruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abſtained from all nouriſhment, drinking nothing but ſnow-water, which threw him into a dyſentery. Being appriſed that his end approached, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Magnaura; and having ſummoned

The Saracens invade the empire.

Defeat the Romans.

Amorium taken and deſtroyed.

ſummoned the ſenate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic ſpeech to continue faithful to his wife and ſon, and protect them from all treachery. After this, ſinking under the affliction of his mind and diſtemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. Joannes Curopalates, whom we have followed in the hiſtory of this prince's reign, as the neareſt to thoſe times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of Theophobus, who had been arreſted upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that, touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering theſe words, Neither ſhall I be henceforth Theophylus, nor thou Theophobus [o]. But Zonaras and Cedrenus write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge [p]. He profeſſed a greater enmity to images, and perſecuted with greater ſeverity, than any of his predeceſſors had done, thoſe who worſhipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of thoſe times in the blackeſt colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his ſworn enemies, ſpeak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact obſerver of juſtice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to covetouſneſs. Of the latter Cedrenus gives us the following inſtance: having one day obſerved from his palace a ſhip of great burden fraught with merchandize entering the harbour of Conſtantinople, he aſked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They anſwering, To the empreſs; he replied with great indignation, God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant? Having thus ſpoken, he commanded the mariners to come aſhore, and fire to be ſet to the veſſel, ſaying, If princes apply themſelves to trade, their ſubjects muſt ſtarve [p]. He beautified the city of Conſtantinople with many ſtately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be ſcaled. He baniſhed all looſe and ſcandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of diſſoluteneſs, and a pattern of the antient Roman temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by ſeveral wholſome laws [r].

Theophylus dies.

His character.

THEOPHYLUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Michael; but, as he was then only ſix years old, his mother Theodora took

Michael III.

Theodora regent.

[o] Joan. Curopal. ibid. [p] Cedren Zonar. ibid. [q] Cedren. in Theoph. [r] Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

took upon her the adminiſtration; which ſhe began by exerting her zeal for the worſhiping of images, recalling all thoſe who had been baniſhed on that account in the late reign, and baniſhing ſuch as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his ſee John the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and placed Methodius, a monk and zealous patron of images in his room, ordering the ſecond council of Nice, in which the worſhip of images was approved of and eſtabliſhed, to be obſerved throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly ſuppreſſed the iconoclaſts, whoſe doctrine had prevailed in Conſtantinople and moſt cities of the eaſt, for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, ſhe fell in the next place upon the Manichees, of whom no fewer than an hundred thouſand are ſaid to have been deſtroyed, which drove the reſt to deſpair and rebellion, having one Carbeas of that ſect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion, fled with four thouſand of the ſame ſect to the Saracens, and opened them a paſſage into the Roman territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himſelf, being inſtigated thereunto by Bardas, brother to Theodora, who promiſed himſelf mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but deſpairing of being able to ſucceed in his deſigns, ſo long as Manuel and Theoctiſtus, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his ſon, continued near his perſon, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to remove them by ſome means or other. He had ſcarce taken this reſolution, when a miſunderſtanding aroſe between thoſe two faithful miniſters; which Bardas improved with ſuch art, that Manuel quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, Bardas eaſily perſuaded the emperor, that Theoctiſtus, having nothing leſs in view than the empire, deſigned to marry either the empreſs, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his ſight. Upon theſe malicious, and altogether groundleſs, inſinuations, Theoctiſtus was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to priſon, and there moſt inhumanly murdered. Michael and Bardas reſolved to finiſh what they had begun, by removing the empreſs, who, well appriſed of their deſign, to ſpare them the crime of ſhedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord. Accordingly, having ſummoned the ſenate, ſhe laid before them the preſent condition of the treaſury, to obviate, by

She perſecutes the iconoclaſts and Manichees.

Manuel retires from court.

Theoctiſtus murdered.

by that means, the extravagant expences of her ſon, and at the ſame time to ſhew them how careful and frugal ſhe had been during her adminiſtration; for ſhe had, by a commendable œconomy, not only ſpared the immenſe treaſure left by her husband, but greatly improved it. After this, ſhe reſigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great ſatiſfaction of her brother and ſon, now at liberty to act without reſtraint or controul. However, leſt he ſhould attempt to reſume the power ſhe had ſo readily quitted, Michael ordered her and her three daughters to be ſhut up in a monaſtery, where ſhe died ſoon after of grief [s]. This happened in 854, after Theodora had governed the ſtate for the ſpace of fourteen years. Michael, thus free from all reſtraint, abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating Nero, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, and even ſeemed to exceed in all manner of wickedneſs. He, in a ſhort time, ſquandered away the immenſe treaſure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of moſt extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expoſe to ridicule the moſt ſacred things, he often cauſed to appear in copes and other veſtments, in which prieſts uſed to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the moſt holy functions and ceremonies. One Gryllus, the moſt profligate of the crew, he ſtyled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himſelf the title of one of the chief biſhops. Thus attended, he uſed to walk in broad daylight, as in proceſſion, through the ſtreets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having once cauſed the infamous Gryllus to be apparelled like the patriarch, he ſent for his mother in the name of Ignatius, who then held that ſee. The empreſs came immediately; but as ſhe fell down upon her knees to crave his bleſſing, Gryllus, diſcovering himſelf, derided the piety of the good empreſs with indecent geſtures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole aſſembly [t]. The diſſolute prince, having in a ſhort time waſted all his treaſures, was reduced to the neceſſity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a biſhop named Leo, the greateſt man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were diſperſed ſeveral golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, ſung melodiouſly, while the ſpectators were at the ſame time no leſs agreeably ſurpriſed and frightened

The empreſs Theodora reſigns.

Michael a wicked and impious prince.

His prodigality.

[s] Joann. Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. [t] Idem, ibid.

frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the ſame artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewiſe diſpoſed of the imperial robes, and other curioſities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 855, he undertook an expedition againſt the Saracens, and laid ſiege to a city of theirs on the Euphrates; but the beſieged ſallying out upon the Romans, while they were at their devotions on a Sunday, put the whole army to flight, and made themſelves maſters of their camp and all their bag-

Is routed by the Saracens.

gage, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape. Two years after, the Saracens, entering with an army of thirty thouſand men the Roman dominions, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thouſand Thracians and Macedonians. The loſs of this battle, however, was ſoon repaired by the good fortune of Petronas, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the Saracens in the neighbourhood of Epheſus, cut off the kaliff himſelf and his whole army, took his ſon priſoner, and returned in

Bardas created Cæſar.

triumph to Conſtantinople. In 860, he raiſed his uncle Bardas, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, to the dignity of Cæſar, in which high ſtation he acted in a moſt arbitrary manner, without the leaſt regard to the laws and cuſtoms of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any thing to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch Ignatius refuſed to communicate with him on the feaſt of the epiphany; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that having aſſembled a ſynod at Conſtantinople, he ſuborned ſeveral falſe witneſſes, who accuſed Ignatius of having murdered his predeceſſor Methodius; upon which he was depoſed and thrown in priſon, Photius being raiſed to the patriarchal ſee in his room; which occaſioned great diſturbances at Conſtantinople. In 867, the emperor, at the perſuaſion of Bardas, who ruled with an abſolute ſway, undertook an expedition againſt the Saracens, who had ſettled in Crete, whence they were continually infeſting the coaſts of the empire, and made this year a deſcent upon Thrace, penetrating far into the country, and committing every where dreadful ravages. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon, attended by Bardas; and arriving at a place called Chorus, ordered his army to encamp there. The ſervants of Bardas, whether on purpoſe or unadviſedly, is uncertain, pitched their maſter's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor ſeemed to reſent; and the enemies of Bardas

at

at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reaſon he had to be jealous of ſo inſolent and ambitious a favourite, incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he gave them private orders to diſpatch him; which they did accordingly on the firſt of April of the preſent year. The ſoldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himſelf, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to Conſtantinople [u]. The ruin of Bardas made room for Baſilius, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter averſion to all manner of buſineſs and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-ſixth of May of the ſame year, declared him his partner in the empire. Baſilius was born in Macedon, but an Armenian by deſcent, and, according to Cedrenus, deſcended from the royal family of the Arſacidæ; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obſcure parents. At the ſacking of Adrianople by Crumus king of the Bulgarians, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace. As he was tall in ſtature, of a comely aſpect, and well-ſhaped, Theophilizes, a nobleman of great diſtinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his protoſtrator, that is, his gentleman of the horſe. Having ſoon after tamed an unruly horſe belonging to the emperor, he was, by the intereſt of Bardas, taken into the emperor's ſervice, and raiſed to the poſt of maſter of the horſe; which giving him an opportunity of converſing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great aſcendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon Bardas, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, reſolved on his deſtruction. But Baſilius, appriſed of his deſign, was before-hand with him, as we have related above. Baſilius, being upon the death of Bardas advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redreſs the many abuſes that had crept into the ſtate, and to reclaim Michael from his vicious courſes; but the diſſolute prince was ſo far from following his wholſome counſels, that he reſolved to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a cenſor; which haſtened on his own ruin: for Baſilius, finding he could by no other means ſave himſelf,

He is murdered.

Michael takes Baſilius for his partner in the empire.

[u] Idem ibid. Cedren. Zonar. in Mich.

ſelf, but by deſtroying his collegue, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and aſleep; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others privy to his deſign, firſt cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone [w].

Michael murdered.

Baſilius.

BASILIUS, now ſole maſter of the empire, governed with great juſtice and moderation, preferring ſuch only as were perſons of known probity, and allowing all his ſubjects free acceſs to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by George and Symbatius, two patricians; but, it being ſeaſonably diſcovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices baniſhed. To obviate any future attempts of the ſame nature, in the ſecond year of his reign he raiſed his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created Leo and Alexander, his ſecond and third ſons, Cæſars. As for his fourth ſon, by name Stephen, he cauſed him to take orders, with a deſign to raiſe him to the patriarchal ſee. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monaſtery of St. Euphemia, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to make war upon the Manichees. We have obſerved above, that in the late reign one Carbeas, a Manichee, fled, with four thouſand of the ſame ſect, to the Saracens, with a deſign to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion. Great numbers of the perſecuted Manichees flocking to him for ſhelter, he made frequent inroads into the Roman territories from three ſtrong-holds in Armenia, viz. Arganum, Armera, and Tephrica, which had been yielded to them by the Saracens. Againſt theſe Manichees Baſilius marched in perſon, laid waſte their country, took or killed their beſt commanders, and returned with an immenſe booty to Conſtantinople; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the Manichees, reſolved to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of Chryſochir; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almoſt to a man cut off, with their leader, whoſe head was ſent to Conſtantinople. By this defeat the ſtrength of the Saracens was ſo broken

He breaks the power of the Manichees.

[w] Curopalat. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

broken that they were never afterwards in a condition of moleſting the empire, as they had done for ſeveral years together. Encouraged with his ſucceſs againſt the Manichees, he entered Syria the following year 880, attended by his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine, recovered ſeveral ſtrong-holds out of the hands of the Saracens, and took an incredible number of priſoners. On his return he made himſelf maſter of Cæſarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, and of ſeveral other ſtrong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The priſoners he took in this expedition were ſo numerous, that not being able to ſpare ſufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the ſword; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the Saracens, that ſome of their governors not only ſubmitted, but joined the emperor againſt their own nation. The African Saracens and thoſe of Crete, attempting to invade the empire, were likewiſe defeated with great ſlaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly deſtroyed by Nazar the Roman, admiral. Theſe extraordinary advantages were, in ſome degree, counterbalanced by the loſs of Syracuſe, which the Saracens of Carthage took and deſtroyed. Adrian, a patrician, who had been ſent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor upon his return to Conſtantinople, cauſed him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken ſanctuary, and ſent him into exile [x]. Baſilius, at ſuch times as he was not engaged in wars, buſied himſelf in building and repairing churches, of which Cedrenus mentions a great number. Zonaras blames him for erecting and dedicating ſo many churches to the honour of St. Michael, as if he had deſigned thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor Michael. His eldeſt ſon Conſtantine being dead, he raiſed his ſecond ſon Leo to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great ſway which Theodorus Santabarenus, by profeſſion a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's preſence. Of this the jealous monk was ſoon apprized, and therefore reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conſpiracy againſt Baſilius, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he firſt perſuaded the young prince privately to arm himſelf and ſome of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppoſe any attempt upon the life of his father; and then haſtening to the emperor, told him in great conſternation, that his

His ſucceſs againſt the Saracens.

Syracuſe taken by the Saracens, and deſtroyed.

The treachery of a monk.

[x] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

his ſon deſigned to murder him; that his deſign was to be put in execution the firſt time he went out to hunt; and that if he cauſed him to be ſearched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked and malicious inſinuations of the monk, ordered his ſon to be ſearched; and a dagger being found under his garments, committed him to cloſe priſon in an apartment of the palace, where his eyes had been put out at the inſtigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the ſenate interpoſed in his behalf. However, he was long kept under cloſe confinement; but at length releaſed, at the earneſt and repeated entreaties of the ſenate, and reſtored to his former dignity. Curopalates tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the ſenate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining ſeveral of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of ſome, who uſed to lament there the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a ſudden, Alas, unhappy Leo! His friends, laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithſtanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applications; to which Baſilius at length yielded [y]. Baſilius not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and ſeven days. Cedrenus writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhœa; but Zonaras tells us, that while he was hunting, a ſtag thruſting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, ſhook him with ſuch violence, that he died ſoon after. The ſame writer adds, that one of the emperor's attendants having diſengaged him from the ſtag, by cutting his girdle, he, inſtead of rewarding him, cauſed his head to be cut off, for drawing his ſword in the preſence of his ſovereign. But of this no mention is made either by Cedrenus or Curopalates. Some pretend, that before he died, he embraced a monaſtic life, but without deveſting himſelf either of his power, or the enſigns of majeſty. It is certain, that towards the latter end of his reign, he addicted himſelf entirely to the converſation of monks, and to works of piety. To his ſon Leo, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, he left, with the empire, ſome excellent rules or maxims of government, compriſed in ſixty-ſix chapters, the initial letters of which form the following ſentence; "Baſilius, emperor of the Romans in "Chriſt, to Leo, his dear ſon and collegue in the empire."

Leo impriſoned.

And releaſed.

Baſilius dies.

His inſtructions to his ſon Leo.

The

[y] Curopalat. in Anaſt.

The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince and a chriſtian philoſopher. Baſilius made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of baſilicæ, that is, royal or imeprial laws; for they did not take their name, as ſome have imagined, from the emperor Baſilius, by whoſe orders they were compiled. They were written in the Greek tongue, the Latin, in which the laws of Juſtinian were compiled, being at this time ſcarce underſtood in the eaſtern empire. Baſilius is, by all the antient writers, deſervedly ranked among the beſt emperors.

Leo. BASILIUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Leo, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and ſo well verſed in all the branches of literature, that he deſervedly acquired, as Antoninus had done, the ſurname of Philoſophus. His firſt care was to puniſh Theodorus Santabarenus the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then baniſhed him to Athens, where his eyes were put out. Photius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, had favoured Theodorus, and conſpired with him to raiſe a kinſman of his own to the throne; he had beſides raiſed great diſturbances in the church: for which crimes he was, by Leo's orders, depoſed, and baniſhed into Armenia, Stephen, the emperor's brother, being raiſed to the patriarchal ſee in his room. To ſhew his gratitude to the emperor Michael, who had firſt preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he cauſed his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monaſtery of Chryſopolis, where it had been interred, to the church of the Apoſtles in Conſtantinople, and there to be depoſited in a ſtately monument of marble. In the year 893, the eighth of Leo's reign, a war broke out between the Romans and Bulgarians on the following occaſion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at Conſtantinople, whence it was, at the requeſt of ſome merchants, removed to Theſſalonica. There the collectors of the cuſtoms oppreſſing with new and unlawful impoſitions the Bulgarian merchants, Simeon their king having firſt applied in vain to the emperor for redreſs, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, entering the Roman territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waſte the country as far as Macedon, where he was met by the Roman army, under the command of Procopius Crenites and Curticius, who were both cut off, with moſt of their men, in the engagement that enſued. Simeon, having taken

He honours the memory of Michael.

His army defeated by the Bulgarians.

in the purſuit a great number of priſoners, cauſed their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them back thus deformed to Conſtantinople. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the Ungri or Hungarians, whom our author ſtyles Turks, to invade the country of the Bulgarians on one ſide, while he entered it on the other. Againſt the Hungarians Simeon marched in perſon; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himſelf with much-ado eſcaping to a city named Doroſtolum, whence he ſent embaſſadors to Leo ſuing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than Simeon fell unexpectedly upon the Hungarians; and having put them to flight, ravaged their country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Leo, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreaſonable demands, reſolved to fall upon him with the whole ſtrength of the empire, and utterly deſtroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raiſed, and ſent into Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catacalon and Theodoſius a patrician. But Simeon, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut moſt of them in pieces, with Theodoſius and a great number of officers of diſtinction; which obliged the emperor to ſubmit to the beſt terms he could obtain [z]. While Leo was engaged in theſe wars abroad, ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him at home; which, however, were ſeaſonably diſcovered, and the conſpirators ſent into exile, the emperor being averſe to the ſhedding of blood. In 901, the empreſs Theophano, or, as others call her, Theophania, being dead, the emperor married one Zoe, the moſt beautiful woman of her age, whom he had kept as his concubine in his wife's life-time, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, conferring at the ſame time on her father, by name Zantzas, the title of father to the emperor. Zoe did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, Leo married to his third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named Eudocia; but ſhe dying in child bed, together with the infant, Leo, who had yet no iſſue male to ſucceed him, married to his fourth wife another Zoe, who brought him a ſon, called Conſtantine. This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave riſe to great diſturbances and diviſions in the church of Conſtantinople; for Nicolaus Myſticus, at that time patriarch, not only declared againſt the marriage, but excom-

The treachery of the Bulgarians.

The emperor marries a ſecond and third wife.

[z] Idem in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earneſtly begged, but in vain, to be reſtored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monaſtery, and placed one Euthymius Syncellus in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to Nicolaus, and others to Euthymius; which occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church. Though Euthymius reſtored the emperor to the communion of the faithful, yet he reſolutely oppoſed him, when, by the advice of the ſenate he was about to publiſh an edict, declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. Leo had formerly publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting thoſe who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed againſt them by ſome antient councils, and the clergy would not ſuffer him to revoke that edict [a]. Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on Whitſunday in a ſolemn proceſſion to the church of St. Mocius, as was cuſtomary on that day, a perſon of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, juſt as he entered the church, gave him ſuch a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and thoſe about him believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the ſpot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. Alexander, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be alledged againſt him, the traitor, though tortured in a moſt cruel manner, obſtinately refuſing to diſcover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off [b]. The following year 902, the ſixteenth of Leo's reign, the Saracens, having equipped a mighty fleet, took Tauromi-nium in Sicily, reduced the iſland of Lemnos, and, ravaging without controul the coaſts of Aſia, threw the imperial city itſelf into great conſternation. In the end of the ſummer, they laid ſiege to Theſſalonica, which they took, and would have deſtroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large ſum by Simeon, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, who was on that account raiſed to the rank of a patrician. Leo, not able to make head againſt the Saracens at ſea, raiſed a powerful army, which he ſent into the eaſt, under the conduct of Euſtathius Argyrus and Andronicus Ducas, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great ſucceſs, having gained ſeveral victories over them. However, the year following, they invaded with a mighty army the Roman territories;

Is excommunicated for marrying a fourth.

An attempt upon the emperor's life.

Taurorninium and Theſſalonica taken by the Saracens.

Who are defeated by the emperor's generals

[a] Vide Conſt. Porphyrogen. in præamb. ad edict. unionis.
[b] Leo Grammat. l. iii. and iv.

tories; which obliged the emperor to diſpatch Himerius and Andronicus Ducas againſt them. They were both generals of great courage, experience and conduct; but a fatal miſunderſtanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one Samonas, put a ſtop to the progreſs of their arms. Samonas, a Saracen by birth, and, formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having diſcovered a conſpiracy, had been on that account, advanced to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Having by that means acquired immenſe wealth, he attempted to eſcape into his own country, carrying with him his treaſures; but was ſtopped upon the road, and brought back to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine Ducas, the ſon of Andronicus. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithſtanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for ſome time under cloſe confinement; but in the end reſtored him to his former rank and honours. As Samonas bore an irreconcillable hatred to Andronicus, on account of his ſon Conſtantine, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large ſum, to warn him by letter not to join Himerius, who, he ſaid, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes, as ſoon as he had him in his power. Andronicus, giving credit to this letter, refuſed to join Himerius, who nevertheleſs engaged the Saracens, and gave them a total overthrow. Andronicus, dreading the emperor's indignation, ſeized a caſtle near Iconium, called Cabala, with a deſign to revolt; which Samonas no ſooner underſtood, than making uſe of all his authority at court to his deſtruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful inſinuations, to declare Andronicus a traitor, and to diſpatch a ſtrong army againſt him, under the command of Iberitzas Gregoras. Hereupon Andronicus deſpairing of pardon, fled to the Saracens, by whom he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. Leo, greatly concerned for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, who had hitherto ſerved him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, reſolved to perſuade him, if poſſible, to return home. With this view he releaſed a Saracen captive, on condition he delivered to Andronicus a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promiſed to reſtore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated aſſurances of his friendſhip and eſteem; but the captive, bribed by Samonas, inſtead of conveying the letter to Andronicus, delivered it to the kalif, who immediately cauſed the unfortunate Andronicus, with his ſon Conſtantine and

Andronicus Ducas, diſgraced, flies to the Saracens.

the

the reſt who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into priſon, where they were treated with the utmoſt cruelty. Andronicus ſoon periſhed under the hardſhips he endured; ſeveral others purchaſed their liberty by renouncing their religion; but Conſtantine, the ſon of Andronicus, made his eſcape with a ſmall number of attendants, and though purſued, ſometimes by fighting, and ſometimes by caſting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy ſoldiery, got ſafe to Conſtantinople, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feaſted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far miſled by the omen of his name as to aſpire at the empire; adding, that he had been aſſured by thoſe who could fortel things of that nature, that his own ſon Conſtantine was deſtined by heaven to the empire; and that, if Ducas ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would inevitably be cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place, where he was now treated with ſo much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we ſhall relate anon. About this time, Samonas the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, was at length diſgraced on the following occaſion: He had recommended a youth, named Conſtantine, by birth a Paphlagonian, to wait on the empreſs, who, being greatly taken with his adreſs and other good qualities, uſed all her intereſt to prefer him. This gave no ſmall jealouſly to Sammonas, who, apprehending he might in time be ſupplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accuſed the empreſs of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldneſs to publiſh a libel againſt the emperor himſelf, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monaſtery; and appointed his rival Conſtantine great chamberlain in his room [c]. In 911, the twenty-ſixth and laſt year of his reign, the Saracens, under the conduct of Damianus a Tyrian and Leo of Tripolis, committing dreadful ravages, on the coaſts and in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, Himerius was ſent with a powerful fleet againſt them; but in a ſea-fight near the iſland of Samos, the Roman navy was utterly defeated, Himerius himſelf having with much difficulty eſcaped

He dies; but his ſon Conſtantine returns to Conſtantinople.

Samonas diſgraced.

The Roman fleet defeated by the Saracens.

[c] Curopalat. in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. Leo Grammat. ibid.

Leo dies.

ſcaped to Mitylene. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the colic on the eleventh of May of the preſent year, after having reigned twenty five years and three months. He left behind him only one ſon, by name Conſtantine; but, as he was ſcarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother Alexander, after having earneſtly entreated him to leave it at his death to his ſon, Conſtantine, whom he recommended to his care [d]. Leo is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great prudence and uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is highly extolled by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the moſt zealous and vigilant among their biſhops. As he was a man of great learning, he left ſeveral works behind him, viz. a letter to Omarus king of the Saracens, concerning the myſteries and truth of the chriſtian religion, and the hereſies and blaſphemies of the Saracens; a book of military diſcipline, which had been tranſlated into Latin; another on hunting; ſeveral theological and hiſtorical tracts, ſtill to be ſeen, tho ſtrangely maimed and corrupted, in the Vatican library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the biſhops, he wrote to all his ſubjects, encouraging them to the practice of every chriſtian virtue; but as he applied himſelf above all to the ſtudy of the law, he new-modelled the Roman juriſprudence. His father Baſilius had, in the year 870, with the aſſiſtance of his two ſons Conſtantine and Leo, publiſhed an epitome of Juſtinian's code, which he called "procheiron." This work, which conſiſted of forty titles, is ſtill to be found among the manuſcripts in the Vatican library. It is by ſome aſcribed to Baſilius, Conſtantine, and Leo, by others only to Leo and Conſtantine, and by ſome to Leo alone; whence Cujacius and other civilians conclude it to have been reviſed by Leo, and brought into a better form. Leo, not ſatisfied with that, publiſhed, about the year 886, his baſilicæ, divided into ſixty books and ſix volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which Juſtinian had obſerved in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, novellæ, and from the conſtitutions of the ſucceeding emperors down to Baſilius, whatever was ſuperfluous, or had been abrogated by the cuſtom of after-times, being retrenched. The baſilicæ were no ſooner publiſhed, than the books of Juſtinian were quite laid aſide, both in the ſchools and court, of juſtice. Leo dying, his

His character and works.

[d] Curopalat. Zonar. Conſt. Manaſſ. Glycas, ibid.

his ſon Conſtantine reviſed and corrected the baſilicæ, which had been publiſhed by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected to be made uſe of both at the bar and in the ſchools. The baſilicæ of Leo were called priores, and thoſe of Conſtantine poſteriores; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the Greek juriſprudence to the end of the empire [e].

Alexander a debauched prince.

Leo being dead, his brother Alexander was by the ſenate and people acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, gave ſuch inſtances of his cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his ſubjects. Theſe who ſeemed to diſcountenance him in his lewd and diſſolute courſes, he baniſhed under various pretences, placing perſons of moſt infamous characters in their room, and ſuffering himſelf to be entirely governed by debauchees and proſtitutes. He was ſo taken with one Baſilitzas, a perſon of a mean deſcent, but of a moſt diſſolute life and his inſeparable companion in the moſt abominable extravagancies, that he reſolved to ſettle the empire on him, and, by caſtrating his nephew Conſtantine, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of ſucceſſion. But he was diverted from ſuch an unpopular attempt, by ſome of the late emperor's friends, repreſenting to him, that the child, who was of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, would, in all likelihood, be ſoon removed out of the way by a natural death. In the mean time, he baniſhed the empreſs Zoe from the court, ſuffering none to continue there, but ſuch as were ſlaves to his ſenſual pleaſures, and ſubſervient to his brutiſh appetites.

He provokes the Bulgarians.

Simeon, prince of the Bulgarians, no ſooner heard of his acceſſion to the empire, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to him to renew the treaties of peace and friendſhip concluded by former emperors between the two nations; but Alexander, inſtead of cultivating the friendſhip of that warlike and powerful nation, diſmiſſed their embaſſadors in an ignominious manner; at which Simeon juſtly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the Roman territories, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Alexander, inſtead of offering to oppoſe him, purſued without interruption his diſſolute courſes, till death, haſtened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from ſo pernicious a monſter. As he was one day uſing violent exerciſes, after having eaten and drunk to a great exceſs, ſome of the veſſels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till

[e] Struv. hiſt. jur. Græc. c. 4. Cujac. l. vi. obſer. c. 10. Doviat. hiſt. jur. civil. p. 47.

He dies.

till he died. Before his death, which happened in 912, after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared Conſtantine his ſucceſſor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, ſuch perſons as had been moſt ſubſervient to him in his infamous pleaſures, and were, on that account, deſpiſed and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged Conſtantine Ducas, the ſon of Andronicus, of whom we have ſpoken above, to attempt the ſovereignty, notwithſtanding the warning given him by the late emperor; but as he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was ſeized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, moſt of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being diſcovered, and puniſhed either with death or baniſhment. During theſe domeſtic broils, Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, having laid waſte Thrace, was advanced to the very gates of Conſtantinople, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a ſhort time; but the unexpected and vigorous oppoſition he met with from the inhabitants, obliged him, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to abandon the enterprize and retire to Hebdomon, whence he ſent embaſſadors to the young prince's governors with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, Simeon was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of Blachernæ, whence he returned home loaded with rich preſents. Cedrenus writes, that a peace was concluded; but Zonaras aſſures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to an happy concluſion, the prince of the Bulgarians refuſing to ſubmit to the conditions inſiſted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean time, the regents, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, at the earneſt requeſt of the people of Conſtantinople and of the young prince himſelf, recalled to court the empreſs Zoe; who, having ſoon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's preſence the favourites of Alexander, and put others in their room, who were better qualified for that high truſt [f]. Zoe had ſcarce taken upon her the adminiſtration, when the Bulgarians broke into the empire on one ſide, and the Saracens on the other. The former, after having laid waſte Thrace,

Conſtantine VIII.

The Bulgarians break into the empire.

The empreſs Zoe gets all the power into her own hands.

The Bulgarians invade the empire.

ſat

[f] Cedren. Zonar. Leo Grammat. & Curopalat. in Conſtant.

ſat down before Adrianople, which was betrayed to them by one Pancratucus an Armenian, whom Simeon had bribed with rich preſents, The Saracens, under the conduct of Damianus, kalif of Tyre, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devaſtations on the coaſts. Zoe, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the ſenate, to make peace upon any terms with the Saracens, and employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the Bulgarians. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a mighty army ſent againſt the latter, under the conduct of Leo Phocas, who, having muſtered his numerous forces in the ſpacious plain of Diabaſis, led them ſtrait againſt the enemy, encamped at a ſmall diſtance. Before the engagement, Conſtantine, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was ſtyled protopapa, expoſing the wood of the holy croſs to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and ſwear, that they would fight to the laſt. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but the Romans prevailing after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, the Bulgarians fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The victory, however, was unluckily ſnatched out of their hands by the following accident: Leo, the Roman general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the purſuit, his horſe broke looſe, while he ſtooped down to drink. The ſoldiers, who knew him, ſeeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was ſlain, and thereupon, giving over the purſuit, began to retire in a diſorderly manner; which Simeon quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and, facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, not only great numbers of the common ſoldiers being ſlain in that confuſion, but many officers of great diſtinction[g]. To this unhappy miſtake ſome aſcribe the dreadful overthrow which the Romans received on this occaſion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell us, that while Leo was buſy in the purſuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that Romanus Lacapenus, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coaſt with his fleet and aſſiſt Leo, if required, was returned to Conſtantinople, with a deſign to ſeize on the empire in the abſence of the army and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, Leo, ſay they, who had the ſame ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp, the

The Romans defeated.

[g] Curopalat. ibid.

the better to be informed of the truth. But the ſoldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were ſo diſcouraged, that they turned their purſuit into a ſudden and diſorderly flight [h]. Simeon, elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, reſolved to return before Conſtantinople; but, two ſtrong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, and utterly defeated, he thought it adviſeable to drop that enterprize and return home. In the mean time, the two rivals, Leo and Romanus, returning to court, began to plot, not only againſt the emperor, but againſt each other; for they had both nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty. But the faction of Romanus prevailing at length over that of Leo, the latter was declared a traitor; and being ſeized in a caſtle named Atcas, whither he had fled for ſhelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his ſight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. Romanus, having thus got rid of Leo, and driven all his partizans from the emperor's preſence, perſuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his ſon Chriſtopher commander in chief of the allies, which poſt was at that time one of the greateſt dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engroſſed to himſelf the whole power, he drove the empreſs Zoe from the palace, and confined her to the monaſtery of St. Euphemia. Soon after her departure, he cauſed himſelf to be firſt declared Cæſar, and afterwards to be ſolemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather ſilently permitting, than approving of theſe extraordinary proceedings. The following year 921, Romanus cauſed his two ſons, Stephen and Chriſtopher, to be crowned in the great church, reſerving the other, by name Theophylactus, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmoſt arrogance he ordered himſelf to be named before Conſtantine in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were ſet on foot by the friends of young Conſtantine to deliver him from the controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all diſcovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine broils, broke anew into the Roman territories; and having defeated, with great ſlaughter, the imperial troops diſpatched againſt him, he advanced, without oppoſition, to the very gates of Conſtantinople; but deſpairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis, he deſired an interview

Two parties of the Bulgarians routed.

Leo diſgraced and deprived of his ſight.

Zoe confined to a monaſtery.

Romanus crowned emperor.

[h] Zonar. Cedren. Glycas in Conſtant.

interview with the emperor Romanus; which being readily granted, a peace thereupon enſued between the two nations, Romanus having in a pathetic ſpeech put the Bulgarian in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal Judge of the chriſtian blood he had already ſhed. At the ſame time, the Saracens, who had long infeſted the coaſts and the iſlands, being ſurpriſed by John Radenus, the Roman admiral, in the harbour of Lemnos, were cut off almoſt to a man, and their whole fleet deſtroyed. Not long after, Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Peter, who, breaking into the Roman dominions, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father. When he heard Romanus was marching againſt him at the head of a powerful army, he diſpatched a monk to him, with propoſals for a peace, which he deſired might be ſtrengthened and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well received by Romanus, the Bulgarian prince, after ſeveral negotiations, repaired to Conſtantinople, where he was ſplendidly entertained by Romanus in the palace of Blachernæ, and with great ſolemnity married by Stephen, the patriarch, to Mary, the daughter of Chriſtopher, the emperor's ſon. At one of many public entertainments that were made on this occaſion, the Bulgarians loudly complaining, at the inſtigation of Romanus, as was ſuppoſed, that the emperor Conſtantine ſhould take place of Chriſtopher, the father-in-law of their prince, Romanus, pretending to gratify them, cauſed his ſon, with a ſeeming reluctancy, to take the moſt honourable place. The nuptial ſolemnities were ſcarce over, when the Saracens in Syria invaded the Roman territories; but John Curcuas, the imperial general in thoſe parts, not only drove them back with great loſs, but having beſieged and taken the city of Melitena, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. The following winter proved very ſevere; and the long froſt, ſaid to have laſted an hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in ſeveral provinces, and whole cities overturned. At Conſtantinople a fire broke out, which conſumed many ſtately buildings. But Romanus was not ſo much affected with theſe public calamities, as with the death of his ſon Chriſtopher, who died on the fourteenth of Auguſt of the preſent year 933 [i]. The following year, one Baſilius, a native of Macedon, giving out,

A peace concluded with the Bulgarians.

The king of the Bulgarians marries the granddaughter of Romanus.

Melitena taken from the Saracens.

[i] Curopalat. in Roman. Leo Grammat. in Rom.

out, that he was Conſtantine Ducas, who had been ſlain in the beginning of the preſent reign, drew vaſt crowds after him; but being ſeized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at Conſtantinople, who, after having cauſed one of his hands to be cut off, ſet him at liberty. But he continuing ſtill to paſs himſelf upon the credulous multitude for the ſon of Andronicus, got together great numbers of malecontents, who, having ſeized on a ſtrong hold, made from thence frequent incurſions into the neighbouring country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But Romanus, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive [k]. In 944, the Roſſi, who inhabited the European Sarmatia, and were known to the antients by the names of Roxolani and Baſtarnæ, having equipped a numerous fleet, conſiſting, according to ſome of ten, according to others of fifteen, thouſand veſſels, committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of the empire. But Theophanes, the Roman admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, deſtroyed their whole fleet; and the two generals Bardas and Curcuas, purſuing thoſe who had ſaved themſelves aſhore, made ſuch a havock of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune [l]. All this while Conſtantine, the lawful prince, lived without the leaſt authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power; and with this view gained over ſome perſons of great credit and eſteem with Romanus and his ſons, who being well appriſed, that to remove Romanus was the firſt ſtep towards the re-eſtabliſhment of Conſtantine, applied to Stephen, the uſurper's youngeſt ſon, and by degrees brought him to rebel againſt his father, whom he ſeized on the ſixteenth of December of the preſent year 944, and confined to a monaſtery in the iſland Prota. He being thus removed, Stephen cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother Conſtantine, who had been raiſed by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the ſovereignty. This gave riſe to a miſunderſtanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both. For Conſtantine having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been deſirous of bringing about an accommodation, cauſed them both to be ſeized in the midſt of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, viz. Stephen to

The Roſſi utterly defeated by the Romans.

Romanus depoſed by his own ſon.

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem. Zonar. Cedren. in Rom. Luitprand. p. 334.

to the iſland of Panormus, and Conſtantine to Terebintus, where they were both ordained prieſts. Stephen was afterwards removed to Proconneſus, and from thence to Rhodes, then to Mitylene, and laſtly to Leſbos, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years with great conſtancy and reſolution. Conſtantine having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a deſign to make his eſcape out of the iſland of Samothrace, whither he had been removed, the reſt, tranſported with rage, fell upon him and ſlew him. As for Romanus, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile [m]. Conſtantine, thus reſtored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his reſtoration, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Soon after, in order to prevent any future deſigns that might be formed againſt him, he cauſed his ſon Romanus to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, and Romanus the ſon of Stephen, with Baſilius the natural ſon of Romanus the elder, and Michael the ſon of Chriſtopher, to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948, the Saracens breaking into the empire with a mighty army, Bardas Phocas and his two ſons Nicephorus and Leo were diſpatched with the flower of the Roman forces againſt them. Bardas was one of the beſt officers of his age; but being hated by the ſoldiery on account of his extreme covetouſneſs, he performed nothing anſwerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerouſly wounded in the forehead, and with much ado brought off alive by ſome of his friends. His two ſons gained ſeveral victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared than beloved by thoſe who ſerved under them: Leo, having overthrown the Saracens in a pitched battle, took, among the other priſoners, Apolaſemus, a perſon of great diſtinction, and nearly related to Chabdanus the kalif; which the emperor no ſooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be ſent to Conſtantinople, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an inſulting manner upon his neck. The kalif, highly provoked at this indignity, uſed in a moſt barbarous manner Conſtantine the third ſon of Bardas Phocas, whom he had taken priſoner, in order to make him abjure the chriſtian religion; but not being able to prevail with him,

His ſons depoſed and baniſhed.

Conſtantine reſtored to his former power.

Leo and Nicephorus gain great advantages over the Saracens.

[m] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. Luitprand. l. v. c. 9, 10, 11.

him, he caused him to be poisoned. Phocas, to revenge his death, put to the sword all the relations of the kalif, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kalif, having raised a numerous and formidable army, marched against Phocas and his sons, carrying with him Nicetas, a patrician, and several other prisoners of distinction, with an intent to cause them to be massacred in the sight of the Roman army. But Nicetas, who was a man of great address, having in the mean time insinuated himself into his favour, was by him made privy to all his designs, which he found means to impart to Phocas, who lying in ambush for him in a narrow pass, cut off his numerous army almost to a man, the kalif himself escaping with much difficulty, after having put to the sword all the Roman prisoners, except Nicetas, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his escape in the beginning of the engagement. After this victory, Phocas, invading the territories of the Saracens, took several strong-holds, and laid waste whole provinces. But, in the mean time, the Saracens, who had settled in Crete, committing dreadful ravages on the coasts, the emperor having with incredible expedition fitted out a powerful fleet, dispatched it with a strong army on board against the island of Crete, where they landed, without the least opposition from the Saracens, altogether unprovided against so sudden a descent, and would have easily made themselves masters of the whole island, had they been commanded by an officer of any skill or experience. But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in this expedition one of his chamberlains named Constantine Gongylas, who had been brought up in the court, and was consequently an utter stranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miscarried. For the Saracens, finding he neither took care to fortify himself by any works, nor to send out scouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their consternation, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great slaughter, and made themselves masters of his camp and baggage. He had himself fallen into the enemy's hands, had not some of his guards, in spite of their utmost efforts, conveyed him on board one of his vessels [n]. Not long after this defeat, Romanus, the emperor's son, prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his wife Theophano or Theophania, conspired with her against his father; and having gained over Nicetas, one of the attendants

The Romans utterly defeated by the Saracens in Crete.

Romanus, the emperor's son, attempts upon his life.

[n] Curopalat. in Constantin.

tendants at the emperor's table, prevailed upon him to adminiſter poiſon to the prince inſtead of a potion, which had been preſcribed to him by his phyſicians. But the emperor happening to ſtumble after he had taken in his hand the poiſonous cup, the greater part of the draught was ſpilt by that lucky accident; ſo that what remained had not the deſired effect, tho' his life was for ſome time in great danger. In the month of September of the ſame year, he undertook a journey to mount Olympus, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Saracens, whom he deſigned, if poſſible, to drive out of Syria: but the true motive of his journey was to adviſe with Theodorus, biſhop of Cyzicus, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal ſee Polyeuctus, who had ſucceeded Theophylactus, the ſon of Romanus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his ſon, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to Conſtantinople, where he died on the ninth of November 960, after having lived fifty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with Romanus, and fifteen alone [o]. Curopalates, from whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife Helena and his favourite Baſilius, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, ſet everything to ſale, beſtowing the firſt employments in the ſtate on the higheſt bidder. By this means all the offices, both civil, and military, were filled with perſons no ways qualified for them, which equally redounded to his diſhonour and the detriment of the ſtate. He is likewiſe condemned for puniſhing the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is ſaid to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himſelf well ſkilled in moſt branches of literature, eſpecially in hiſtory, arithmetic, aſtronomy, philoſophy, and geometry. Zonaras commends him on account of his piety, which, ſays he, appeared in all his writings and epiſtles [p].

Conſtantine dies.

His character.

CONSTANTINE was ſucceeded by his ſon Romanus, ſurnamed the boy, to diſtinguiſh him from the other Romanus, his grandfather; for he was the ſon of Conſtantine by Helena, Romanus.

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Curopalat. Zonar. ibid.

A debauched prince.

lena, the daughter of Romanus the uſurper. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt the moſt lewd and debauched princes mentioned in hiſtory. Tho' he was himſelf capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs to one Joſeph, his chief chamberlain, that he might, with more liberty and without interruption, purſue his pleaſures; which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries, without beſtowing one thought on the public. Soon after his acceſſion, he cauſed his young ſon Baſilius to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch Polyeuctus; and imagining he had by that means ſecured the empire to his poſterity, he took no further care either of his family or the public. In the ſecond year of his reign, Nicephorus Phocas, a perſon of extraordinary merit, who had been raiſed by Conſtantine to the chief command of all the forces of the

The iſland of Crete recovered.

empire, undertook, with the conſent of Romanus and the ſenate, an expedition againſt the Saracens in Crete; and landing in that iſland, defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements, made himſelf maſter of all their ſtrong holds, Chandax itſelf not excepted, took Curupes, the kalif, and Arcemas, his lieutenant, priſoners, and in the ſpace of ſeven months reduced the whole iſland. But before he could ſettle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor, at the inſtigation of Joſeph, who, growing jealous of the ſucceſs of Nicephorus, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that "he who conquered Crete ſhould become "maſter of the whole Roman empire." While Nicepho-

The Saracens o ercome in the eaſt.

rus was thus ſignalizing himſelf in Crete, his brother Leo was attended with equal ſucceſs in the eaſt, where he gave the Saracens the greateſt overthrow they had ever received. Chabdanus, their kalif, with much difficulty, made his eſcape; but the reſt were either killed upon the ſpot, or taken priſoners. Such numbers of captives were ſent by Leo to Conſtantinople, that all the houſes, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of thoſe times, filled with Saracen ſlaves. Leo, on his return to Conſtantinople, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother Nicephorus, of whom the emperor entertained no ſmall jealouſy, on account of the above-mentioned prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march againſt Chabdanus, the kalif of Syria, who, having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invaſion. But Nicephorus, meeting him on the

borders

borders of Syria, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying siege to Berœa, made himself master of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of christian captives, who on that occasion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached Constantinople, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years four months and five days, viz. ten with his father, and the rest alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of March of the year 963, is by some ascribed to poison, administered to him by his wife Theophano; by others, to his great lewdness and intemperance [q]. He left two sons behind him, viz. Basilius and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, the empress Theophano took upon her the administration; which she had no sooner done, than she commanded Nicephorus to repair to Constantinople, much against the will of Joseph, the prime minister, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he displayed the rich spoils he had taken in the island of Crete and the city of Berœa. During his stay at Constantinople, he found that Joseph suspected him of ambitious designs, as if he aspired at the empire, which he was well apprised would end in his ruin, Joseph still bearing great sway at court. In order therefore to remove the suspicions of the prime minister, having desired and obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt it deserved, he had long panted after a retired and monastic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindness of his masters, who had forced employments upon him of the greatest trust. At the same time, he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next his skin. The credulous minister, surprised at his speech and the sight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alledged against him. Nicephorus, having thus gained the good opinion of Joseph, was suffered to return to the army in the east; where he had not been long, ere Joseph, jealous of the esteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him escape out of his hands, and seriously to consider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raising disturbances in the state. As his apprehensions daily encreased, he wrote in the end to Tzimisches

Romanus dies.

Nicephorus comes to Constantinople, and triumphs.

[q] Curopal. in Roman.

and Curcuas, two principal commanders in the eaſt, promiſing to prefer them to the firſt poſts in the army, provided they ſeized on Nicephorus, and ſecured him in a monaſtery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to Nicephorus, but adviſed him to provide for his own ſafety by the only means that was now left him, viz. that of taking upon him the ſovereignty. This propoſal he rejected at firſt, or ſeemed to reject, with the utmoſt horror; but Tzimiſches and Curcuas threatening him with their drawn ſwords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out, to ſave his life, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the ſecond of July of the year 963 [z]. Some writers tell us, that he was not ſo much prompted by his ambition to uſurp the ſovereignty, as by his love for the empreſs Theophano, of whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correſpondence with her, which greatly heightened the ſuſpicions of the prime miniſter, who had ſecret intelligence of all that paſſed. As Nicephorus was no leſs beloved by the people of Conſtantinople, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than Joſeph was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the eaſt was received by all ranks of people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in the ſtreets but ſucceſs and proſperity to Nicephorus Callinicus, or the brave conqueror. The houſe of Joſeph and thoſe of his friends and adherents were in an inſtant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at Chryſopolis, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to Hebdomon, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch Polyeuctus. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and ſenate, he began his reign by baniſhing Joſeph into Paphlagonia, and confining him to a monaſtery in that province, where he died two years after. In the ſecond year of his reign, he married the empreſs Theophano, though he was therein oppoſed with great warmth by the patriarch, becauſe he had been married before, and was ſaid to have ſtood godfather to one of the empreſs's children; nay, Polyeuctus proceeded ſo far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a ſynod held for that purpoſe at Conſtantinople,

He is proclaimed emperor.

Nicephorus Phocas crowned emperor.

[z] Idem Cedren. Zonar. & alii. in Niceph.

nople, Nicephorus was by the aſſembled biſhops reſtored to the communion of the church [a]. In the third year of his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to drive out of Sicily the Saracens, who had ſettled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts of Italy. With the command of this army he entruſted Manuel, the natural ſon of his uncle Leo, who, being an entire ſtranger to the art of war, ſuffered himſelf to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the iſland, where he was cut off with all his men. John Zimiſces, who commanded in Cilicia, was attended with better ſucceſs; for the Saracens, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with ſuch ſlaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called the bloody hill. The ſame year, the Saracens in Cyprus were overthrown in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the iſland, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year, the emperor marched in perſon againſt the Saracens in Cilicia, took three of their ſtrongeſt cities; and having wintered in Cappadocia, inveſted early in the ſpring the cities of Mopſueſta and Tarſus at the ſame time, which, after an obſtinate defence, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops on board, was ſent from Egypt to the relief of Tarſus; but the city having ſubmitted three days before their arrival, they ſailed back, when they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed moſt of their ſhips, and drove the reſt on the coaſts of the empire, where they were ſeized, with the ſoldiers on board, by the Romans. Nicephorus, encouraged with the ſucceſs that attended his arms, broke into Syria the following year; and having eaſily reduced ſuch cities and forts as refuſed voluntarily to ſubmit, he marched forward, the Saracens flying every-where before him, and laid ſiege to Antioch itſelf. But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous garriſon, and well ſtored with proviſions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize and return to Conſtantinople [b]. Cedrenus writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an old prediction, that the prince who took Antioch would not long enjoy that conqueſt [c]. Upon his return to Conſtantinople, Burtzas, a patrician, whom he had left in Syria

The Roman army cut off by the Saracens in Sicily.

Nicephorus gains great advantages over the Saracens.

Antioch beſieged.

The ſiege raiſed.

[a] Curopolat. in Nicoph. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Cedren. in Niceph.

ria with a large body of troops, to ſecure the places he had conquered in thoſe parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched ſtrait to Antioch, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, ſtruck the garriſon with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſubmitted. Thus was the metropolis of Syria once more reunited to the empire. But Nicephorus, mindful, ſays Cedrenus, of the above-mentioned prophecy, inſtead of rewarding Burtzas for ſuch an eminent piece of ſervice, diſcharged him, and forbad him the court. John Zimiſces, who had ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity and uncommon ſucceſs, was likewiſe diſmiſſed ſoon after upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, and baniſhed the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For Zimiſces, highly provoked at the undeſerved treatment he met with, conſpired with Burtzas, and ſeveral others, and found means to draw the empreſs herſelf into the conſpiracy, incenſed againſt her huſband, according to the moſt probable opinion, on account of his deſigning, as ſhe apprehended, to make her two ſons Baſilius and Conſtantine eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother Leo. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empreſs was not only privy to the conſpiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means Zimiſces and the other conſpirators were privately let into the palace in the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they diſpatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, Leo Abalantius, cutting off the emperor's head, ſhewed it out of the window; which unexpected ſight ſtruck the guards with ſuch terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther deſigns the conſpirators had in view [d]. Such was the end of Nicephorus Phocas, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and ſeventh of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained ſeveral ſignal victories over the Saracens, drove them out of the iſland of Cyprus, recovered Cilicia and the greater part of Syria and Aſia Minor, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived longer, have reſtored the empire to its antient ſplendor. But his abominable covetouſneſs and the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded his ſubjects, eſtranged from him the minds of the people; ſo that he was, notwithſtanding the glory he had acquired in arms, univerſally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were ſo

Antioch ſurpriſed by Burtzas.

A conſpiracy againſt Nicephorus.

Who is murdered.

[d] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

ſo far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable.

NICEPHORUS being thus murdered, John Zimiſces was proclaimed by the conſpirators, and by all acknowledged emperor. His firſt care was to remove from their employments, both in the ſtate and army, all the friends of the deceaſed emperor, and among the reſt Leo, the brother of Nicephorus, whom he confined to the iſland of Lesbos. All thoſe who had been baniſhed by his predeceſſor he recalled, and reſtored them to their former honours. When he thought himſelf by this means thoroughly ſettled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch. But Polyeuctus, meeting him at the door, oppoſed his entrance, telling him, that he could not ſuffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, till he had atoned by a public penance for ſo enormous a crime. Zimiſces heard the patriarch with great ſubmiſſion; and, being unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered himſelf ready to give what ſatisfaction ſhould be thought proper, alledging at the ſame time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by Abalantius, at the inſtigation of the empreſs. Hereupon the patriarch commanded him to baniſh them both, and to revoke all the edicts publiſhed by his predeceſſor to the prejudice of the church and the eccleſiaſtics; which he readily complying with, and at the ſame time promiſing to ſettle his paternal eſtate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity on Chriſtmas-day. As for the empreſs Theophano, ſhe was baniſhed into Armenia, and there ſhut up in a monaſtery. Some writers are of opinion, that the oppoſition made by the patriarch was not real, but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him and Zimiſces, who only wanted a plauſible pretence to remove her. However that be, the new emperor took her two ſons Baſilius and Conſtantine for his collegues, and cauſed them to be acknowledged as ſuch by the ſenate and people of Conſtantinople. In the mean time, the Saracens, hearing of the death of Nicephorus, raiſed without loſs of time one of the moſt numerous armies that had been ſeen for ſome ages in thoſe parts; and, giving the command of it to one Zochares, a perſon well ſkilled in the art of war, ſat down before Antioch, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to reduce the place, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, the beſieged held out, till Nico-

John Zimiſces proclaimed emperor.

He is crowned by the patriarch.

las, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raiſed what forces he could in Meſopotamia and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to their own territories. The following year 970, the Roſſi, having driven out the Bulgarians and ſeized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thouſand men into the dominions of the empire, and, having waſted all Thrace, ſat down before Adrianople. Zimiſces, having firſt endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered Bardas Sclerus, or the bold, his wife's brother, to make head againſt them with what troops he could draw together. Bardas, purſuant to his orders, marched ſtrait to Adrianople; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thouſand men, he had recourſe to ſtratagems; and having drawn a ſtrong party of the enemy into an ambuſcade, he firſt cut them all off to a man; and then falling, when leaſt expected, upon the main body of their army, he gave them a total overthrow, put moſt of them to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and would not have ſuffered one to eſcape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the purſuit. The Romans are ſaid to have loſt but twenty-five men in both engagements [f]. The ſucceſs which attended the emperor's arms abroad did not deter ſeveral of the nobility from conſpiring againſt him at home, with a deſign to raiſe to the empire Bardas Phocas, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at Conſtantinople, withdrew on a ſudden out of Amaſia, the place of his baniſhment; and, being joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, made himſelf maſter of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, and there took upon him the imperial title and enſigns. At the ſame time, Leo, the father of Phocas, who had been confined to the iſland of Leſbos, attempted to make his eſcape from thence with his other ſon Nicephorus, in order to join Bardas; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and Nicephorus were ſentenced to death, but ſoon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time, Bardas Sclerus, who had been diſpatched by the emperor at the head of a conſiderable army againſt Phocas, arriving at Dorylaus the capital of Phrygia, endeavoured firſt by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been ſtrictly enjoined by

The Saracens defeated before Antioch.

The Roſſi defeated by Bardas Sclerus.

Bardas Phocas revolts.

[f] Idem in Zimiſc.

by the emperor to abſtain, as much as poſſible, from ſhedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promiſes, he left Dorylaus, and advanced to Cæſarea, in order to lay ſiege to that place. Upon his approach, thoſe who had appeared the moſt ſanguine in the revolt agreed among themſelves to abandon Phocas, and conſult their own ſafety. Accordingly, they withdrew with their attendants, before Bardas inveſted the place; ſo that Phocas, who had with him but a ſmall number of troops, thought it adviſeable to retire from Cæſarea, and ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle called Cyropæum, which at firſt he reſolved to defend to the utmoſt extremity. But when Bardas inveſted the place, and by repeated meſſages aſſured him of all imaginable kindneſs on his part, and at the ſame time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he ſubmitted; and depending upon the promiſes of Bardas, delivered himſelf up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent his raiſing new diſturbances, confined him to the iſland of Chios. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor married with great ſolemnity Theodora, according to ſome the ſiſter, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor Romanus. The following year 971, the emperor, being informed that the Roſſi, notwithſtanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, reſolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raiſed a powerful army, and committed the adminiſtration of affairs at home to ſuch as he thought he had the greateſt reaſon to confide in, he ſet out from Conſtantinople early in the ſpring; and marching with great expedition over mount Hæmus, inveſted Perſthalba, the principal city of Bulgaria, before the enemy received the leaſt intelligence of his approach. A party of the Roſſi, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, attempted to throw themſelves into the city, but were all to a man either cut off, or taken priſoners, by the Romans: among the latter was Sphagellus, a perſon of great authority among the Bulgarians. The Romans, animated with this ſucceſs, attacked the city with great reſolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could maſter it. Early next morning, Zimiſces, having drawn out his men, offered the beſieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the ſignal for a general attack. The Roſſi made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance; but, the Romans prevailing in the end, the city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put to the ſword by the incenſed ſoldiery. Eight thouſand Scythians, part

Is abandoned by his followers.

The rebellion ſuppreſſed.

The emperor invades the country of the Roſſi.

Takes their metropolis by aſſault.

part of the garriſon, finding the Romans maſters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a deſign to defend themſelves there to the laſt extremity. As the caſtle ſtood on a ſteep rock, and the Romans were already greatly fatigued, they ſeemed inclined to put off the aſſault to the next day. But Zimiſces advancing in perſon againſt the enemy, at the head of a ſmall band of choſen men, the whole army followed him, every one ſtriving who ſhould firſt thruſt himſelf between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The Scythians fought like men in deſpair; but the Romans, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, made themſelves in the end maſters of the place. All the Scythians were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the ſword. In the city, when the firſt fury of the ſoldiery was over, the women and children were ſpared, and, together with ſuch men as were found without arms, made priſoners. Among the captives was Boriſes, king of the Bulgarians, who being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and releaſed with his wife, and children, and all the Bulgarians, Zimiſces declaring he was at war with none but the Roſſi. The city of Perſthalba was utterly deſtroyed; but the emperor, having cauſed it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name Joannopolis. From thence he marched to Doroſterum, a city of great ſtrength on the Danube, where he was met by the army of the Roſſi, three hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong. However, he reſolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the moſt bloody battles enſued we find mentioned in hiſtory. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the Roſſi began to give ground, which the emperor obſerving, he charged them at the head of a choſen body with ſuch reſolution, that they betook themſelves in the end to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. Upon their retreat, the Romans, animated by the example of their prince, fell with freſh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and bearing all down before them, carried the day. The Roſſi fled in the utmoſt confuſion to Doroſterum, whither the emperor purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which brought on a ſecond battle, wherein the Roſſi were defeated anew with great ſlaughter. However, they ſtill held out, and in their daily ſallies made a dreadful havock of the Romans, till their proviſions failing them, they unanimouſly agreed to quit the city, and open themſelves a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the Roman army. This they

The citadel taken.

The Roſſi defeated with great ſlaughter.

Doroſterum beſieged.

The Roſſi overcome in a ſecond battle.

they attempted with great boldneſs and reſolution, and ſucceeded in the attempt, though great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſavè themſelves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name Sphendoſthalbus, finding himſelf no longer in a condition to make head againſt the Romans, ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to relinquiſh Bulgaria, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; viz. That he ſhould be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen ſhould be ſuffered to return home unmoleſted; and that a free commerce ſhould be ſettled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to theſe articles, the treaty was concluded and ſigned by both parties. After this Sphendoſthalbus went to wait on the emperor, who received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, and diſmiſſed him loaded with rich preſents. The Roſſi being obliged, on their way home, to paſs through the territories of the Patcinacæ, that fierce and ſavage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut of the general and moſt of his men. The war with the Roſſi being thus ended, to the great reputation of Zimiſces, and the ſafety of the empire, the emperor cauſed all the towns on the Danube to be fortified, and then returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the ſenate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horſes richly capariſoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin Mary in the chariot, followed it in a ſolemn proceſſion, mounted on a white horſe, and thus entered the city amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people[g]. During the war with the Roſſi, ſeveral cities in the eaſt, which had been reduced by his predeceſſor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore Conſtantinople, he marched into the eaſtern provinces; and having reduced ſeveral cities, partly by force, partly by fair promiſes, he advanced as far as Damaſcus, and there reſided ſome time, applying himſelf with great care to the affairs of ſtate. During his ſtay in the eaſt, he was informed, that Baſilius the eunuch had engroſſed almoſt the whole wealth of thoſe provinces to himſelf; that moſt of the fine palaces and fruitful territories, which he obſerved on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppreſſed the people in a moſt cruel manner, &c. Upon which he broke out with a ſigh in this

A peace between the two nations.

Zimiſces recovers ſeveral cities in the eaſt.

[g] Curopalat. ibid. Cedren. & Leo Gramm. in Zimiſc.

this expreſſion; "How unhappy is the preſent condition of the "Roman empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious "and aſpiring eunuch!" Baſilius had ſerved with great reputation under ſeveral emperors in their wars with the Saracens; and, as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the promotion of Nicephorus, who out of gratitude raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, in which he was continued by Zimiſces, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of ſtate. As he had many friends at court, he was ſoon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he reſolved to prevent, by ſome means or other, the evil conſequences, which he had reaſon to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large preſents and greater promiſes, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to adminiſter him poiſon; which brought him to his end, before he reached Conſtantinople. Though he miſtruſted his prime miniſter, yet he would not ſuffer any enquiries to be made about the treaſon, but ſpent the ſhort time he lived in exerciſes of chriſtian piety. He died in 976, after having reigned ſix years and as many months, and was univerſally lamented, eſpecially by the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, whom he had eaſed of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſors. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt the beſt and greateſt emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety, in which he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors. He was the firſt who cauſed the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, "Jeſus Chriſt, the King of kings. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that in the laſt battle with the Roſſi, a champion on a white horſe was obſerved by the whole army fighting before the firſt ranks; that to his ſingle valour was owing the victory gained on that occaſion; and that, as he had never been ſeen before and diſappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. Theodore the martyr, on whoſe anniverſary the victory was obtained. The emperor himſelf ſeemed to be of this opinion; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of Euchaneia, the city in which it ſtood, to that of Theodoropolis [h].

He is poiſoned by Baſilius the eunuch.

His character.

Zimisces, dying without children, appointed Baſilius and Conſtantine, the ſons of the late emperor Romanus by Theophano, for his ſucceſſors. But as both princes were under age, the eldeſt being but nineteen and the other ſeventeen,

Baſilius and Conſtantine.

[h] Curopalat. ibid.

teen, Baſilius the eunuch, took upon him the adminiſtration; and, the better to eſtabliſh his authority, recalled Theophano, the young princes mother, who had been baniſhed by Zimiſces. His next care was to remove Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have ſpoken above. He had been rewarded for his eminent ſervices by Zimiſces with the chief command of all the forces in the eaſt, and was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the prime miniſter, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and ſent him into Meſopotamia, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Saracens into that province. Sclerus broke out into bitter invectives againſt Baſilius; but the prime miniſter threatening to deprive him of all his employments and confine him to his houſe, he thought it adviſeable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been aſſigned him. He carried with him a firm reſolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, ſoon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers of the army with his deſign, who all to a man promiſing to ſtand by him, and encouraging him to ſet up for himſelf, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted as ſuch with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the Saracens, who ſent him large ſupplies of money and horſes, he ſet forward in the beginning of the ſpring towards Conſtantinople. Baſilius, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending ſtorm. He diſpatched orders to Peter, who had been appointed, in the room of Sclerus, commander of the forces in the eaſt, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of Cæſarea. At the ſame time, Syncellus, biſhop of Nicomedia, a man famed for his eloquence and the holineſs of his life, was ſent to try whether he could prevail upon Sclerus to quit his unjuſt pretenſions, and diſband his army. The uſurper received the prelate with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection; and, having heard him in appearance with great ſubmiſſion, returned him this ſhort anſwer; That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly reſolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the biſhop to court, Peter was ordered to ſecure all the paſſes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in caſe he was attacked, but by no means to begin hoſtilities. Peter, purſuant to his orders, poſted ſtrong parties in all the paſſes; but Sclerus having,

Bardas Sclerus uſurps the ſovereign.

ving, in ſpite of all oppoſition, opened himſelf a way into Cappadocia, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the imperial army. Hereupon ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. But at length Sclerus, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and having forced the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight, made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found great ſums of money and an immenſe quantity of arms and proviſions. The fame of this victory induced moſt of the eaſtern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for Sclerus, who, elated with this ſucceſs, would not ſo much as admit to his preſence the embaſſadors, who were ſent to him with very honourable and advantageous propoſals. In the mean time, Leo, who had been appointed to ſucceed Peter in the command of the army, arriving in Phrygia, marched from thence at the head of a ſtrong detachment into the eaſtern provinces, which had ſubmitted to the uſurper, but had been left quite deſtitute of troops. This obliged Sclerus to divide his army, and ſend a body of men to cover thoſe countries. But Leo falling in with them on their march, a battle enſued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of Sclerus's men being ſlain, and many taken priſoners. The uſurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, left Cappadocia, and haſtening after Leo, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Moſt of the chief officers in the emperor's army were ſlain, and Leo himſelf taken priſoner, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. Such of them as had abandoned Sclerus to ſide with Leo, had their eyes pulled out by the uſurper's orders at the head of the army. As for Leo himſelf, he was treated with great civility, but kept under cloſe confinement. Bardas, animated with this ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, not doubting, but he ſhould carry the place at the firſt aſſault. But Manuel Eroticus, whom Baſilius had ſent with a conſiderable body of troops to defend it, repulſed the uſurper in ſeveral ſucceſſive attempts with ſuch vigour, that, deſparing of being able to take a place ſo well garriſoned by force, he reſolved to reduce it by famine. Manuel, appriſed of his deſign, and ſenſible of the great ſtreights to which the numerous garriſon would be ſoon reduced, filled the empty granaries with ſand, which he ſtrewed over with corn, and ſhewed them to ſome priſoners he had

And defeats the emperor's army.

He gains another victory.

He lays ſiege to Nice.

had taken; who, being diſmiſſed, repreſented to Sclerus, that he attempted invain to reduce a place by famine, that was ſo plentifully ſupplied with corn. Soon after, Manuel ſent deputies to acquaint Sclerus, that, conſidering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to ſurrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to paſs unmoleſted to Conſtantinople. To theſe conditions the uſurper readily conſented; but was highly provoked, when, entering the city, he diſcovered the deceit, and found the place quite deſtitute of proviſions [i]. Sclerus, after the reduction of Nice, was preparing to march to Conſtantinople, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as ſoon as he appeared. But, in the mean time, Bardas Phocas, whom Baſilius had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief againſt Sclerus, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at Amorium, the uſurper thought it adviſeable to march in the firſt place againſt him. Accordingly he haſtened with all his forces to Amorium; and coming there to an engagement, put Phocas's army to the rout. Though Phocas himſelf diſcharged all the offices of a valiant ſoldier and experienced officer, yet his ſoldiers were ſo diſpirited by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inſpire them with courage. Phocas, no longer able to keep the field, retired to Phrygia, and having there received large ſupplies out of Iberia and the other provinces, which continued ſtedfaſt in their allegiance, he reſolved to venture a ſecond engagement. Accordingly, leaving Phrygia, he advanced into Cappadocia, where he found Sclerus encamped on a large plain named Pancalea, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but Phocas's men beginning, after an obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or periſh, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, into the midſt of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging Sclerus himſelf, dangerouſly wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, appriſed of the danger their general was in, haſtened to his reſcue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain, there to waſh his wound and refreſh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time, his horſe

The place ſurrenders.

Bardas Phocas defeated by Sclerus.

[i] Curopalat. Cedren. Leo Gramm. ibid.

horſe running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his ſoldiers concluded from thence, that their general was ſlain, which occaſioned ſuch conſternation in the army, that, inſtead of purſuing the emperor's troops, who had, in ſpite of Phocas's utmoſt endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themſelves in the greateſt confuſion, ſome throwing themſelves headlong down vaſt precipices, others taking to the river Halys, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory, by a lucky miſtake, ſnatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were purſued with great ſlaughter by Phocas. Sclerus eſcaped with a ſmall body of horſe to Martyropolis, and from thence to Babylon, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of Choſrhoes, ſultan of the place; which the emperor Baſilius no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to Choſrhoes, repreſenting to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting ſuch as had, by an open revolt, taken arms againſt another. The embaſſadors were at the ſame time enjoined to aſſure Sclerus in the emperor's name, that he ſhould not only be pardoned, but received into favour and reſtored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretenſions and returned home. Choſrhoes, finding the embaſſadors were privately treating with Sclerus, ordered both him and them to be thrown into priſon, whence we ſhall ſee him in a ſhort time releaſed, to raiſe new diſturbances in the empire.

Bardas gains a complete victory over Sclerus.

Who flies to Babylon.

THE rebellion of Sclerus being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor Baſilius, who had taken the adminiſtration into his own hands, reſolved to be revenged on the Bulgarians, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the eaſt. With this view he put himſelf at the head of his army, and, without imparting his deſign either to Phocas or any other of his generals in the eaſt, he entered Bulgaria, and, leaving Leo Meliſſenus to ſecure the narrow paſſes behind him, marched ſtrait to Sardica. But while he was preparing to lay ſiege to that important place, Stephen, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, and an avowed and irreconcileable enemy to Leo Meliſſenus, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aſide all other deſigns whatſoever, and to return with all poſſible expedition to Conſtantinople, whither Leo had already marched, with a deſign to ſeize on the ſovereignty in his abſence. The emperor, alarmed at this unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by ſeizing on the poſts which Leo was ſaid to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great frigh

Baſilius enters Bulgaria.

fright his army to march the ſame night; which being obſerved by Samuel, prince of the Bulgarians, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor with great difficulty reached Philippopolis, where he found Leo carefully attending his duty on the ſtation which had been aſſigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked againſt Stephen, who had thus impoſed upon him, he immediately diſcharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. Stephen, however, maintained to the laſt, that Leo really intended to uſurp the empire; which incenſed the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear ſtriking him, and dragging him in a violent paſſion on the ground by his hair and long beard [k]. The emperor had undertaken the Bulgarian expedition, as we have obſerved above, without imparting his deſign to Bardas Phocas, commander in chief of all the eaſtern forces. This that general highly reſented; and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counſels, he began to entertain thoughts of uſurping the ſupreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his diſcontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promiſed to ſupport him to the laſt; ſo that, after ſeveral private conferences, they all met at the houſe of one Euſtathius Melenius, and there inveſting Phocas with the imperial ornaments, unanimouſly proclaimed him emperor. At the ſame time, Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have ſpoken above, being ſet at liberty by Choſrhoes ſultan of Babylon, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thouſand Roman captives, the ſultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent ſervices againſt the rebellious Perſians. With theſe Sclerus thought himſelf once more in a condition to renew his former pretenſions; and accordingly entering Meſopotamia, cauſed himſelf to be there acknowledged emperor. But being, in the mean time, informed of the revolt of Phocas, after having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould join him or Baſilius, he offered in the end to aſſiſt Phocas, and ſhare the empire with him; but at the ſame time he adviſed his ſon Romanus privately to abandon him, and fly to Baſilius at Conſtantinople. By this means, if Phocas prevailed, he thought he ſhould be able to obtain of him his ſon's pardon; and if Baſilius got the better, he did not doubt, but his

Bardas Phocas proclaimed emperor.

Sclerus, ſet at liberty, joins Phocas.

[k] Idem, ibid.

his ſon would have intereſt enough to obtain his of the emperor. Romanus, upon his arrival at Conſtantinople, was received by Baſilius with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and raiſed to the firſt employments in the ſtate. But Sclerus met with a far different treatment from Phocas: they agreed at firſt to divide the empire between them; Sclerus was to have for his ſhare Antioch, Phœnicia, Paleſtine, Cœle ſyria, Meſopotamia, and Egypt; Conſtantinople, with the reſt of the provinces, was allotted to Phocas. This agreement being ratified and ſworn to by both parties, Sclerus and Bardas joined their forces; which was no ſooner done, than Phocas cauſed Sclerus to be privately ſeized; and, having ſtripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to cloſe priſon. His men at firſt mutinied; but, being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to ſubmit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promiſes to ſerve under Phocas; who, being thus reinforced, ſent Calocyrus Delphinus with part of his army to Chryſopolis, while he removed with the reſt to Abydus, in order to beſiege that important place, and, after reducing it, to block up Conſtantinople itſelf. But, in the mean time, the emperor Baſilius, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having paſſed the ſtreights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon Delphinus; and having put his army to flight at the firſt onſet, took him and ſome other officers of great note priſoners, who were all immediately nailed to ſeveral trees on the highway, to ſtrike terror into the reſt. Phocas met with a vigorous reſiſtance at Abydus, the inhabitants and garriſon being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor Baſilius, and he ſoon after by his brother Conſtantine. Upon the arrival of the two princes, Phocas reſolved to give them battle; and accordingly, leaving part of his forces before Abydus to purſue the ſiege, he drew up the reſt in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals adviſed them to throw themſelves into Abydus, and there wait the arrival of freſh ſupplies; but the greater part thinking it adviſable to engage the enemy without loſs of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array into the plain where the uſurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as ſome write, when the battle was begun, Phocas was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related: ſome write, that his horſe threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the firſt onſet. The emperor Conſtantine bragged, that

They agree to divide the empire between them.

Phocas betrays and ſeizes Sclerus.

He lays ſiege to Abydus.

Phocas dies.

that he had killed him with his own hand; but the moſt received opinion is, that one of his domeſtics, by name Symeon, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence, at the inſtigation of Baſilius, adminiſtered him poiſon before the battle, of which he died ſoon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no ſooner ſpread abroad in the army, than his men betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The emperor's forces purſued them cloſe, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken moſt of the leading men of the party priſoners, conveyed them to Conſtantinople, where they were puniſhed according to their deſerts, ſome being publicly executed, and others ſtripped of their eſtates and ſent into baniſhment. However, the death of Phocas and the defeat of his army did not put an end to the civil wars; for ſuch of the party as had the good luck to make their eſcape, having ſet Sclerus at liberty, encouraged him to purſue his former pretenſions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, hearkening to their ſuggeſtions, put himſelf at their head, and marching into Cappadocia, reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his ſon Romanus earneſtly entreating him at the ſame time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the ſmall remainder of his life in peace and tranquillity among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretenſions, and return to Conſtantinople, where he was received by Baſilius with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great ſteward of the houſhold. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the ſame employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable. We are told, that when he firſt appeared before Baſilius, ſupported, on account of his age and corpulency, by two of his domeſtics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear laughing.

Sclerus ſet at liberty.

He ſubmits.

THE civil war being thus happily ended, Baſilius took a progreſs into Thrace and Macedon; and having left a ſufficient number of troops at Theſſalonica to awe the Bulgarians, he paſſed over into Aſia with the reſt, to ſettle the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his march through Cappadocia, he was entertained with his whole army by Euſtathius Melenius, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which Melenius diſplayed on that occaſion gave the emperor ſuch umbrage, that, pretending a particular eſteem

Baſilius viſits the eaſtern provinces.

for him, he took him with him to Conſtantinople, whence he never after ſuffered him to depart, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the empire; and, after his death, ſeized on his vaſt eſtate. The emperor, upon his return to Conſtantinople, was informed, that Samuel, king of the Bulgarians, had ſurpriſed the city of Theſſalonica, and, having croſſed the Peneus, was laying waſte Theſſaly, Bœotia, Attica; nay, that ſome of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of Peloponneſus. Hereupon Nicephorus Uranus, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, was diſpatched againſt him, at the head of a powerful army. Uranus, leaving his baggage at Lariſſa, reached by long marches the Sperchius, and encamped with his whole army over-againſt the enemy, who lay on the oppoſite bank. As the river was greatly ſwelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, Samuel, not imagining the Romans would attempt to paſs it, ſuffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in queſt of booty. But Uranus, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, paſſed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpectedly on the Bulgarians, who were left in the camp and lay for the moſt part aſleep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many priſoners, and made themſelves maſters of their camp. Samuel and his ſon were dangerouſly wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themſelves among the dead. The next night they ſtole away to the mountains of Ætolia, and from thence made their eſcape into Bulgaria[1]. The following year 1001, the emperor Baſilius entered Bulgaria at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army; and having defeated Samuel in a pitched battle on the banks of the Axius, took Vidina, Scopi, and ſeveral other ſtrong cities. However, the emperor narrowly eſcaped being cut off with his whole army in the ſtreights of Cimba, where he was unexpectedly attacked by Samuel; but reſcued from the danger he was in by the ſeaſonable arrival of Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, who falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. Baſilius purſued them cloſe, and having taken an incredible number of priſoners, cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to Samuel; who, not able to ſtand the ſhock of ſo terrible and affecting a ſpectacle, fell into a deep ſwoon and died two days after. Samuel was ſucceeded by his ſon Gabriel, who was ſoon after murdered

His war with the Bulgarians.

Samuel, king of the Bulgarians defeated.

Samuel dies.

[1] Idem ibid.

dered by John Bladiſthlabus, a perſon nearly related to him. Bladiſthlabus, having cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged prince of the Bulgarians, ſent embaſſadors to Baſilius, offering to ſubmit to any terms, and to own himſelf, and behave on all occaſions, as a ſubject and vaſſal of the empire. The emperor received the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, Baſilius returned the following year into Bulgaria, firmly reſolved not to ſheath his ſword, till he had entirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the ſpace of two years made himſelf maſter of moſt of the enemy's ſtrong-holds, and gained ſeveral victories over Bladiſthlabus, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length ſlain in a battle fought near Achridus, the Bulgarians ſent deputies to the Roman camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned ſubmiſſion. Baſilius received them with his uſual civility; and having raiſed to the rank of patricians ſuch of the Bulgarian nobility as ſeemed moſt forward in ſurrendering their caſtles and ſtrong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of Achridus, where he found the vaſt treaſures of the Bulgarian princes, which he diſtributed, by way of donative, amongſt his ſoldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her ſix daughters and three of her ſons, delivered herſelf up to the emperor, who received her with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect, and entertained her ſuitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other ſons, with moſt of the princes of the blood, who had taken ſhelter among the mountains, to ſubmit and throw themſelves upon the emperor's mercy. However, Ibatzes, a perſon nearly allied to the royal family, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner during the whole courſe of the war, refuſing to ſubmit, fled to a ſteep and craggy mountain, with a deſign to defend himſelf there to the laſt extremity. Baſilius endeavoured by fair means to induce him to ſubmit to neceſſity, and comply with the preſent poſture of affairs; but he equally deſpiſing the emperor's threats and promiſes, Euſtathius Daphnomelus, whom Baſilius had lately appointed governor of Achridus, without imparting to any one his deſign, repaired, with two perſons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where Ibatzes had fortified himſelf. He hoped to paſs undiſcovered among the many ſtrangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feaſt of the aſſumption of the virgin Mary, for whom Ibatzes had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was ſeized and carried before Ibatzes, to whom he

The Bulgarians ſubmit to the emperor.

Ibatzes alone holds out.

A deſperate attempt of Daphnomelus.

pretended to have matters of the greateſt importance to communicate. Ibatzes received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his requeſt, followed him into a remote place, Daphnomelus threw himſelf all on a ſudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at ſome diſtance, and with whom the whole ſcheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thruſting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got ſafe to an abandoned caſtle on the top of the hill; which Ibatzes's men inveſted on all ſides, as ſoon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But Daphnomelus exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were deſtitute of a leader, to ſubmit to the emperor, by whom, he aſſured them, they ſhould be well received and amply rewarded, inſtead of attacking the caſtle, they congratulated Daphnomelus on his ſucceſs, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the Romans. Hereupon Daphnomelus, quitting the caſtle, carried Ibatzes, without the leaſt oppoſition, to Baſilius, who, no leſs ſurpriſed at the boldneſs than the ſucceſs of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of Dyrrhachium and all the rich moveables of his priſoner. Baſilius, having thus at length accompliſhed the entire reduction of Bulgaria, returned with an incredible number of priſoners and hoſtages to Conſtantinople, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people. After the concluſion of this war, which began in 995, and ended in 1019, the emperor undertook an expedition into Iberia; but with what ſucceſs, we are no-where told. During his abſence, Xiphius and Nicephorus, the ſon of Bardas Phocas, revolted; but Xiphius, being gained over by Baſilius, put a ſtop to the rebellion, by diſpatching his fellow conſpirator. Baſilius proceeded with great ſeverity againſt all who had been, or were, only ſuſpected of having been, privy to the conſpiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occaſion either put to death, or ſent into exile; which occaſioned ſome commotions at Conſtantinople: but the ringleaders being ſeized and publicly executed, the city was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, though then in the ſeventieth year of his age, reſolved to engage in a new war againſt the Saracens, who had ſettled in Sicily and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of Naples and Calabria; which countries were ſtill ſubject to the empire. Accordingly, having aſſembled a powerful army and equipped a mighty fleet, he ſent before a ſtrong body of forces, under the

Bulgaria entirely ſubdued.

Baſilius reſolves to make war upon the Saracens.

the conduct of Oreſtes his favourite eunuch, with a deſign to follow in perſon ſoon after with the reſt of the army; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of December of the year 1025, after he had lived ſeventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly eſteemed by his ſubjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his ſucceſs in the long and bloody war, which he undertook againſt the Bulgarians. But as his jealouſy encreaſed with his years, towards the cloſe of his reign he grew inexorably ſevere; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his ſubjects. The abſolute conqueſt of Bulgaria, which had been in vain attempted by ſo many of his predeceſſors, but was happily accompliſhed by him, has rendered the name of Baſilius II. famous among the Roman, or rather the Conſtantinopolitan, princes.

But is prevented by death.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Roman hiſtory, from the death of Baſilius II. to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins.

BY the death of Baſilius, Conſtantine, who had borne the name of emperor in conjunction with his brother, remained ſole maſter of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he entirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diverſions, ſuffering his miniſters, moſt of them perſons no leſs infamous than himſelf, to oppreſs the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought fit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under Nicephorus, Zimiſces, and Baſilius, was, in the ſhort reign of Conſtantine, brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such perſons as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. Nicephorus Comnenus, a perſon no leſs eſteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the ſame time deprived of his command and his ſight, under pretence of conſpiring againſt the emperor, though, in reality, his eminent

Conſtantine

His wicked reign.

Several perſons of diſtinction put to death or ſent into exile.

virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. Bardas, the ſon of the celebrated Phocas who had ſerved Baſilius with the utmoſt fidelity, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a moſt eminent manner, was treated with the like ſeverity, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other perſons of great diſtinction, who ſeemed to diſlike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or ſent into exile. Such proceedings raiſed a general diſcontent at home, and at the ſame time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were reſtrained by the care and vigilance of thoſe who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the ſtate, that, Conſtantine's reign was ſhort; for he had ſcarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerouſly ill, and was given over by his phyſicians; which divided the court into two factions concerning his ſucceſſor, ſome propoſing Conſtantine Delaſſenus, commander of the forces in Armenia, and others uſing all their intereſt in favour of Romanus Argyrus, a perſon of an antient family and nearly related to the emperor. As Conſtantine had three daughters, it was agreed, that whoever ſucceeded him ſhould marry one of them. Romanus was already married, and therefore ſeemed by this agreement to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the moſt powerful at court and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and ſending for him, to put it to his choice, either to be deprived of his ſight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, be raiſed to the dignity of Cæſar. Romanus ſeemed at the firſt inclined rather to loſe his eyes and the imperial dignity, than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but ſhe, informed of what paſſed, retired immediately to a monaſtery, and, by embracing there a monaſtic life, made room for Zoe, the emperor's ſecond daughter, to whom Romanus was married, and at the ſame time created Cæſar. Three days after the nuptials, Conſtantine died, in the year 1028, the ſeventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a collegue.

Conſtantine dies.

Romanus II.

ROMANUS, thus raiſed to the empire, began his reign by eaſing the people of the many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſor; which gained him the hearts of his ſubjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no leſs remarkable; for they

they were all ranſomed at his private expence, ſupplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and ſent back to their reſpective countries [m]. In his ſecond year, the Saracens, who had continued quiet in the reign of Baſilius, but had begun to prepare for war in that of Conſtantine, broke into that part of Syria which belonged to the Romans, and with their daily incurſions, greatly haraſſed the territory of Antioch. Spondyles, who commanded the troops quartered in Antioch and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to reſtrain them; but being in ſeveral encounters worſted and put to flight, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon into Syria, and retrieve, if poſſible, the reputation of the Roman arms there. Purſuant to this reſolution he ſet out from Conſtantinople, at the head of a very numerous and formidable army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embaſſadors from the Saracens of Berœa, who, alarmed at his vaſt preparations, were come to ſue for peace, promiſing at the ſame time to pay their uſual tribute for the future, and never more to infeſt the territories of the empire. Moſt of the officers in the army adviſed Romanus to accept of their ſubmiſſion, and not to engage raſhly in a war, which in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expenſive. But he, promiſing himſelf great glory and advantages from that expedition, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with diſdain, and entering Syria, detatched a ſtrong party to obſerve the enemy's motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambuſcade, were all cut off to a man; and the Saracens, elated with this ſucceſs, attacked unexpectedly Conſtantine Delaſſenus, who had been ſent out with a ſtrong body of troops to cover the Roman foragers, put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and purſued him to the very gates of the camp, which they inveſted on all ſides. The emperor's army being ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a council of war, that they ſhould decamp in the night and march to Antioch. But the Saracens, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great violence in their retreat, put moſt of them to the ſword, the emperor himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty to Antioch. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage; which however, was recovered by George Maniaces, at that time governor of a ſmall town in thoſe parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred Saracens, loaded with the rich plunder of the emperor's

He marches in perſon againſt the Saracens.

His army is cut off.

The baggage of the army recovered by Maniaces.

[m] Curopalat. in Roman.

peror's camp, appeared before the place, and affirming that the emperor himſelf was taken and his army totally defeated, ſummoned Maniaces to ſurrender. Maniaces, already informed of the emperor's eſcape, but pretending to give credit to what they ſaid, ſent them out a great quantity of proviſions to refreſh themſelves that night, and promiſed to deliver up the town to them as ſoon as it was light. Hereupon the enemy, without the leaſt diſtruſt, paſſed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great exceſs, they were all aſleep, Maniaces, ſallying out, cut them all off to a man, without the leaſt oppoſition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the ſpoils of the Roman army, he ſent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this ſeaſonable piece of ſervice with the government of Media [n]. In the mean time, Romanus, having with much-ado reached Cappadocia, returned from thence, with the remains of his ſhattered army, to Conſtantinople; and there laying aſide all thoughts of any warlike attempt for the future, made it his whole ſtudy to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predeceſſor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been utterly forgotten, and proceeded with ſuch rigor in the recovery of them, that many perſons of diſtinction were driven from their eſtates, and reduced with their families to beggary. Theſe ſevere exactions raiſed a general diſcontent in the people, which gave riſe to ſeveral plots and conſpiracies, for the moſt part carried on by Theodora, the late emperor's youngeſt daughter, who was on that account confined to a monaſtery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we ſhall ſee her hereafter exchange for the imperial purple. In 1033, the fourth of Romanus's reign, a dreadful plague broke out in Cappadocia, and raged with ſuch violence in that province, as well as in Paphlagonia and Armenia, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which deſtroyed ſeveral cities, and overturned many ſtately edifices at Conſtantinople, where it was felt for the ſpace of forty days. At the ſame time, a comet appeared, which paſſed with a terrible noiſe from the north to the ſouth, the whole horizon ſeeming to be in a flame. Romanus, alarmed at theſe and ſeveral other public calamities

Romanus oppreſſes the people.

Several public calamities.

[n] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar.

calamities and prodigies, with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are filled, applied himſelf wholly to the works of piety, hoping by that means to avert the wrath of Heaven, which ſeemed to threaten the empire. He erected ſeveral hoſpitals for the relief of the poor, repaired thoſe which had been deſtroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, ſupplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monaſteries, beſtowing on the monks whole cities and the moſt fruitful lands in the provinces, purchaſed by him at the public expence. In the mean time, the empreſs Zoe, a moſt lewd and incontinent woman, deſpiſing her husband, now in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, caſt her eyes on Michael, the brother of John an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As Michael, though meanly born, was a man of a moſt comely aſpect, of a graceful perſon, and great addreſs, the empreſs began to entertain a violent paſſion for him; which, as ſhe abandoned herſelf to it, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, that ſhe reſolved to diſpatch her husband and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her deſign to ſuch of her creatures as ſhe could confide in, poiſon was adminiſtered by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a ſhort time, reduced him to a moſt deplorable condition. However, the empreſs thinking it too ſlow in its operation, hired an aſſaſſin to diſpatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreſhing himſelf, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or as others write on the fifteenth, of April of the year 1034, after he had reigned five years and ſix months.

The emperor applies himſelf wholly to works of piety.

The empreſs falls in love with Michael.

Romanus murdered.

ROMANUS being dead, the empreſs Zoe ſent for the patriarch Alexius in great haſte, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for Good-friday; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As Alexius had been ſent for in Romanus's name, he was greatly ſurpriſed, when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empreſs, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to Michael. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for ſome time; but was in the end, with a preſent of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of Romanus and his own marriage with Zoe, who, he ſaid, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which ſhe had an undoubted right. Letters to the ſame purpoſe were diſpatched into the provinces, where none of the great men ſeemed diſpleaſed at the promotion

Michael the Paphlagonian marries Zoe, and is raiſed to the empire.

promotion of Michael, except Conſtantine Delaſſenus, who had been named by ſome to ſucceed Baſilius II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the firſt man in the empire, was highly offended, that a perſon of Michael's obſcure birth ſhould be preferred to him. But John the eunuch, Michael's brother, having, with repeated oaths, promiſes, and aſſeverations, prevailed upon him to come to court, baniſhed him, as ſoon as he had him in his power, to the iſland Prota, whence he was removed to a ſtrong tower, and there kept under cloſe confinement, till he was ſent for to court by the empreſs Zoe, as we ſhall relate hereafter. At the ſame time, John took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to ſend into exile, ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, or ſeemed to be ill-affected to his family: Conſtantius Monomachus, afterwards emperor, was confined to a caſtle; Maniaces, who was highly eſteemed and beloved by the people, was ſent into Upper Media, under pretence of reſtraining the incurſions of the Saracens; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their eſtates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. John, having thus eſtabliſhed his brother's intereſt in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of Romanus; and diſtruſting the fickle temper of Zoe, removed from her all the women, in whom ſhe repoſed any confidence; and diſcharging her eunuchs, appointed others in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch, her; ſo that ſhe could not ſtir out of the palace without his knowledge and conſent. The empreſs, highly provoked at the reſtraint put upon her, and looking upon John as no other than her goaler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poiſon; but the deſign being diſcovered, before it could be put into execution, the miniſter ſtood thenceforth on his guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for Michael the emperor, he ſuffered John to govern with an abſolute ſway, applying himſelf wholly to his devotions. Being conſcious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his ſovereign, he hoped to attone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hoſpitals, oratories, &c. As he began to grow diſtempered in his body and diſordered in his mind, John, concluding that, if he died, the empreſs would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if ſhe ſucceeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer Michael, ſurnamed Calaphates, his

Several perſons of diſtinction baniſhed by John the eunuch.

Who governs with abſolute power.

his ſiſter's ſon, to the dignity of Cæſar, and to baniſh all the friends and relations of the empreſs Zoe °. In the third year of Michael's reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the Saracens of Egypt, whoſe kalif being dead, his widow is ſaid to have embraced the chriſtian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her ſubjects and the Romans. The following year 1036, was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned ſeveral cities in different parts of the empire, and for an attempt of the Saracens on the city of Edeſſa, which narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, preſenting themſelves before the gates, with five hundred horſes and as many camels, loaded with large cheſts, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying preſents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve embaſſadors, as they ſtyled themſelves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horſes and camels: which diffidence preſerved the place; for the cheſts were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the centinels, to ſeize on the city. The deſign was diſcovered by an Armenian to the governor; who, ſuddenly withdrawing from the banquet, and taking a ſufficient force with him, ſurprized and put to the ſword all the Saracens without the town; then returning to his gueſts, treated them in the like manner, ſparing but one, whoſe hands, ears, and noſe he cut off, and ſent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened [p]. The following year, the Bulgarians revolted, and, ſhaking off the yoke, choſe one Delcanus, or as ſome call him Dolianus, for their king. He was ſervant to a citizen of Conſtantinople; but eſcaping from his maſter, fled into Bulgaria, his native country; and there gave out that he was the ſon of Gabriel and grandſon of Samuel. The Bulgarians, weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately ſubmitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the Romans, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. At the ſame time, the inhabitants of Dyrrachium, no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor Michael Dermocaitas, roſe up againſt him, drove him out of the town, and, deſpairing of pardon, openly revolted, and choſe one Teichomerus, a ſoldier of great reputation amongſt them,

Michael Calaphates created Cæſar.

An attempt of the Saracens upon Edeſſa defeated.

The Bulgarians revolt.

And the inhabitants of Dyrrachium.

° Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid.

them, for their king. Deleanus, the new king of Bulgaria, no ſooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to Teichomerus, offering to take him for his partner in the kingdom of Bulgaria, provided he joined him with all his followers. Teichomerus, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily received him into Dyrrachium; but Deleanus, inſtead of performing his promiſe, cauſed the credulous and unhappy Teichomerus to be put to death; and then marching without loſs of time to Theſſalonica, where the emperor lay encamped, ſtruck with his unexpected approach ſuch terror into the Roman army, that they fled with Michael in the utmoſt confuſion to Conſtantinople, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of Manuel Ibatza, who, betraying his truſt, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time, Aluſianus, the brother of John the laſt king of Bulgaria, who, when that country ſubmitted to Baſilius, had been raiſed to the dignity of a patrician, having made his eſcape from Conſtantinople and got undiſcovered into Bulgaria, was there received by his countrymen with great demonſtrations of joy. As he was a real deſcendent of the royal family, his arrival gave no ſmall umbrage to Deleanus, who nevertheleſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, took him for his collegue in the empire, and ſent him, at the head of forty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to Theſſalonica. Aluſianus diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous oppoſition he met with from Conſtantine the patriarch, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege and retire, after he had loſt fifteen thouſand men in the undertaking. Deleanus laid hold of this opportunity to leſſen the credit of his collegue, giving out, that he maintained a private correſpondence with the Romans. But Aluſianus, appriſed of his evil deſigns, reſolved to be before-hand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he cauſed his eyes to be plucked out; and then, diſtruſting the fickle humour of the Bulgarians, returned to Conſtantinople, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, Michael, though grievouſly afflicted with a dropſy, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon the Bulgarians, now deſtitute of a head to adviſe and command them, put them to flight, and obliged them to ſubmit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor returned in triumph to Conſtantinople; but finding his diſtemper daily encreaſed, he ſoon after deveſted himſelf of the imperial purple, and entering

The emperor is put to flight.

Theſſalonica beſieged.

The emperor enters Bulgaria, and reduces it; but reſigns the empire.

entering into a monaſtery, which he himſelf had built, ſpent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of December 1041, after he had reigned ſeven years and eight months. Upon his death, Michael Calaphates, his ſiſter's ſon, who had been created Cæſar, and at the ſame time adopted by Zoe, as ſome authors write, was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his acceſſion to the empire, probably out of complaiſance to Zoe, who appeared very zealous in his intereſt, baniſhed his uncle John the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural ſeverity againſt his other relations, cauſing moſt of them, without any regard to their age or circumſtances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he cauſed in the end the empreſs Zoe to be confined to a monaſtery, under pretence, that ſhe had, by witchcraft and ſorcery, attempted to take away his life. His monſtrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in his promotion, and was ſtill held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that, breaking out into a general ſedition, with an unanimous conſent they ſent for Theodora, the emperor Conſtantine's youngeſt daughter, who had been ſhut up in a monaſtery, as we have obſerved above, and ſaluted her empreſs, with her ſiſter Zoe. Michael, finding the people univerſally bent againſt him, retired of his own accord, with his uncle Conſtantine, to a monaſtery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that means to appeaſe the enraged multitude. But Theodora, who was more incenſed againſt them than Zoe herſelf, moving that their eyes ſhould be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of St. John the baptiſt, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a moſt cruel manner, deprived them of their ſight. After this, they were baniſhed, with all their relations and adherents, Michael having enjoyed the ſovereignty ſcarce four months [q].

Michael Calaphates.

Zoe and Theodora raiſed to the ſovereignty.

Michael depoſed and baniſhed.

Zoe, ſeeing herſelf once more inveſted with the ſovereignty, baniſhed all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile ſuch as had ſerved her father and uncle, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate and army. Among the reſt Maniaces, of whom we have ſpoken above, was ſent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the weſtern forces. Zoe had ſcarce reigned three months, when

[q] Curopalat. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

when the people preſſing her to marry, and by that means prevent the diſturbances that might ariſe among competitors for the empire, ſhe recalled from baniſhment Conſtantine, ſurnamed Monomachus, a perſon of a noble extraction and comely aſpect; and having married him, cauſed him to be crowned by the patriarch with the uſual ſolemnity. He had been baniſhed, during the reign of Michael, to the iſland of Leſbos, and from thence removed, at the inſtigation of John the eunuch, to Mitylene, where he was ſent for to court, and raiſed to the empire. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the imperial dignity, than he baniſhed the eunuch, to the iſland of Leſbos; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died ſoon after. In the very beginning of Conſtantine's reign, Maniaces not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from Sclerus, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and, aſſuming the imperial ornaments, paſſed with his army into Bulgaria, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. Conſtantine diſpatched Stephen Sebaſtophorus againſt him, at the head of a very numerous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by Maniaces at the firſt onſet. Maniaces did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being ſlain a few days after it, by a perſon unknown, who had the good luck to make his eſcape. Upon his death, thoſe who had been moſt forward in the rebellion, were the firſt who threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to Stephen, the emperor's general, who, notwithſtanding his defeat, was, on his return to Conſtantinople, honoured with a triumph. The ſame year 1043, the Roſſi, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpectedly before Conſtantinople with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the ſtreights, they were glad to renew their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in perſon into the eaſt, and there recovered ſeveral cities, which the Saracens had ſeized in the two late reigns. But while he was purſuing the war with great ſucceſs, Leo Tornicius, eſcaping out of a monaſtery, to which he had been confined, aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Leo was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealouſy, removed from his government of Iberia, and ſhut up in a monaſtery; but having found means to make his eſcape from thence he fled to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people,

Zoe marries Conſtantine Monomachus, who is declared emperor.

Maniaces revolts; but is murdered.

The Roſſi defeated.

Leo Tornicius revolts; and beſieges Conſtantinople.

people, who had been lately diſobliged by Monomachus. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to Conſtantinople, and laid ſiege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigorous oppoſition from the inhabitants, and ſeveral of his accomplices falling off from him, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Arcadiopolis, where he defended himſelf for ſome time againſt the forces the emperor had ſent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and ſent in chains to Monomachus, who firſt cauſed his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote iſland. The rebellion being thus happily ſuppreſſed almoſt in its birth, and the Saracens in the eaſt awed by the emperor's preſence, a profound tranquillity reigned the two following years throughout the provinces. But in 1048, the Roman dominions were invaded by a new enemy, ſcarce mentioned before in hiſtory; but reſerved by providence for the utter deſtruction of the empire, which we ſhall ſee them accompliſh four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a Roman empire. Theſe were the Turks, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount Caucaſus, and paſſing the Caſpian ſtreights, had ſettled in Armenia Major, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and deſpicable people, till the wars of the Saracens among themſelves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The Saracens, having, with amazing ſucceſs and rapidity, ſubdued Perſia, Aſſyria, Egypt, Africa, and a conſiderable part of Europe itſelf, divided their vaſt ſpreading dominions into ſeveral governments or principalities, which were ruled by their reſpective ſultans or commanders, who, in proceſs of time quarrelling with one another, haſtened the ruin of the empire, which they had ſo ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed. About the year 1030, Mohammed, the ſon of Sambrael, ſultan of Perſia, not finding himſelf a match for Piſaris, ſultan of Babylon, with whom he was at war, had recourſe to the Turks, who ſent him from Armenia Major, where they ſettled, as we have obſerved above, three thouſand of their nation, under the conduct of one Tangrolipix, a leading man amongſt them. Mohammed, ſtrengthened with this ſupply, gained a complete victory over the ſultan of Babylon; but when the Turks, to whom it was chiefly owing, deſired leave to return home, he refuſed to comply with their juſt demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended

He raiſes the ſiege, is taken and deprived of his ſight.

the war, in which he was engaged with the Indians. Hereupon the Turks, withdrawing without his conſent to the deſert of Carbonitis, and being there joined by ſeveral diſcontented Perſians, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the Saracens. Mohammed immediately diſpatched an army of twenty thouſand men againſt them, who were ſurpriſed in the night by Tangrolipix, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immenſe booty which the Turks acquired by it, drew multitudes to them, from all parts, of criminals, fugitive ſlaves, robbers, &c. inſomuch, that Tangrolipix ſaw himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of fifty thouſand men. Mohammed, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their ſight, and at the ſame time a new army to be raiſed, which he headed in perſon; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement to animate his men, he fell from his horſe, and ſoon after died of the fall. His death was no ſooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and ſubmitting to Tangrolipix, proclaimed him king of Perſia. This battle, which gave riſe to the Turkiſh power, was fought about the year 1034, in the neighbourhood of Aſpacan, now Iſpahan, the metropolis of Perſia [r]. Tangrolipix, now maſter of Perſia, having firſt opened a paſſage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the Araxes, parting it from Armenia, made war upon Piſaris or Piſafiris, kalif of Babylon, whom he at length ſlew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then ſent his nephew, Cutlu-Moſes or Cuthimuſes, againſt the Arabians; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched battle, and obliged to take ſhelter in Media, through which Stephen, the Roman governor, denying him a paſſage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor himſelf priſoner, and, without any further oppoſition, reached Briſcium, on the confines of Perſia, where he ſold Stephen for a ſlave. Returning from thence to Tangrolipix, he excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the bad ſucceſs of his expedition, acquainting him at the ſame time with his victory over the Romans in Media, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he ſaid, might be eaſily ſubdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the Romans. Tangrolipix did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the Arabians, againſt whom he marched in perſon, at the head of a numerous army; but

The Turks conquer Perſia under the conduct of Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix proclaimed ſultan of Perſia.

Reduces Babylon.

[r] Niceph. Bryenn. l. i. c. 3.

but being himſelf defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what Cutlu-Moſes had told him, he ſent Aſan, his brother's ſon, ſurnamed the Deaf, with an army of twenty-thouſand men, to reduce Media; which Aſan entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambuſh by the Roman generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. Tangrolipix, no-ways diſcouraged at this misfortune, ſent a new army into Media, near an hundred thouſand ſtrong; who, after having laid waſte the country without oppoſition, the Romans ſhutting themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds, laid ſiege to Artza, a place of great trade, and on that account eſteemed the moſt wealthy in thoſe parts; but not being able by any other means to maſter it, they ſet fire to it, which in a ſhort time reduced it to aſhes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thouſand, and upwards, are ſaid to have periſhed, either by the ſword, or in the flames. After this, Abraham Halim, half-brother to Tangrolipix, who commanded the Turks, hearing that the Romans, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of Liparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length inclined to the Romans, who nevertheleſs did not think it adviſeable, as their general Liparites was taken priſoner, to purſue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of Liparites, diſpatched embaſſadors, with rich preſents and a large ſum, to redeem him, and at the ſame time to conclude an alliance with Tangrolipix. The ſultan received the preſents; but generouſly returned them, with the money, to Liparites, whom he ſet at liberty without ranſom, only requiring him, at his departure, never more to bear arms againſt the Turks. Not long after, Tangrolipix ſent a perſon of great authority among the Turks, with the character of embaſſador, to Conſtantinople, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to ſubmit to his maſter, and acknowledge himſelf his tributary, was by Monomachus diſmiſſed with ſcorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted Tangrolipix with the reception he had met with; who thereupon reſolved to renew the war. Monomachus, on the other hand, did not neglect the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which ſuddenly broke out between him and the Patzinacæ, a Scythian nation, whoſe

Is defeated by the Arabians.

Invades Media.

Is defeated by the Romans.

The Patzinacæ break into the empire;

whoſe king, by name Tyrach, highly provoked at the kind reception Kegenes, after revolting from him, had met with from the Romans, paſſed the Danube on the ice, and entering, if the authors of thoſe times are to be credited, with eight hundred thouſand men the Roman provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Conſtantine Arianites was ſent againſt them with all the troops quartered in Macedon and Bulgaria; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to venture an engagement, ſuffered them to ravage the country without controul, till great multitudes of them being ſwept off by the diſtempers which raged in their army, he was adviſed by Kegenes, who joined him with twenty thouſand men, to fall upon them ſuddenly; which he did with ſo much reſolution, that the barbarians, weakened with ſickneſs, and terrified at ſo ſudden an onſet, threw down their arms and ſubmitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to ſettle at Sardica, Naiſſus, Eutzapolis, and in other cities of Bulgaria; ſome returned to their own country; but Tyrach and an hundred and forty of the moſt noble among them were ſent to Conſtantinople, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the chriſtian religion, as Kegenes had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner ſuitable to their rank, and even raiſed to conſiderable employments. However, the emperor having ſent fifteen thouſand of thoſe who had ſettled in Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catalunes, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in Iberia, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the Danube, making from thence frequent incurſions into the Roman territories. The emperor ſent ſome of his beſt generals againſt them; but was not able to ſuppreſs them, his forces being, in three ſucceſſive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt them, they were ſo terrified at the noiſe of the preparations the emperor was making, that they ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years [s]. During this war, Tangrolipix affronted at the reception of his embaſſador, as we have related above, entered Iberia, and having laid the country waſte far and near, returned from thence into Media, and laid ſiege to Mantzichierta, a place defended by a numerous garriſon, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was ſituated in a plain and open country, he hoped

But are utterly routed.

Iberia laid waſte by the Turks; Who before Mantzichierta.

[s] Niceph. Bryenn. Caropal. Cedren. Zonar. in Monomach.

hoped to be maſter of it in a ſhort time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the beſieged were reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, when Alcan, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, Alcan the next day diſpoſed his men with ſuch ſkill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not Alcan been ſlain, while, in ſpite of the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, &c. he was mounting the wall. The beſieged, knowing him by the richneſs of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongſt the enemy, who, diſheartened at that ſight, gave over the aſſault, and retired, Tangrolipix pretending ſome urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the ſpring following, and ravaging Iberia, ſpared neither ſex nor age. But upon the approach of Michael Acoluthus, who was ſent againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army, he retired to Tauris, leaving thirty thouſand men behind him, to infeſt the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great ſucceſs, the borders being, through the avarice of Monomachus, left unguarded; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute. But Monomachus exacting of them the ſame ſums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy [t]. About this time died the empreſs Zoe, and ſoon after the emperor himſelf. Though he had always expreſſed a great eſteem and regard for Theodora, the ſiſter of Zoe, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his ſucceſſor Nicephorus, who commanded the forces in Bulgaria, and was privately ſent for, when the emperor's recovery was deſpaired of. But Theodora, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew from the monaſtery of St. George, whither ſhe had attended him; and returning to Conſtantinople, attended by her moſt faithful friends, cauſed herſelf to be proclaimed, and ſaluted empreſs; which gave Monomachus ſo much concern,

But are forced to raiſe the ſiege.

The empreſs Zoe dies.

And Monomachus.

[t] Niceph. Bryenn. c. 4. Curop. ibid.

cern, that he fell into a ſwoon, and died ſoon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months. Some authors write, that both he and Zoe died of the plague, which indeed raged at that time with great fury in Conſtantinople; but moſt authors aſcribe his death to the gout, which he encreaſed by his intemperance, lewdneſs, and debaucheries.

Theodora. Theodora no ſooner received the news of his death, than ſhe cauſed all thoſe to be ſecured, who had propoſed the promotion of Nicephorus; and depriving them of their employments, named others in their room, in whom ſhe thought ſhe could confide. Theodorus, the eunuch, was ſent at the head of a conſiderable army into the eaſt to awe the Turks, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the Roman territories; ſo that the eaſtern provinces enjoyed, during Theodora's ſhort reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long ſtrangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and miHer excellent government. niſters of ſtate, her impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, (for ſhe heard all cauſes herſelf) and her great moderation in the uſe of the authority with which ſhe was inveſted, gained her the affections of her people, and the reſpect and eſteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many valuable bleſſings that attended her adminiſtration; for in the ſecond year of her reign ſhe was ſeized with a violent Her death. pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her life. Before ſhe died, ſhe was perſuaded by Leo Straboſpondylus, her prime miniſter, and her favourite eunuch, to beMichael Stratioticus. queath the empire to Michael Stratioticus, a perſon ſtricken in years, and altogether ignorant of ſtate-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an abſolute ſway. Theodora died, ſoon after ſhe had named him, in the month of Auguſt 1056, having reigned one year and nine months. The death of Theodora, and promotion of Michael, which had been managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, being known at the ſame time, Theodorus, couſin-german to the deceaſed emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, proteſted againſt what had been done in favour of Michael; and ſummoning all his friends, ſervants, and dependents, moved in the evening with a great train through the moſt frequented ſtreets to the palace; but finding the gates ſhut and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he ſhould be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refuſing, contrary to his expectation

expectation, to admit him, he had recourſe to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promiſes, continued firm in the reſolution they had taken a few hours before to ſupport Michael. Theodorus, now well appriſed he could not ſucceed in his attempt, and dreading the reſentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his ſon in the church; but he was ſoon dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and baniſhed to Pergamus, where he died ſome years after. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, Michael enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but ſoon ſhewed himſelf altogether unequal to ſo eminent a poſt. As he was an entire ſtranger to ſtate-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he ſuffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without controul. At their inſtigation he diſobliged moſt of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as his chief ſupport, and among the reſt, Iſaac Comnenus, and Ambuſtus Catacale, men renowned for their eminent ſervices and experience in war. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of Antioch, recalling Bryennius, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, who had been baniſhed by Theodora, and appointing him commander in chief of the eaſtern forces. Bryennius, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his eſtate, which had been confiſcated in the late reign, but met with a ſurly denial; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command againſt the perſon who had entruſted him with them. Having imparted his deſign to Ambuſtus, Comnenus, and ſeveral others, who had been diſobliged by Michael, they all met, in order to proceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by the unanimous conſent of the whole party, Ambuſtus was choſen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, Iſaac Comnenus was propoſed next, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for ſo great a truſt. As the propoſal was received by all with great applauſe, Comnenus did not oppoſe it, but ſuffered the conſpirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promiſing at the ſame time to govern with juſtice and moderation. After this, they all departed from Conſtantinople, where they had met, according to cuſtom, at Eaſter, and repaired to their ſeveral poſts, where each of them was, in his reſpective ſtation, to promote the general deſign. Bryennius haſtened to the army in the eaſt; but falling out there with John Opſaras, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to diſtribute a largeſs among the ſoldiers, the quar-

A rebellion ſuppreſſed.

Michael diſobliges the officers of the army.

Several of them conſpire againſt him.

rel was carried to ſuch an height, that Bryennius, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed Opſaras to cuſtody, after having cauſed him to be publicly beaten with rods. Hereupon Lycanthes, who commanded in that neighbourhood a ſtrong body of Lycaonians, and Piſidians, concluding that Bryennius deſigned to revolt, fell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him priſoner, delivered him to Opſaras, by whoſe orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the eaſt, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their deſigns, (for he was ſent in chains to the emperor) reſolved openly to declare themſelves; and accordingly having drawn together, in a ſpacious plain, all the forces under their command, they ſent for Comnenus, who was then at his houſe in Paphlagonia, and preſented him in the imperial robes to the ſoldiery, by whom he was, with univerſal conſent, ſaluted emperor on the eighth of June 1057.

Iſaac Comnenus ſaluted emperor.

COMNENUS, thus raiſed to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of the army, which he immediately marched over the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major, bending his rout towards Nice, which he ſurpriſed, moſt of the ſoldiers, who garriſoned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time, Stratioticus, receiving news of the revolt, aſſembled all the forces quartered in the weſt; and having muſtered his army, choſe for his generals Theodorus the eunuch, and Aaron Ducas, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of Comnenus. The two generals marched at the head of their army to Nicomedia, and from thence to Nice, in the neighbourhood of which city they found Comnenus encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, Ambuſtus having the command of the left wing, Romanus Sclerus of the right, and Comnenus himſelf of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity. At firſt Aaron, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the oppoſite wing of the enemy, took Romanus himſelf priſoner, and purſued the fugitives to their camp. But Ambuſtus, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with freſh vigor the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the purſuit, and retire in ſome confuſion. In their retreat they were attacked by Comnenus, and eaſily put to flight; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the emperor's troops, that throwing away their arms, they fled in great diſorder. Comnenus, having

An army ſent againſt him.

Which is defeated by Comnenus.

having thus gained a complete victory, began his march to Conſtantinople, not doubting, but the citizens would open their gates to him, as ſoon as he appeared before them. In the mean time, Stratioticus, informed of the overthrow of his forces, ſent ſome of the chief men in the ſenate to Comnenus, with propoſals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms; That Comnenus ſhould be declared Cæſar; that a full pardon ſhould be granted to all his followers; and that ſuch of them as enjoyed employments, ſhould be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himſelf ſoon after he had ratified it: for, at the inſtigation of ſome about him, he obliged, partly by promiſes, partly by menaces, the ſenate and people to bind themſelves by a moſt ſolemn oath never to give Comnenus the title of emperor, nor own him for their ſovereign. This oath was exacted, when Comnenus was ſtill in Aſia; but news was no ſooner brought, that he was within a day's march of Conſtantinople, than he was, by a decree of the ſenate, and the unanimous conſent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all thoſe, who ſhould oppoſe him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being paſſed in the ſenate without oppoſition, the patriarch diſpatched meſſengers to Comnenus, inviting him to the city, and at the ſame time ſome biſhops to Stratioticus, commanding him in the name of the ſenate and people to reſign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the biſhops delivered their meſſage, Stratioticus aſked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the empire? and that they anſwering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately deveſted himſelf of the purple, and, quitting the palace, retired to his own houſe, and from thence to a monaſtery, after he had reigned one year. Comnenus arrived the ſame evening, and was the next day, the firſt of September 1057, crowned in the great church by the patriarch Michael Cerularius [t]. The new emperor's firſt care was to reward thoſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whoſe nephews and relations he preferred to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he was well ſkilled in military affairs, and had given ſignal proofs of his courage and reſolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his ſhort reign. At home he

Stratioticus forced to reſign.

Iſaac Comnenus crowned emperor.

[t] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. in Stratiot. & Iſaac. Comn.

he was more feared on account of his ſeverity, than beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monaſteries, depriving them of the immenſe wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predeceſſors. This the patriarch highly reſented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raiſed him, unleſs he reſtored to the monaſteries the eſtates which he had unjuſtly ſeized. But the emperor, inſtead of yielding to his threats, immediately baniſhed him, and raiſed Conſtantine Lichudes to the patriarchal ſee in his room. Iſaac had not reigned above two years, when he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by a flaſh of lightning. Being ſenſible that his end approached, and at the ſame time touched with remorſe in reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily reſigned it, and retiring to a monaſtery, there ſpent the remainder of his days in exerciſes of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being adviſed, before he reſigned, to chuſe a ſucceſſor, though he had ſeveral children and near relations of his own, yet, preferring the public good to his private intereſt, he named Conſtantine Ducas, a perſon generally eſteemed the beſt qualified in the whole empire for ſo eminent a ſtation. Ducas, thus choſen by Comnenus, and received by the ſenate and people, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the affairs of ſtate, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, reformed ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed under his predeceſſors, and behaved on all occaſions with ſuch moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongſt the beſt princes, had not his inſatiable avarice drowned, in a manner, all his good qualities. He choſe rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the neceſſary garriſons; which encouraged the Turks to extend their conqueſts on all ſides, and the Uzians, a Scythian nation, to paſs the Danube to the number of five hundred thouſand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. Nicephorus Botoniates, afterwards emperor, and Baſilius Apocapes, were ſent againſt them. But the barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the firſt onſet, and taken both the generals in the purſuit, laid waſte all Thrace and Macedon; and, penetrating without oppoſition into Greece, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. The emperor, affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raiſing the neceſſary forces to deliver them

He baniſhes the patriarch.

He reſigns the empire to Conſtantine Ducas.

The Uzians invade the empire.

them from the oppreſſion under which they groaned, endeavoured at firſt to purchaſe a peace with rich preſents, and even with promiſing to pay them an annual tribute. To ſuch meanneſs was the emperor brought by his ſordid temper. But the barbarians refuſing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general faſt to be obſerved throughout his dominions, and then marched out againſt them with an handful of men. But, in the mean time, the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the Hungri, or Hungarians, whoſe country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and cut them off almoſt to a man. Nothing elſe happened, during this unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned ſeveral ſtately edifices at Conſtantinople, and the appearing of a comet, which was ſeen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed Conſtantine was ſoon after ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He left the empire to his three ſons, Michael, Andronicus, and Conſtantine; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empreſs Eudocia, their mother, regent during their minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great ſolemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewiſe obliged the ſenators ſolemnly to ſwear that they would acknowledge none for their ſovereign but his three ſons. Having thus ſecured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1067, after having reigned five years and ſix months [u]. He was no ſooner dead, than the Turks, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into Meſopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. The empreſs was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe them, the greater part of the army having been diſbanded in her husband's lifetime, and the troops, that were ſtill on foot, being undiſciplined and altogether unfit for ſervice. This gave the empreſs great concern, which was aggravated by the ſeditious ſpeeches of a diſcontented party at home, repeating in all aſſemblies, that the preſent ſtate of the empire required a man of courage and addreſs at the helm, inſtead of a weak and helpleſs woman. As they imagined the empreſs would never think of marrying, in regard of the oath ſhe had taken, they hoped by theſe ſpeeches to induce the people to revolt, and

But are cut off by the Hungarians.

The Turks invade the empire.

[u] Idem ibid. & Niceph. Bryenn.

and chuſe a new emperor. This Eudocia was aware of; and therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, ſhe reſolved to marry ſome perſon of merit, capable of defeating the deſigns of her enemies both at home and abroad.

Romanus Diogenes.

At this time, Romanus Diogenes, a perſon of a moſt beautiful aſpect, extraordinary parts, and an illuſtrious birth, for he was deſcended from the emperor Romanus Argyrus, being accuſed of aſpiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was brought forth to receive the ſentence of death, which his ambition had deſerved. But the empreſs, touched with compaſſion at the appearance of the unhappy priſoner, who, ſhe thought, deſerved a better fate, put a ſtop to the ſentence; and, having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, ſet him at liberty, and ſoon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the empreſs reſolved to marry him, if ſhe could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, ſhe applied herſelf to a favourite eunuch, who, going to the patriarch, told John Xiphiline, that the empreſs was ſo taken with his nephew, by name Bardas, that ſhe was determined to marry him, and raiſe him to the empire, provided he abſolved her from the oath ſhe had lately taken, and convinced the ſenate of the lawfulneſs of ſuch a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great probity and learning, yet dazzled with the proſpect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having firſt obtained the conſent of the ſenate, by repreſenting to them the dangerous condition of the empire, and exclaiming againſt the raſh oath, which the jealouſy of the late emperor had extorted from the empreſs, he publicly diſcharged her from the obſervance of it, reſtored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry ſome deſerving perſon, who, being entruſted with an abſolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire againſt the many enemies, who threatened it, and were not to be repreſſed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children. The empreſs, thus diſcharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great diſappointment of the patriarch, Romanus Diogenes, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than, taking upon him the command of the army, he paſſed over into Aſia with the few forces he could aſſemble,

The empreſs marries him.

ble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to the military discipline, which had been utterly neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in Asia, he was informed, that the Turks, having surprized and plundered the city of Neocæsarea, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, hastening after them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a strong castle. As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind him, he was met by a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigor, that he put them to flight at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it advisable to pursue them. After this, several towns submitted to him, the Turks abandoning them upon the first news of his approach. But the autumn being already far spent, he retired to Cilicia, and from thence to Constantinople. The following year, he passed over into Asia early in the spring; and being informed, that the Turks, having defeated Philaretus, who had been left to guard the banks of the Euphrates, were advanced into Cilicia, and had there surprised and sacked Iconium, the most rich and populous city of that province, he marched in person against them. But the Turks, not thinking it advisable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste. However, the Armenians, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being retired, the emperor spent the remaining part of the summer in settling the affairs of the provinces; and, upon the approach of winter, returned once more to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The spring following, the emperor marched anew into Asia, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. As the Turks had already taken the field, several skirmishes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which Nicephorus Basilacius, one

He passes over into Asia.

His success against the Turks.

of

of the emperor's chief officers, was taken priſoner, and carried to Axan, the Turkiſh ſultan, and ſon of the celebrated Tangrolipix, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies drew near, the ſultan, obſerving the diſpoſition and number of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and ſagacity, the uncertain iſſues of war, ſent embaſſadors to Romanus, with propoſals for a laſting and honourable peace, which being rejected by the emperor with diſdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's troops were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of the enemy, Ruſelius, one of his beſt commanders, having been detached a little before with a conſiderable body; yet Romanus, preſuming upon the courage of his men and the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms, cauſed the ſignal to be given, and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into ſome diſorder. However they ſoon rallied, and charged with freſh vigor, ſo that the diſpute continued with various ſucceſs, till the emperor, fearing the ſultan ſhould ſend part of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly guarded, cauſed, as the day was already far ſpent, a retreat to be ſounded, and retired in good order with that part of the army, which he commanded in perſon. But Andronicus, the ſon of John Ducas brother to the late emperor Conſtantine, and in his heart an enemy to Romanus, whoſe good fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to flight; and at the ſame time, turning his horſe about, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The reſt of the army followed his example, and were purſued by the Turks, who in that confuſion put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally and face the enemy; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, they continued their flight, every one ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. The emperor, though thus forſaken by his army, yet ſtood his ground, till he himſelf being wounded and his horſe killed under him, he was at length overpowered with numbers and taken priſoner. When news was firſt brought to the ſultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it. But being aſſured of the truth, both by the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to him before the battle, and by Baſilacius his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, "Grieve not, noble emperor, ſaid he, at your "misfortune; for ſuch is the chance of war, ſometimes "over-

He rejects the propoſals of the ſultan.

He is defeated, and taken priſoner.

But kindly entertained, and ſet at liberty, by the ſultan.

" overwhelming one, and ſometimes another; you ſhall " have no occaſion to complain of your captivity; for I " will not uſe you as my priſoner, but as an emperor:" which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, aſſigning him attendants, with an equipage ſuitable to his quality, and diſcharging ſuch priſoners as he deſired. After he had entertained for ſome days his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor diſmiſſed with the greateſt marks of honour imaginable. Being thus ſet at liberty, he proceeded, attended by the ſultan's embaſſadors, for Conſtantinople, where the peace was to be ratified. He ſtopped at Theodoſiopolis, and continued ſome days there to have his wounds dreſſed, with a deſign to purſue his journey to the imperial city, as ſoon as he was able to travel. But, in the mean time, he was informed, that John, the brother of Conſtantine Ducas, with Pſellus, a leading man in the ſenate, and ſeveral others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven Eudocia from the throne, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery, had proclaimed her eldeſt ſon Michael Ducas emperor. Upon this intelligence he left Theodoſiopolis, and repairing to a ſtrong caſtle called Docia, he fortified himſelf there, not doubting, but he ſhould be ſoon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and ſoldiers, who had ſerved under him. But, in the mean time, John, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an abſolute ſway, diſpatched his eldeſt ſon Andronicus againſt him with a ſtrong body of troops, who having defeated the ſmall army the unfortunate prince had with him, purſued him to Adana, a city in Cilicia, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſurrender. Andronicus carried his priſoner into Phrygia, where he fell dangerouſly ill, being, as was ſuſpected, ſecretly poiſoned. But the poiſon being too ſlow in its operation, John ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with ſuch cruelty, that he died ſoon after in the iſland Prota, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months [w]. Romanus Diogenes being thus removed, Michael Ducas was univerſally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in John his uncle, who preferred ſuch only as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution, and,

Michael Ducas proclaimed emperor.

Romanus dies.

[w] Niceph Bryenn. c. 2—10. Curopalat. in Rom. Diog.

and, under various pretences, baniſhed thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage.

The Turks invade the empire.

In the mean time, Axan, the Turkiſh ſultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, reſolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not with a deſign only to ſpoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the Turks, diſpatched Iſaac Comnenus, ſon to the late emperor of that name, againſt them, who gained at firſt ſome advantages over them; but having ſoon after ventured a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, utterly defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner. Another army was ſoon diſpatched againſt them, under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, who gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a ſtop to their farther conqueſts, had he not been diverted by Ruſelius, or Urſelius, a native of Gaul, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced ſeveral cities in Phrygia and Cappadocia, cauſing himſelf to be every-where proclaimed emperor. Againſt him John marched with all his forces, ſuffering the Turks in the mean time to purſue their conqueſts; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the Sangarius, he received a total overthrow and was taken priſoner. Notwithſtanding this victory, Ruſelius, to ſtop the progreſs of the Turks, who threatened the empire with utter deſtruction, not only releaſed his priſoner, but joined him againſt the common enemy, by whom they were both overcome and taken priſoners. However, Axan was for ſome time diverted from purſuing his conqueſts, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by Cutlu-Moſes, couſin to the late ſultan Tangrolipix, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken refuge in Arabia, whence he now returned, at the head of a conſiderable army; and laying claim to the ſovereignty, was preparing to decide the controverſy by dint of ſword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kalif of Babylon, who had been deprived of his temporal juriſdiction by Tangrolipix, as we have related above, but ſtill continued to exerciſe his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the ſucceſſor of their great prophet, interpoſed; and by repreſenting to them the dangers, to which their inteſtine diſſenſions expoſed them, brought them to this agreement; that

Defeat the emperor's army.

Gain a ſecond victory.

that Axan ſhould enjoy undiſturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father Tangrolipix, and that Cutlu-Moſes, and his family, ſhould quietly poſſeſs ſuch provinces of the empire as he or his ſons ſhould, in proceſs of time, conquer. This agreement being made, Cutlu-Moſes turned all his forces againſt the empire; and being aſſiſted by Axan, made himſelf, in this and the following reign, maſter of all Media, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, fixing the ſeat of his new empire at Nice in the latter province. While the Turks were buſied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, Ruſelius, who had been ranſomed by his wife, and, notwithſtanding his late revolt, reſtored to favour and entruſted with a conſiderable command in Aſia Minor, revolted anew, and, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the Turks, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Michael ſent the beſt commanders in the empire againſt him; but they were all ſucceſſively overcome in the ſeveral battles that were fought, Ruſelius being powerfully ſupported by the Turks, whoſe intereſt it was to ſow and maintain diviſions in the empire. At length the emperor was adviſed to ſend Alexius Comnenus againſt him, he being eſteemed, though then very young, a man of uncommon addreſs and well ſkilled in the art of war. Alexius, by intercepting the enemy's proviſions, and conſtantly haraſſing them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement, reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the ſultan, where they were kindly entertained, and ſupplied with neceſſaries at the public expence. But Alexius applying to Tutach, the Turkiſh commander in thoſe parts, he prevailed upon him with a large ſum to ſeize on Ruſelius, and ſend him in chains to Amaſia, whence he was conveyed to Conſtantinople. The rebels, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted, and ſurrendered the cities and ſtrong-holds which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, Alexius returned to the imperial city, which he found highly diſſatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievouſly afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, inſtead of relieving the diſtreſſed inhabitants, had leſſened the meaſure of the corn, which deſervedly procured him the nick-name of Parapanaces. The averſion which people of all ranks had for the emperor, on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged Nicephorus Botoniates, who commanded the forces in Aſia, to revolt;

The progreſs of the Turks.

Ruſelius revolts.

The rebellion ſuppreſſed by Alexius Comnenus.

volt, and enter into an alliance with the Turks, upon whom he had been ſent to make war. Cutlu-Moſes promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power; upon which he aſſumed the purple, and was ſaluted emperor by the army under his command. At the ſame time, Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in Dyrrhachium, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his ſoldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march ſtrait to Conſtantinople. Michael, well appriſed that he was not in a condition to oppoſe either of the two competitors, reſolved to reſign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them ſhould prevail. Accordingly, deveſting himſelf of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monaſtery, where he took holy orders, and was ſoon after raiſed to the ſee of Epheſus[x]. He had reigned ſix years and as many months, and reſigned in the year 1078. Upon his reſignation, Botoniates entered Conſtantinople without oppoſition; and being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of March 1078, he immediately diſpatched Alexius Comnenus with the flower of his army againſt Bryennius, who was advancing with long marches to the imperial city at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he paſſed, he being univerſally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at Calaura in Thrace; and an engagement enſuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the Scythians, who ſerved under Bryennius, purſuing the advantage they had gained over the forces of Alexius, fell upon his baggage and began to plunder; which occaſioned great confuſion in the army of Bryennius, the reſt of his troops following the example of thoſe barbarians. Of this Alexius took advantage, and charging them with freſh vigor, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and, encouraged by Bryennius, returned to the charge; but Alexius having, in the mean time, taken the horſe of Bryennius, adorned as he was, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out that the general was ſlain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and thoſe of the enemy equally deſpirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful. Bryennius,

Nicephorus Botoniates and Bryennius revolt.

Michael reſigns.

Nicephorus Botoniates crowned emperor.

Bryennius [illegible] and [illegible] priſoner.

[x] Niceph. Bryen. hiſt.-Michael c. 2—8. Ann. Comnen. l. 1. c. 2.

ennius, by ſhewing himſelf at the head of his army, convinced them of their miſtake; but, as they were already put into diſorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to ſtop their flight, he was himſelf obliged to fly with the reſt. As he was purſued cloſe by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his perſonal valour. Alexius received him in a moſt obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and ſoon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, ſet out with his unfortunate priſoner for Conſtantinople; but was met on the road by Borilus with orders from court to deliver up Bryennius to him, and march back againſt Baſilacius, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at Dyrrhachium; and being ſupported by all the men of intereſt in the weſt, had ſurpriſed Theſſalonica, and was preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a conſiderable army. Alexius having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched againſt the enemy, and encamping at a ſmall diſtance from Baſilacius, began to ravage and lay waſte the neighbouring country. Hereupon Baſilacius, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, reſolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did accordingly; but Alexius, informed beforehand of his deſign, received him, while he expected to meet with no oppoſition, ſo briskly, that his forces were ſoon put to flight, and he himſelf obliged to throw himſelf, with part of his army, into Theſſalonica, which was immediately inveſted by the conqueror. Baſilacius, who was a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions offered by Alexius, prepared to hold out to the laſt extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's reſentment, opened their gates, allowing Baſilacius juſt time enough to retire into the caſtle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to Alexius, who ſent him to Conſtantinople, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monaſtery [y]. As the emperor was ſtricken in years and had no iſſue male, Borilus and Germanus, two brothers, natives of Scythia and the chief favourites of Botoniates, perſuaded him to name in his will one Synademus for his ſucceſſor, a youth of uncommon parts and nearly

Baſilacius revolts.

But is defeated by Alexius.

[y] Niceph. Bryenn. in Botan. l. i. c. 1, 2. Ann. Comnen. l. i. c. 4, 5.

related to the emperor. Though this was managed with great ſecrecy, yet Mary the empreſs had ſome intimation of it. She was firſt married to the emperor Michael Ducas, and afterwards to his ſucceſſor Nicephorus Botoniates. By her former husband ſhe had Conſtantine Ducas, who, by marrying the daughter of Botoniates, had acquired an indiſputed right to ſucceed him. The empreſs therefore, highly provoked both againſt the emperor and his favourites, for thus excluding, with the utmoſt injuſtice, her ſon from the empire, diſcloſed the whole to the two brothers Alexius and Iſaac Comneni, who promiſed her all imaginable aſſiſtance.

Iſaac and Alexius Comneni reſolve to depoſe the emperor.

But in the mean time, the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empreſs and the Comneni, reſolved to remove, by ſome means or other, the two brothers out of the way. Of this Alexius being ſeaſonably informed, he applied to Pacurianus, an officer of great experience in war and equally verſed in ſtate-affairs, acquainted him with the deſign they had formed of depoſing the emperor, and begged him to aſſiſt them with his advice. Pacurianus, having heard him with great attention, anſwered without the leaſt heſitation, "That if they withdrew to the "army early next morning, he would attend them in their "flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would "diſcover to the emperor their treaſonable deſigns." Alexius, charmed with this reſolute and generous anſwer, fled early in the morning, with his brother Iſaac, Pacurianus, and the reſt of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of Thrace. Upon their arrival, they acquainted the chief officers of the army with their deſign of creating a new emperor; which being univerſally approved of, a council was ſummoned; and after ſome deliberation, whether Iſaac or Alexius ſhould be raiſed to the empire, the latter was unanimouſly choſen, and ſaluted emperor by the whole army, which, without loſs of time, he led to Conſtantinople, being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities through which he paſſed. The inhabitants of Conſtantinople, awed by the troops of Botoniates, ſhut their gates againſt him; but an officer, to whoſe charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having privately admitted part of Alexius's forces, the gates were by them opened in the night to the reſt, who, ruſhing in, made themſelves maſters of the city, before Botoniates knew it was aſſaulted. As Alexius's army was compoſed of barbarians as well as chriſtians, the unhappy city was plundered in a moſt cruel manner, without any regard to the churches themſelves, which,

Alexius ſaluted emperor by the army.

He takes Conſtantinople.

which, together with the monaſteries, were ſtripped of all their wealth and ornaments. George Palæologus, a perſon of great authority in the empire and a zealous champion for the Comneni, eaſily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of Conſtantinople, to declare for the new emperor. Botoniates, thus forſaken by all, ſent ſome ſenators to Alexius, offering the whole power to him, provided he were ſuffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. Alexius was inclined to comply with his requeſt; but John Ducas brother to the late emperor Conſtantine Ducas, an irreconcileable enemy to Botoniates, would not ſuffer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatſoever. Hereupon Barilus, the reigning favourite, obſerving with how much ſecurity the troops of Alexius ranged through the city in queſt of plunder, drew together a conſiderable body of reſolute men; and having encouraged them with large ſums and greater promiſes, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But Coſmas the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, adviſing Botoniates rather to ſubmit to providence and reſign the empire, than ſuffer the city to be polluted with the effuſion of chriſtian blood, he readily embraced his counſel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew to the great church, and from thence to a monaſtery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months [z].

Botoniates reſigns.

BOTONIATES having thus reſigned the ſovereign power, Alexius was, by the unanimous conſent of the ſenate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of April 1081. His firſt care was to reward thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the ſtate, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. Conſtantine Ducas, the ſon of the late emperor Michael, was ſuffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other enſigns of ſovereignty, purſuant to a promiſe, which he is ſaid to have made to the empreſs Mary, before he took arms againſt Botoniates. As the barbarous behaviour of his ſoldiers, upon their firſt entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, Alexius, either being really, or pretending to be, touched with remorſe for the diſorders they had committed, reſolved to make an open confeſſion, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics, in

Alexius Comnenus crowned emperor.

[z] Ann. Comnen. l. ii. c. ult. & l. iii. c. 1.

the attire of a penitent; and, acknowledging himſelf guilty of the many diſorders that had been committed by his ſoldiers, begged the patriarch to impoſe upon him a penance anſwerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch enjoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to faſt, to lie upon the ground, and to practiſe ſeveral other auſterities, for the ſpace of forty days; which no one performed with more chearfulneſs than the emperor himſelf. Having thus attoned for his crimes, or at leaſt gained the affections and eſteem of the clergy, he began to make the neceſſary preparations for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the Turks, who had ſeized on ſeveral provinces during the late diſtractions, and threatened the empire with utter deſtruction. But Solyman, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Cutlu-Moſes, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, diſpatched embaſſadors to Alexius with overtures for a laſting peace, which he at firſt rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho' he had gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that Robert Guiſchard, duke of Puglia and Calabria, was making great preparations againſt him in the weſt. Robert was by birth a Norman, the ſon of Tancred lord of Hauteville, who, having a numerous family and but a ſmall eſtate, ſent his two eldeſt ſons to try their fortune in the wars againſt the Saracens in Italy, where they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the Saracens, ſeized on the places they had held, eſtabliſhing by that means a new principality in Italy. Robert, the third ſon, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himſelf with the principality of Puglia, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of Naples, taking upon him the title of duke of Puglia and Calabria. Towards the end of the reign of Botoniates, Michael, who had been forced to reſign the empire, having made his eſcape into the weſt, prevailed upon Robert whoſe daughter had been ſome years before betrothed to Conſtantine, Michael's ſon, to eſpouſe his cauſe and attempt his reſtoration. With this view Robert made great preparations both by ſea and land, which were continued even after the reſignation of Botoniates, Robert being determined to drive Alexius from the throne, if poſſible, and reſtore Michael, or, as ſome authors inſinuate, to ſeize on the empire for himſelf. Be that as it will, Robert, having left his ſon Roger as his lieutenant in Italy, ſailed with all his forces from Brunduſium; and landing at Buthrotum in Epirus, made

He puts a ſtop to the conqueſts of the Turks.

Robert Guiſchard's expedition againſt Alexius.

Robert paſſes over into Epirus.

made himself master of that place, while his son Bohemond, with part of the army, reduced Aulon, a celebrated port and city in the country now called Albania. From thence they advanced to Dyrrhachium, which they invested both by sea and land, but met with a most vigorous opposition from George Palæologus, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence of that important place, and who, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, held out, till the Venetians, with whom the emperor had entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by Bohemond, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himself, whose ship was sunk with several others, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the Venetians, landing without loss of time, and being joined by Palæologus from the town, fell with great fury upon Robert's men, who were employed in the siege, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ships loaded with booty. As the Venetians were masters at sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as usual, by a pestilential distemper, which is said to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months, among whom were some of the chief officers, and many other persons of great distinction. However, Robert, who was a prince of great intrepidity, address, and resolution, pursued the siege; and, having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to supply his famished troops with provisions, brought in great plenty from Italy. Palæologus, finding the courage of the garrison and citizens began to fail them, sent repeated advices to the emperor of the straights, to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon Alexius resolved to march in person to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother Isaac at Constantinople, to prevent any disturbances there during his absence, he set out for Thessalonica; and being joined there by Pacurianus and the troops under his command, he pursued his march with incredible expedition to Dyrrhachium; and encamping at some distance from the town, on a rising ground, with the sea on the left, and an inaccessible mountain on the right, he summoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was resolved by a great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the army, that the whole should be put to the issue of an engagement; which Robert was so far from declining, that, observing the emperor's pre-

Takes Buthrotum and Aulon.

Besieges Dyrrachium.

His fleet defeated by the Venetians.

The emperor marches to the relief of the place.

parations, he ordered all his ſhips to be ſunk, which was giving his men to underſtand, that they had no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at firſt the advantage, and drove a body of Robert's troops quite to the ſea, which occaſioned no ſmall diſorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by Gaita, Robert's wife, a woman of a maſculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with freſh vigor, and the victory long diſputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly preſſed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, moſt of them eſcaping to a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Michael, as to a place of ſafety. But the victorious enemy, purſuing them cloſe, ſet fire to the church, which was ſoon conſumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, Robert having put to flight the main body of the emperor's army, Alexius himſelf was forced to retire, though he was the laſt, if we may give credit to his daughter Ann Comnena, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, either in the flight or in the purſuit, with an incredible number of officers and perſons of diſtinction, among whom were Conſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine Ducas, Nicephorus Synademus, Nicephorus Palæologus, the father of George, Zacharias, Aſpetes, &c. The emperor with much ado made his eſcape, and reached Achris, leaving the enemy maſter of his camp and the whole baggage of the army. Robert, elated with this victory, returned before Dyrrhachium, which immediately ſubmitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far ſpent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a deſign to purſue his conqueſts early in the ſpring. In the mean time, Alexius, who had loſt the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raiſed in all the provinces of the empire, ſeizing for that purpoſe, as the exchequer was quite exhauſted, on the wealth of the churches and monaſteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occaſioned dreadful diſturbances in the imperial city. At the ſame time, Alexius, entering into an alliance with Henry, emperor of Germany, perſuaded him to invade the territories of Robert in Italy, which he did accordingly early in the ſpring, entering Calabria at the head of a numerous army. Robert was no ſooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, ſummoning a council of war, he appointed his ſon Bohemond his lieutenant in the eaſt; and having recommended him to the officers

But is defeated.

Dyrrhachium ſurrenders.

officers of the army, he ſet out without delay for Italy, where he relieved the pope, beſieged by the emperor's forces in the caſtle of St. Angelo, retook Rome, and drove the emperor out of Italy, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. In the mean time, Bohemond reduced ſeveral places in Illyricum; and, having defeated Alexius in two pitched battles, entered Theſſaly, and ſat down before Lariſſa; which, being defended by an officer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his arrival, he found means to draw a ſtrong party of Bohemond's men into an ambuſcade, who were almoſt all cut off. However, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, Bohemond had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refuſing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in Italy. Alexius, taking advantage of his abſence, recovered ſeveral cities; and being informed, that Robert was making great preparations againſt him, he had recourſe once more to the Venetians, who, having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged Robert, and overthrew him in two ſucceſſive battles, but were ſoon after ſurprized by him, and defeated with the loſs of almoſt their whole navy. We are told, that Robert uſed his victory with the greateſt barbarity, putting ſeveral of his priſoners to unheard-of torments. The Venetians equipped a ſecond fleet; and, joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon Robert's navy, while they were riding without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy near Buthrotum, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, and took a great number of priſoners, his wife and younger ſons having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. But Robert, not in the leaſt diſheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ſhips to be built, and levies to be made throughout his Italian dominions, with a deſign to purſue the war with more vigor than ever. But being in the mean time ſeized with a violent fever, he died in the iſland of Cephalenia, being then in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, Rogér, his ſon and ſucceſſor, not thinking it adviſable to purſue ſo dangerous and expenſive a war, recalled his troops; ſo that Dyrrhachium, and the other places, which they had ſeized in Illyricum, ſubmitted anew to the emperor [a].

Robert obliges the emperor Henry to quit Italy.

Several places in Illyricum reduced by Bohemond.

Robert defeated by the Venetians at ſea.

He dies.

THIS war was ſcarce ended, when another broke out with the Scythians, who, paſſing the Danube, laid waſte great

The Scythian war.

[a] Ann. Comnen. l. v. c. 1—6. & l. vi. c. 1—5.

great part of Thrace, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched Pacurianus and Branas, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far ſuperior to them in numbers, were both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the uſpeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular eſteem for Pacurianus, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the raſhneſs of Branas, who in a manner forced his collegue to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. Talicius, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. However, they returned the ſpring following in ſuch numbers, that the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he ſet out for Adrianople, and from thence to a place called Lardea, where, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm diſpute, which laſted almoſt from morning to night, was put to flight and utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the ſword or taken priſoners, he himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty to Beroe. About the ſame time, the Turks, finding the main ſtrength of the empire was employed againſt the Scythians, broke with great violence into the Roman territories, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places of great importance in Aſia, and among the reſt of Clazomene, Phocæa, Mitylene, Methymna, and ſoon after of the iſland of Chios. This ſudden irruption obliged the emperor to ſend part of his forces into the eaſt, under the conduct of John Ducas, brother to the empreſs, while he himſelf led the reſt, reinforced with new levies, againſt the Scythians, by whom he was again overthrown with great loſs, being betrayed by one Neantzes, a Scythian, who had deſerted to him in the beginning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, ſo diſheartened the Romans with his ſudden flight, that they began to give ground; and being preſſed by the enemy and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great diſorder, leaving the Scythians maſters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, Alexius gained a conſiderable advantage over them; and the year following, 1084, having defeated them in a pitched battle and put them to flight, made ſuch a dreadful havock of the fugitives, that few of

The emperor's army defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius gains a complete victory over them.

of them are ſaid to have eſcaped the general ſlaughter [b]. An end being put to the Scythian war by this victory, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon againſt the Turks, with whom John Ducas, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various ſucceſs. Tzachas, a leading man among the Turks, having made himſelf maſter of Smyrna, erected there a new principality, independent of the ſultan, haraſſing with frequent incurſions the neighbouring countries. He had, beſides ſeveral other places, reduced Mitylene, which John Ducas, purſuant to his inſtructions, cloſely beſieged by land, while Conſtantine Delaſſenus who commanded the fleet, inveſted it by ſea. But Tzachas, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a choſen body of troops, watching the motions of the Romans, intercepting their proviſions, and haraſſing them with frequent and ſudden onſets, which diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with due vigor. But John Ducas, having at length drawn Tzachas to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he ſent deputies to Ducas, with propoſals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That Tzachas ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted to Smyrna; that Mitylene ſhould be delivered up to the Romans; and that none of the inhabitants ſhould be injured in their perſons or eſtates, or be forced to attend Tzachas at his departure. Theſe articles were mutually agreed to, and hoſtages delivered on both ſides; but Tzachas having, with a manifeſt breach of the treaty, obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants to quit their habitations and follow him, Delaſſenus ſailed after him; and, ſoon coming up with him, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, put great numbers of his men to the ſword, and releaſed the captives, Tzachas himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands by embarquing on a light veſſel, which carried him ſafe to Smyrna, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raiſe to Abydos, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the ſultan, looking upon him as an enemy no leſs dangerous to himſelf than to the empire, marched againſt him in perſon at the head of a powerful army, while Delaſſenus, the Roman admiral, cut off his retreat by ſea. Tzachas, finding himſelf thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, choſe to ſubmit to the ſultan, whoſe daughter he had married. The ſultan received him in a very obliging manner,

Alexius's war with the Turks.

Mitylene retaken by the Romans.

[b] Ann. Comn. l. vi. c. 13. & l. vii. c. 1——8.

Tzachas put to death by the ſultan.

manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, cauſed him to be murdered, and ſoon after concluded a peace with the emperor [c].

The Scythians renew the war.

In the year 1093, the Scythian war broke out anew, the barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impoſtor, who, pretending to be Leo, the eldeſt ſon of the late emperor Romanus Diogenes, ſlain ſome years before in an engagement with the Turks, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the Scythians, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. Alexius, having received timely advice of the deſign they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, viſited the borders in perſon; and having ſupplied the frontier towns with whatever was neceſſary for their defence, repaired to the city of Anchialus on the Euxine ſea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having paſſed the Danube, and cauſed the impoſtor to be proclaimed emperor in ſeveral towns, which had ſubmitted to them, were advancing with long marches to Anchialus, in order to beſiege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, Alexius, having left a ſufficient garriſon in the place, encamped with the reſt of his forces on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and there fortified himſelf in ſuch manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed his camp and works for three days together, thought it adviſeable to draw off; and leaving Anchialus, which they could not inveſt without driving the emperor from his poſt, marched to Adrianople, the impoſtor perſuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father Romanus Diogenes, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he

And beſiege Adrianople.

ſaid, marched chearfully to Adrianople, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that, after they had continued ſeven weeks before it, they had ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterprize. But being encouraged by the pretended Leo to purſue the ſiege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and muſt have ſubmitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name Alacaſeus, preſerved it by the following ſtratagem: In imitation of the celebrated Zopyrus, he diſfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition

[c] Ann. Comnen. l. vii. c. 6, 7.

condition to the impoſtor, told him, that he was the ſon of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by Alexius, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The uſurper, giving credit to what he ſaid, and repoſing an entire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a choſen body of Scythians, to a ſtrong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, Alacaſeus pretended, the governor deſigned to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince and his Scythians, who, without the leaſt apprehenſion of treachery, had drunk to exceſs, were ſeized and loaded with chains. Hereupon Alexius, informed of what had happened, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the Scythians, now deſtitute of a leader; and falling upon them, before they had the leaſt intelligence of his approach, ſlew ſeven thouſand of them upon the ſpot, took three thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but, being overthrown in two ſucceſſive engagements, they ſent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor's own terms [d]. After this Alexius returned to Conſtantinople, loaded with booty; which he generouſly divided among thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the war.

The Scythians defeated.

A peace concluded with them.

During his ſtay at Conſtantinople, he was informed, that the weſtern chriſtians were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time poſſeſſed by the Turks and Saracens. As the fortunes of thoſe adventurers are inſeparably interwoven with the remaining part of this hiſtory, it might be juſtly deemed an unpardonable omiſſion, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of the holy war, or the cruſade. About the year 1093, an hermit, by name Peter, a native of Amiens in Picardy, undertook a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, to viſit the holy places there; and obſerving the miſerable condition of the chriſtians in Aſia, Syria, and Paleſtine, at that time moſtly poſſeſſed by the Turks, and the cruel uſage they met with from thoſe infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate,

The holy war.

Peter the hermit his pilgrimage, and the effects of it.

[d] Ann. Commen. l. x. c. 2—4.

deliberate, firſt with himſelf, and afterwards with Simon, then patriarch of Jeruſalem, about the means of reſcuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eaſtern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of redreſs, he reſolved to apply to the weſtern princes, and endeavour, by all poſſible means, to unite them in a league againſt the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy chriſtians and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received preſſing letters from the patriarch and the grand maſter of the hoſpitalers, to that purpoſe, to the pope and all the chriſtian princes in the weſt, he took upon him to be meſſenger; and embarquing on the firſt ſhip he met, he arrived at Bari in Puglia; and proceeding from thence to Rome, he delivered the letters to pope Urban II. giving him at the ſame time a pathetic account of the unexpreſſible miſeries the chriſtians ſuffered under the Turkiſh yoke, of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs. Having received all the encouragement he could wiſh for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and, travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inſpired both princes and people with the pious and commendable deſire of relieving the oppreſſed chriſtians, and reſcuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general diſpoſition, ſummoned a council at Clermont in France, where three hundred and ten biſhops met, and likewiſe the embaſſadors of moſt chriſtian princes; to whom Peter the hermit made an eloquent ſpeech, repreſenting the ſufferings of the oppreſſed chriſtians, the deſolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the Turks, &c. in ſo lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimouſly reſolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one ſpirit, their conſent, by often repeating aloud, Deus vult, Deus vult, God will have it ſo, God will have it ſo. Upon the diſſolution of the council, the cruſade was publiſhed by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the weſt, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red croſſes on their breaſts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the chriſtians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are ſuppoſed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thouſand men, of whom the chief commanders were, Hugh brother to Philip I. king of France, Robert duke of Normandy, Robert earl of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouſe, Godfrey, of Bouillion, with his brothers Baldwin and Euſtace, Stephen de Valois earl of Chartres, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and Peter the hermit. To the latter was given

The council of Clermont.

The cruſade publiſhed.

The principal commanders.

Peter the hermit begins the expedition.

given the command of forty thouſand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himſelf, and committing the other to the conduct of Gautier, a native of France, ſurnamed, from his being a ſoldier of fortune, the Moneyleſs. Gautier began his march on the eighteenth of March 1096, and, paſſing through Germany, entered Hungary, where the inhabitants refuſing to ſupply him and his army with the neceſſary proviſions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the Hungarians, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves among the woods and marſhes, where they lay concealed, and ſuffered unexpreſſible miſeries, till the prince of Bulgaria, touched with compaſſion, furniſhed them with guides, who conducted them to Conſtantinople, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of Peter, who did not join them till the firſt of Auguſt, being ſtrangely haraſſed on his march by the Hungarians, who ſlew above two thouſand of his men, took all their baggage and two thouſand waggons, with the money deſigned to pay the army. To thoſe hoſtilities Peter himſelf gave occaſion, by ſuffering his men to commit all ſorts of diſorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under Gautier had met with from the natives. Peter, having with much-ado reached Conſtantinople with the remains of his ſhattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendſhip and kindneſs by the emperor Alexius, who nevertheleſs was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not perſuade himſelf, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in ſo hazardous an undertaking upon the ſame motives. However, he ſupplied Peter's army with all manner of proviſions; who thereupon paſſed the ſtreights, and marching into Bithynia, encamped not far from the city of Nice. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of Godfrey's arrival at Philippopolis, with ten thouſand horſe and ſeventy thouſand foot; which gave him no ſmall jealouſy, the more, as Godfrey immediately diſpatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of Hugh, brother to the king of France, who, in his paſſage from Bari to Dyrrhachium, being ſeparated by a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, had been ſeized by the governor of the above-mentioned city and ſent to Conſtantinople, where he was detained priſoner. As the emperor refuſed, under various pretences, to ſet his priſoner at liberty, Godfrey, who was already

His unhappy conduct.

Godfrey marches in an hoſtile manner to Conſtantinople.

already advanced as far as Adrianople, began to act againſt him as an open enemy, laying waſte the country, and marching directly to Conſtantinople. Hereupon Alexius, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promiſing at the ſame time to ſupply his army with proviſions; which, however, he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked Godfrey to ſuch a degree, that he laid waſte the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of Conſtantinople. Alexius, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itſelf, ſent embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own ſon as an hoſtage, and promiſing the provoked prince all poſſible ſatisfaction. Godfrey having received the embaſſadors in a moſt obliging manner, and put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, the emperor invited him and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After ſeveral conferences and warm diſputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and Alexius; that, during the expedition, the emperor ſhould aſſiſt them with with all his forces, ſupply them with arms, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and treat them on all occaſions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to reſtore to the empire ſuch provinces and cities as they ſhould recover out of the hands of the Turks and Saracens. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greateſt marks of eſteem and affection. After a ſhort ſtay at Conſtantinople, the forces paſſed the Boſphorus, and encamped near Chalcedon, with a deſign to advance from thence to Nice, and lay ſiege to that important city.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the cruſade.

WHILE Godfrey and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by Peter the hermit, which had entered Bithynia, as we have obſerved above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Nice, began to mutiny; and, depoſing Gautier, advanced Raymond, a German commander of great proweſs, in his room. After this, the Germans and Italians, ſeparating from the French, encamped apart. A ſtrong party of the Italians, having made themſelves maſters of a town called Xerigordus, were there ſurpriſed by the Turks and put to the ſword. The French, who lay encamped near Helenopolis and Cibolus, two villages on the gulf of Nicomedia, were, by the Turkiſh commander in thoſe parts, drawn into an ambuſcade, and moſtly either cut

The army commanded by Peter cut off.

cut off, or taken priſoners; ſo that of the forty thouſand men commanded by Peter, ſcarce three thouſand were left, who with him took refuge in Cinite; which place they defended till the arrival of Godfrey and the other princes of the cruſade, with whom they marched to Nice; which city was inveſted by the chriſtian princes in the month of May 1097. As the place had been ſtrongly fortified by Soliman, then ſultan of the Turks, who had choſen it for the ſeat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous garriſon, the ſiege laſted ſeveral weeks; during which time, both the chriſtians and Turks gave many ſignal inſtances of their intrepidity and reſolution. Soliman, who had poſted himſelf with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raiſe the ſiege; but was as often repulſed with much ſlaughter. However, the beſieged continued to defend the place with great courage and reſolution, till the emperor Alexius, who aſſiſted in perſon at the enterprize, having cauſed a great number of ſmall veſſels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which, by means of the lake Aſcanius, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The garriſon being thus deprived of the conſtant ſupplies they received both of men and proviſions, and at the ſame time privately ſolicited by the emperor with mighty promiſes to ſurrender the place, not to the weſtern princes, but to him, they ſubmitted at length, and, on the fifth of July, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name Butumites. Among the many captives taken on this occaſion, were Soliman's wife and two of his children, who were immediately ſent to Conſtantinople. After the reduction of Nice, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great diſtruſt, bent their march towards Syria, having firſt divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and ſubſiſtence. Bohemond, who marched the firſt, was ſuddenly attacked by Soliman, at the head of ſixty thouſand Turks, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not Hugh come ſeaſonably to his relief with thirty thouſand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the ſurrender of Antioch in Piſidia, of Iconium in Cilicia, Heraclea, and ſeveral other places. The chriſtian princes, animated with this ſucceſs, bound themſelves by an oath not to return, till they had reſcued the holy city of Jeruſalem out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having paſſed mount Taurus, they made themſelves maſters

Nice beſieged by the chriſtians.

And taken.

The Turks defeated.

of the cities of Mareſia and Artaſia; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles diſtant from Antioch, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-firſt of October 1097. As the place was ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned with ſeven thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot, the ſiege laſted to the third of June, when one Pyrrhus, who had in appearance embraced the Mohammedan ſuperſtition to ſave his eſtate, and was entruſted with the defence of a tower called the Two ſiſters, betrayed the city to Bohemond, whoſe men entering it in the night, opened the gates to the reſt of the army; who falling upon the Turks before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut them off almoſt to a man. Caſſianus the governor, with ſome others, found means to make his eſcape out of the place; but fell ſoon after into the hands of the Armenian chriſtians, by whom he was ſlain. While the chriſtians were engaged in the ſiege of Antioch, Corbenus, one of the ſultan of Perſia's generals, attacked Edeſſa with a mighty army; but Baldwin, to whom the place had ſubmitted ſome months before, gave him ſuch a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprize, and marched to the relief of Antioch. Being informed on his march that the city was taken, he reſolved nevertheleſs to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having loſt, as we are told, an hundred thouſand, partly killed, and partly taken priſoners; whereas of the chriſtians only four thouſand two hundred were ſlain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-ſeventh of June 1098, and the next day the Turks, who ſtill kept the caſtle of Antioch, deſpairing of relief, ſubmitted and were made priſoners. The chriſtians, thus become maſters of Antioch, choſe with one conſent Bohemond prince of that metropolis, not thinking themſelves bound by the late treaty, ſince Alexius had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the leaſt aſſiſtance. However, they ſent Hugh, brother to Philip king of France and Baldwin earl of Heynault, to give the emperor an account of their ſucceſs, and preſs him to join them with all his forces, purſuant to the treaty; but the earl of Heynault was never afterwards ſeen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken priſoner and murdered by the emperor's orders. As for the other, he got ſafe to Conſtantinople; but, inſtead of returning to the princes with an account of his embaſſy, he departed from thence into France; whence ſome writers ſpeak of

Antioch beſieged and taken.

The Turks defeated with great ſlaughter.

of him much to his diſadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprize. The emperor had indeed at this time a juſt excuſe for not joining the weſtern princes; for Tangripermes, a Turkiſh pirate, having ſeized on the cities of Smyrna and Epheſus, and reduced the iſlands of Rhodes and Chios, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Againſt him the emperor ſent a conſiderable fleet and army; which arriving ſafe at Smyrna, beſieged that city by ſea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to Epheſus, which was likewiſe forced to ſubmit, Tangripermes having been defeated with great ſlaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the ſurrender of Philadelphia, Laodicea, and other maritime cities of great importance. Alexius, elated with this ſucceſs, laid claim to Antioch, and ſent embaſſadors to Bohemond, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. Bohemond was ſo offended at this demand, that, inſtead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of Antioch, the city of Laodicea, and diſpatched a conſiderable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew Tancred, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the ſame time ſeveral other ſtrong-holds in Cilicia, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon Alexius, having cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped with all poſſible expedition, reſolved to ſtop the paſſage of the ſupplies, which the weſtern princes, eſpecially the biſhop of Piſa, were preparing for the ſupport of the chriſtians in the eaſt, till ſuch time as they had reſtored to the empire the cities they had taken from the Turks. Of this fleet Taticius was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the weſtern princes near Rhodes, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himſelf overtaken, in his return to Conſtantinople, by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet. After this, the emperor ordered Catacuzenus, one of his generals, to lay ſiege to Laodicea; which, notwithſtanding the ſupplies Bohemond with much difficulty threw into it, was in the end obliged to ſubmit. Hereupon the prince of Antioch, finding he had not ſufficient ſtrength at preſent to contend with the emperor, either by ſea or land, left a ſtrong garriſon in Antioch, and paſſed undiſcovered into Italy, with a deſign to levy new forces there and return early in the ſpring into the eaſt. Alexius, acquainted with his deſign, ordered his admiral, by name Contoſtephanus, to cruize on the coaſt of Italy, and prevent, by all means, Bohemond's fleet from paſſing into the eaſt;

A war between Alexius and Bohemond, prince of Antioch.

Laodicea taken by Alexius.

but Contoſtephanus, departing from his inſtructions, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to Brunduſium; which, however, he was obliged to raiſe, his men being with great ſlaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the priſoners taken on this occaſion were ſix Scythians, whom Bohemond carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch infidels and barbarians, Alexius endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the chriſtian princes in the eaſt; which inflamed both the pope and the people againſt him to ſuch a degree, that multitudes crowded daily to Bohemond, deſiring to be employed againſt a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the chriſtian name. Bohemond, having by this means ſoon raiſed a powerful army, paſſed over into Illyricum; and landing without oppoſition in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, ſat down before that important place, after having cauſed his fleet to be burnt in the ſight of the whole army, that, ſeeing there was no means of making their eſcape, they might fight the more courageouſly, and place their ſafety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous garriſon and ſupplied with great plenty of proviſions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till Bohemond's army being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of neceſſaries, that haughty prince began to give ear to the propoſals that were made him for putting an end to the war. After ſeveral conferences between him and the emperor's miniſters, a peace was in the end concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus ended, Bohemond returned to Italy, according to Anna Comnena; but according to others, to Antioch, where, we are told, he died ſix months after [e]. Alexius, being diſengaged from this war, marched in perſon againſt the Turks, who, renewing their incurſions, had laid the country waſte to the very walls of Nice; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the Turks returned the following year; but were, in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, Alexius himſelf being prevented, by the gout and other diſtempers, that uſually attend old age, from heading his army in perſon. The Turks, diſheartened with the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, ſent to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor, who thenceforth never appeared more in the field, but ſpent the remaining part of his life in ſtriving

Bohemond lays ſiege to Dyrrachium.

A peace concluded.

Alexius concludes a peace with the Turks.

[e] Ann. Comnen. l. ii. c. 6. & l. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. Glyc. annal. l. iii. Zonar in Alex.

ſtriving to heal the diviſions, which at that time rent the Greek church. Being ſeized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1118, the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, and twenty-ſecond after the expedition of the weſtern princes for the recovery of the holy land [f]. There is a great diſagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the Greek hiſtorians, eſpecially his daughter Anna Comnena, painting him as the beſt of princes, and thoſe who have written the hiſtory of the holy war, repreſenting him as the worſt. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great addreſs and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the beſt ſtateſman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother and the reſt of his friends, who had been inſtrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped ſuch wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the Turks, he was forced to ſeize on the riches of the churches and monaſteries; which has prompted ſome eccleſiaſtic writers to paint him in the blackeſt colours. He ſeems to have been a ſtranger to all manner of cruelty; for though many conſpiracies were formed againſt him during the long courſe of his reign, yet we read of no other puniſhment inflicted even on the chief authors of them, beſides baniſhment, or the confiſcation of their eſtates. His behaviour to the weſtern princes, though altogether unbecoming one who profeſſed the ſame religion, may in ſome degree be excuſed, in regard of the jealouſy he entertained of them, eſpecially of Bohemond, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppoſe and weaken, than aſſiſt, them in an undertaking, which, he apprehended, might at laſt end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy. During his ſickneſs, he was earneſtly ſolicited, by the empreſs and his daughter Ann, to exclude his own ſon John from the ſucceſſion, and bequeath the empire to Bryennius, the husband of Ann; but the emperor, deaf to their ſolicitations, declared John his ſucceſſor, who was thereupon ſaluted emperor by the people, as ſoon as the death of Alexius was known, and a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, when ſome of his neareſt relations, at the inſtigation of Ann, conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to depoſe him, and place Bryennius in his room; but, the conſpiracy being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the conſpirators were immediately

His death and character.

Johannes Comnenus.

[f] Ann. Comn. l. xv. c. 10, 11, 12.

An inſtance of his good nature.

immediately ſeized, tried, and convicted. However, the good natured emperor did not ſuffer them to be otherwiſe puniſhed, than by confiſcating their eſtates, which he ſoon after reſtored to them, receiving anew into favour all thoſe, who, with his ſiſter Ann, had given life to the conſpiracy. After this, he removed from court ſuch as he had reaſon to ſuſpect, appointing none to ſucceed them but perſons of known probity and diſtinguiſhed characters [g]. In the ſecond year of his reign, the Turks, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with his father, broke into Phrygia; but the emperor, marching againſt them in perſon, overthrew them in ſeveral engagements; and having recovered ſuch cities as they had taken in Cilicia, and among the reſt Laodicea, he laid ſiege to Sozopolis, a ſtrong town in Pamphylia, which he took by a ſtratagem, having enticed the Turks out by a pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The Turks, alarmed at the ſucceſs that attended his arms, renewed the peace, which they had concluded with his father Alexius. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to Conſtantinople, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the Scythians, having paſſed the Danube and broken into Thrace, were deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Againſt them the emperor led the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves beyond the Danube. He then turned his victorious arms, firſt againſt the Servii, whom he eaſily overcame, and afterwards againſt the Hunns, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the Danube with great ſlaughter. The emperor, croſſing that river after them, carried the war into their country; and having taken ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, and forced them to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the ſecond time in triumph to Conſtantinople [h]. While the emperor was thus employed againſt the barbarians, the Turks, without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly Galatia and Cilicia, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities in thoſe two provinces. The emperor therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refreſh themſelves at Conſtantinople, led them afterwards into the eaſt, where he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all Armenia, driving every-where the

His wars with the Turks.

With the Scythians, the Servii and the Hunns.

He recovers Armenia.

[g] Nicet. l. i. c. 1. [h] Idem, c. 2—5.

the Turks before him. The caſtle of Baca, and the cities of Caſtamona, Anazarba, Serep, Capharda, Iſtria, and Sezer, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but were in the end obliged to ſubmit. However, having laid ſiege to Beroea in Syria, he was forced by the numerous garriſon to raiſe it, and drop that enterprize. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother Iſaac, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken ſome diſguſt, had fled to the Turks, and aſſiſted them with his advice in all their undertakings againſt the chriſtians. Soon after, John, Iſaac's ſon, deſerted to the enemy, and, renouncing the chriſtian religion, embraced the ſuperſtition of Mohammed. The emperor, having ſpent three years in the eaſt, and recovered from the Turks the ſeveral cities and ſtrong holds which they had lately taken, returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to return once more into the eaſt; and accordingly began his march early in the ſpring of the year 1140, attended by his three ſons, Alexius, Andronicus, and Manuel, giving out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to ſecure his conqueſts in Armenia, and confirm the cities, that had lately ſubmitted to him, in their obedience; but his real deſign was to recover, if poſſible, the city of Antioch, held by the Latins, and reunite that ſtately metropolis to the empire. Heaven ſeemed to be offended at this undertaking; for ſoon after he had left Conſtantinople, his two eldeſt ſons, Alexius and Andronicus, died in the prime of their years, to the unexpreſſible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to ſink under the weight of ſo unexpected a calamity. However, he purſued his march, and entering Syria, acquainted the inhabitants of Antioch with his arrival; who thereupon ſent ſome of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refuſed to admit him within the gates, till he had ſolemnly ſworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a ſhort ſtay in the city. He had entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himſelf maſter of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the Latins, he retired in a great rage, ordering his ſoldiers, at their departure, to plunder the ſuburbs. From Antioch he bent his march to Cilicia, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poiſoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Though the wound was ſlight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in due time, it cauſed ſuch a ſwelling in

He forms a deſign of recovering Antioch from the Latins.

The emperor wounded with a poiſoned arrow.

his arm, that the phyſicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refuſing to ſubmit to the operation, the ſtrength of the poiſon prevailed to ſuch a degree, that he was in a ſhort time brought to the point of death; when, ſummoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their preſence his youngeſt ſon Manuel to ſucceed him, as better qualified in every reſpect for that eminent ſtation, than his other ſon Iſaac. Hereupon Manuel was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died ſoon after, on the eighth of April 1143, having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is obſervable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no leſs beloved by his ſubjects for his humanity and good nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions[t].

He dies.

Manuel Comnenus.

THE emperor no ſooner expired, than Manuel diſpatched Axuchus, who had been prime miniſter to his father, to Conſtantinople, with orders to ſecure Iſaac; who was accordingly ſeized, before he had time to aſſert his right to the empire, and confined to a monaſtery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated Iſaac; he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and ſet his brother Iſaac at liberty, upon his promiſing to attempt no innovations during his abſence, he paſſed over into Aſia, at the head of a mighty army: and having recovered ſeveral cities in Phrygia, lately taken by the Turks, he ſat down before Iconium; but not being able to maſter that important place, he returned to Conſtantinople, leaving ſufficient garriſons in the frontier-towns to reſtrain the incurſions of the Turks. During his ſtay in the imperial city, he married Gertrude, ſiſter-in-law to Conrade, the German emperor; but ſlighting her, though endowed with every perfection becoming a perſon of her ſex and quality, he maintained a criminal converſation with his own niece Theodora; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing has rendered his name more odious to poſterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes; for having promiſed to ſupply the army of Conrade, who in the year

His war with the Turks.

His treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes.

[t] Nicet. c. 7—12.

year 1146, undertook an expedition into the holy land, with forage and proviſions, inſtead of that, he cauſed the countries, through which they were to paſs, to be laid waſte, and the gates of the towns to be ſhut; nay, we are told, that the Greeks, inſpired by the emperor with an irreconcileable hatred to thoſe adventurers, mixed the flour they ſold them with quick-lime; which occaſioned a dreadful mortality in the chriſtian army. Beſides, the emperor privately acquainted Mamut, ſultan of Iconium in Aſia Minor, with the deſigns of Conrade and the other princes. Whereupon the ſultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raiſed in defence of their common intereſt, and ſent to protect their territories, before the chriſtian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the deſigns of the weſtern princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwiſe might have eaſily triumphed over all the eaſt, in a great meaſure deſtroyed [k]. Roger, king of Sicily, highly provoked at Manuel's treachery, took advantage of ſome diſturbances raiſed by the inhabitants of Corcyra, who thought themſelves oppreſſed by too heavy exactions, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland. From thence he ſailed to Corinth, which he likewiſe took and plundered, with Thebes, and moſt of the principal cities in Bœotia. Hereupon Manuel, having aſſembled all the forces of the empire and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war againſt Roger and the Sicilians; which he began with the ſiege of Corcyra, now Corfu. The beſieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they ſurrendered upon honourable terms. In this ſiege the emperor, who commanded his troops in perſon, loſt an incredible number of men, and among the reſt Stephen, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his ſucceſs, he reſolved to carry the war into Sicily itſelf; but was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which ſeveral of his ſhips were loſt, and he himſelf driven, with moſt of the tranſports, to Aulon. Being informed, during his ſtay there, that the Servians had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched againſt them in perſon, committing the management of the Sicilian war to Michael Palæologus. Manuel gained great advantages over the Servians, though aſſiſted by the Hungarians, whom he likewiſe overcame in ſeveral battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed ſome of their chief towns, and then returned to Conſtantinople, loaded with

His wars with Roger king of Sicily.

[k] Idem in Manuel. l. i. c. 1—4.

with booty. As for Palæologus, he marched into Calabria, where he frequently defeated Roger's forces, and continued laying waſte the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now diſengaged from this war, took a progreſs into the eaſt, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with ſhews and feſtivals, by the weſtern princes, notwithſtanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Turks, who killed ſeveral of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a ſhort ſtay at Conſtantinople, paſſed over into Aſia, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which ſtruck the ſultan with ſuch terror, that he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to conclude it upon ſuch terms, as the emperor himſelf ſhould judge proper. But Manuel adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, puſhed on with a falſe courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the ſultan were rejected, and his embaſſadors diſmiſſed with this haughty anſwer, That the emperor would come and let him know his pleaſure at Iconium, which was the metropolis of the Turkiſh empire in Aſia Minor. Hereupon the ſultan, finding a war unavoidable, ſeized on the narrow paſſes of Zibrica, through which the emperor's army was to paſs, and falling upon them, as ſoon as they entered the ſtreights, made a dreadful havock of them with ſhowers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The Romans attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a ſtrong detachment of Turks, poſted at the entrance of the ſtreights, they were forced to purſue their march, being galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows ſhowering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time, night coming on, the Turks, who were well acquainted with the country, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the outlets; ſo that the Romans found themſelves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every ſide, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themſelves as loſt, the ſultan, to the great ſurprize of the emperor and the whole army, ſent to Manuel one of his chief officers, by name Gabras, with propoſals for a peace; which he immediately ſigned, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole army, who purſued their march unmoleſted to Chonas, where the emperor diſtributed what money he had with him among the ſoldiers, and then proceeded to Phila-

A peace concluded between the two princes.

Manuel reduced to great ſtreights by the Turks.

A peace concluded with the ſultan.

Philadelphia, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of Dorylæum and Subleum in Aſia Minor ſhould be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refuſed to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The ſultan, highly provoked at this anſwer, ſent a body of twenty four thouſand choſen men, under the conduct of Atapacus, to lay waſte all Phrygia; which they did with the utmoſt barbarity, ſparing neither ſex nor age. But the emperor's forces, falling upon them as they were croſſing the Mæander on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty [k]. The Turks were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of Manuel's reign, who, having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and, by endeavouring to introduce and eſtabliſh heterodox opinions, raiſed great diſturbances and diviſions in the church, ſome of the prelates being prompted by their intereſt to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was Euſtathius archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, famous for his learned comments on Homer. But the death of the emperor put an end to theſe diſputes. He was taken ill in March 1180, and died in the following September, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monaſtic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himſelf in times of peace [l].

The Turks invade the empire anew; but 24,000 of them are cut off.

Manuel dies.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Alexius Comnenus; but, he being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the adminiſtration, and governing with an abſolute ſway, ſuffered the young prince to indulge himſelf in his pleaſures and diverſions, in order to indiſpoſe him for applying to the affairs of ſtate. The miniſters, whom the empreſs employed, made it their chief ſtudy to enrich themſelves at the expence of the public, the empreſs herſelf having nothing elſe in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus entirely neglected, while every one ſtudied his private intereſt, the Turks, who let ſlip no opportunity of enlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themſelves maſters of Sozopolis, and ſeveral other important places in Phrygia. This raiſed in the people a general diſlike to the preſent adminiſtration; which being obſerved by Andronicus, who was

Alexius Comnenus.

Andronicus revolts.

[k] Nicet. l. vi. c. 1——9. [l] Idem, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

was couſin-german to the late emperor, and had long aſpired at the empire, he thought this the moſt proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he ſo ardently wiſhed for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his inſinuating and popular behaviour, he left Oeneum, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and moving with his friends and dependents towards Conſtantinople, gave out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to reform the abuſes of the ſtate, to aſſert the imperial dignity, to redreſs the grievances of the people, and reſcue the young prince out of the hands of thoſe who, in a moſt ſhameful manner, abuſed his authority, to the oppreſſion of thoſe whom they were bound to protect. He was every-where received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and ſuch multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppoſe him, till he came into Bithynia, where the governors of Nice and Nicomedia ſhut their gates againſt him, as a public enemy. However, he purſued his march to a caſtle called Charace, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by Andronicus Angelus, whom he put to flight; and, advancing with long marches towards Conſtantinople, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Chalcedon, in ſight of the imperial city. The empreſs had committed the whole management of affairs to Alexius, then preſident of the council, with whom ſhe was thought to be more familiar than was conſiſtent with her honour. As Alexius hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the deſigns of Andronicus; but being univerſally deteſted by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raiſed fled over to Andronicus, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of Contoſtephanus, followed their example. Hereupon the people, aſſembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared Andronicus guardian of the young prince, ſet at liberty his two ſons, John and Manuel, whom Alexius had thrown into priſon, and ſeizing on Alexius himſelf, carried him in a mock triumph to the ſea-ſide, attended with the ſcoffs and curſes of the enraged multitude, and thence conveyed him in a ſmall boat to Andronicus, who, after having expoſed him to the inſults of the whole army, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, Andronicus, paſſing the ſtreights, went to wait on the emperor, who was then, with the empreſs his mother, at a royal ſeat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his preſence, fell on the ground, out of a pretended reſpect to his prince, repeating

And marches towards Conſtantinople.

The army and fleet revolt to him.

ſeveral

ſeveral texts of ſcripture, adapted to the preſent purpoſe. As for the empreſs, he ſaluted her with a coldneſs, which ſufficiently betrayed the averſion he bore her. Having ſtaid ſome days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young Alexius. But, notwithſtanding the tyrannical conduct of Alexius the preſident, the citizens of Conſtantinople had ſoon occaſion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, which the protector did not practiſe upon the unhappy people, without diſtinction of ſex or condition. Some were deprived of their ſight, others baniſhed, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of ſome private grudge, or becauſe they ſeemed attached to the young prince. Among the reſt Mary, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very inſtrumental in the late revolution, and her huſband Manuel, Andronicus's own ſon, were poiſoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empreſs, he cauſed her to be accuſed of treaſon, as if ſhe had by letters invited Bela, king of the Hungarians, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogether groundleſs, ſhe was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppoſe the tyrant's pleaſure, and ſhortly after ſtrangled by Pterigionites the eunuch. Soon after her death the tyrant, pretending a great tenderneſs and unſhaken fidelity for the young prince, cauſed him to be ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the ſame time to enlarge in an eloquent ſpeech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he ſaid, a perſon of wiſdom and experience to avert them. He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on beforehand, "Long live Alexius and Andronicus Roman emperors," the whole multitude ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the conſent and approbation of Alexius, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time an utter averſion to what he had ſo long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was cuſtomary, the holy euchariſt at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he ſolemnly ſwore by that venerable myſtery, that he took upon him the ſovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and ſupport his authority; but notwithſtanding his oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he reſolved a few days after to diſpatch his collegue, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Purſuant to this wicked reſolution, one Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites,

He is received at Conſtantinople, and declared protector of the empire.

Made collegue to Alexius.

tes, with ſome others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, ſtrangled him with a bow-ſtring. Such was the miſerable end of Alexius II. in the third year of his reign and fifteenth of his life [m].

Whom he cauſes to be murdered.

Andronicus.

ANDRONICUS, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh the power he had uſurped, raging without diſtinction againſt perſons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the leaſt affected to Manuel's family, or capable of revenging his death. No day paſſed without ſome cruel execution; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off, the mercileſs tyrant complaining all the while of the ſeverity of the law, which did not allow him to ſhew pity to ſo many deſerving men. Some, however, found means to make their eſcape, and among the reſt Iſaac Comnenus, Manuel's near kinſman; who, taking refuge in Cyprus, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, and is ſaid to have exceeded even Andronicus himſelf in all manner of barbarities. Alexius Comnenus, brother to the late emperor Manuel, fled to Sicily; and having perſuaded William, king of that iſland, to make war upon Andronicus, he attended him to Dyrrhachium, which city the king ſoon reduced; and marching from thence into Macedon, laid waſte that province without oppoſition, and ſat down before Theſſalonica, where his fleet had been ordered to attend him. The city was taken by ſtorm, after a few days ſiege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmoſt cruelty plundered by the Sicilians, who, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all they met to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken refuge in the churches. Andronicus, having aſſembled his troops, ordered them to march under the conduct of the beſt generals in whom he could confide againſt the enemy. But they were defeated and put to flight at the firſt onſet; which inſpired the Sicilians with ſuch courage, that they began to look upon themſelves as already maſters of the imperial city itſelf. In the mean time, the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents encreaſed at home, in proportion to the ſucceſs of the enemy abroad, began to rage with more cruelty than ever, not ſparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny againſt others. Among the many who were deſtined to ſlaughter was Iſaac Angelus, a perſon of great diſtinction, being deſcended from one of the moſt antient families in Conſtantinople. Hagiochriſtophorites, Andronicus's prime

His cruel and tyrannical conduct.

William, king of Sicily, invades his dominions.

[m] Nicet. in Alex, Comnen. c 3——16.

prime miniſter, was ordered to ſeize him; but Iſaac, having killed the aſſaſſin with his own hand, made his eſcape to a neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle John Ducas, by his ſon Iſaac, and by ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality. As Iſaac was generally beloved, on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to ſee him in his aſylum. As Andronicus was then abſent from the city, Iſaac laid hold of that opportunity to ſtir up the populace againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that, on a day appointed, they flocked in crowds to the church of St. Sophia, and there, with one voice, ſaluted Iſaac emperor, declaring at the ſame time Andronicus a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and deſpairing of being able to appeaſe the enraged multitude or make head againſt them, fled to Meludium, a royal palace on the eaſt ſide of the Propontis, and from thence attempted to eſcape into Scythia; but being ſeveral times driven back by contrary winds, and purſued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was in the end apprehended and preſented in chains to Iſaac; who, having cauſed his right-hand to be cut off and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from whom he ſuffered indignities anſwerable to the injuries with which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were, in triumph, through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidſt the reproaches and inſults of the incenſed multitude, they hung him up by the feet between two pillars, ſtripped off his cloaths, cut off his private parts, and tormented him for three days together, he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the torments, the incenſed and relentleſs mob could inflict upon him, ſometimes repeating, Lord, have mercy upon me, and ſometimes addreſſing the multitude with theſe words, Why do you break a bruiſed reed? At length one, touched with compaſſion at the ſight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty itſelf, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the ſame time to his life and torments, after he had lived ſeventy-three years and reigned two [a]. He was the laſt emperor of the Comnenian family.

Iſaac Angelus takes refuge in the church.

Is proclaimed emperor.

Andronicus taken, and cruelly tormented by the populace.

Is murdered.

Iſaac Angelus

Iſaac, thus raiſed to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, the affections of his ſubjects, by his lenity and moderation, not only recalling and reſtoring to their eſtates ſuch as had been baniſhed by Andronicus, but relieving ſeveral

[a] Nicet. in Andronic. l. i. c. 5——11.

ſeveral decayed families out of his private eſtate. When he though himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne, he diſpatched the flower of the army, under the conduct of Branas, an officer of great experience, againſt the Sicilians; who, being ſurprized by him as they were roving about the country in queſt of plunder, were put to flight, and cut off almoſt to a man, either by the emperor's troops, or the natives, whom they had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, on their return home, being overtaken and diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, moſt of their ſhips were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of priſoners ſent to Conſtantinople, where moſt of them periſhed with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not ſuffering them to be relieved even with bread and water. Having thus put an end to the Sicilian war, he reſolved to drive, if poſſible, Iſaac Comnenus, of whom we have ſpoken above, out of Cyprus, where he oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt tyrannical manner. In order to this, he equipped a mighty fleet, which he ſent under the command of John Contoſtephanus and Alexius Comnenus, to make a deſcent upon that iſland; which they did accordingly, landing without the leaſt oppoſition. But while the forces were aſhore, Margarites, a famous pirate, who had joined Iſaac Comnenus, falling upon the fleet, ſeized or burnt all the ſhips, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This misfortune encouraged the Mœſians, whom the emperor oppreſſed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the Scythians; who, having raiſed a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched his uncle John Ducas, who gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. John, ſurnamed Cantacuzenus, being appointed to ſucceed him, was, through his raſhneſs and indiſcretion, often worſted by the enemy. Whereupon Branas Alexius, the greateſt commander of his age, was entruſted with the whole management of the war. Branas, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a powerful and well diſciplined army, after having gained ſome advantages over the enemy, returned on a ſudden to Adrianople, the place of his nativity; and having cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there, led his troops without loſs of time to the imperial city, hoping to ſurpriſe the emperor, who had ſcarce received intelli-

He defeats the Sicilians.

Attempts in vain to recover Cyprus.

Branas revolts.

gence

gence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themſelves, upon his approach, in a poſture of defence, and haraſſing his troops with frequent ſallies, he reſolved to encamp at ſome diſtance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, repoſing all his confidence in the virgin Mary, (whoſe image he cauſed to be placed on the walls) and in the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was roufed by Conrade, ſon to the marquis of Montferrat, who, happening to be then at Conſtantinople, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out againſt the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by Conrade, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. Branas received him with his men in battle-array; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the diſpute was maintained for a conſiderable time on both ſides with great obſtinacy; but in the end the emperor's forces, though a handful in compariſon of the enemy's, prevailing, Branas himſelf was killed on the ſpot, and moſt of his chief officers either ſlain in the purſuit or taken priſoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Conrade, by whoſe hand Branas fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge [o]. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the celebrated emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the aſſiſtance of the princes of the cruſade. He had promiſed to grant Frederic a free paſſage through his dominions, and ſupply his army with all manner of proviſions; but being in the mean time gained over by Saladin, the Turkiſh ſultan, who promiſed to reſtore Paleſtine to him, inſtead of aſſiſting the German army, purſuant to his engagement, he no ſooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he diſpatched his couſin Manuel, with a powerful army, to obſtruct their paſſage and intercept their proviſions, having firſt, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into priſon the biſhop of Munſter, the earl of Naſſau, and count Walram, Frederic's embaſſadors. The Germans, juſtly provoked at the emperor's treachery and perfidiouſneſs, paſſed, in ſpite of the oppoſition they met with from the cowardly Greeks, into Thrace, and there ſeized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the

And lays ſiege to Conſtantinople.

He is defeated and killed.

The emperor's treacherous conduct towards Frederic the German emperor.

[o] Idem. in Iſaac. Ang. l. i. c. 7—9. & l. ii. c. 1, 2.

fortified towns, purſuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached Philippopolis, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and Frederic, taking poſſeſſion of it, halted there a few days to refreſh his troops. In the mean time, the emperor, highly incenſed againſt Manuel, whom he accuſed of cowardice, ſent him peremptory orders to engage the Germans; purſuant to which, the Greek general advanced within ſix miles of Philippopolis. But his whole army being ſhamefully put to flight by a party of Germans, whom Frederic had ſent out to ſcour the country and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of Nicopolis and Adrianople, with all the places between the Ægean and Euxine ſeas, opened their gates to the victorious army, without attempting to make the leaſt oppoſition. Hereupon the emperor, having ſet Frederic's embaſſadors at liberty, began to ſue for peace, offering to ſupply the Germans with proviſions and the neceſſary ſhips to tranſport them into Aſia, provided they delivered hoſtages to him for his ſecurity, and croſſed the ſtreights without delay. Frederic, now maſter of the whole country to the very gates of Conſtantinople, thought it became him to chaſtiſe the pride of the preſumptuous, but cowardly, Greeks, and therefore returned the following anſwer to the emperor's deputies; That he had conquered Thrace, and therefore would diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure; that he was determined to winter there, ſince the emperor had by his perfidiouſneſs retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to paſs the ſtreights; that he was reſolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a ſufficient number of ſhips ready againſt Eaſter to tranſport his troops; and ſince he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to ſend without delay twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred perſons of inferior quality, as hoſtages for the performance of what he required. To theſe ſhameful conditions the emperor readily ſubmitted, ſending immediately the hoſtages with rich preſents to Frederic, who, having wintered at Adrianople, removed early in the ſpring to Callipolis, where he found a great number of veſſels ready to tranſport his army into Aſia [p]. In the year 1192, the eighth of Iſaac's reign, an impoſtor, pretending to be the ſon of the emperor Manuel, laid claim to the empire; and, being encouraged by the ſultan of Iconium, raiſed in a ſhort time an army of eight thouſand men, made himſelf maſter of all the cities in the Meander,

Frederic defeats the emperor's forces.

Takes ſeveral places.

Obliges the emperor to ſubmit to diſhonourable terms.

[p] Nicet. ibid. l. ii. c. 4, 5.

der, in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from Alexius, the emperor's brother, who was ſent againſt him, and would in all likelihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a prieſt put an end to his conqueſts, by ſtabbing him with his own ſword, while he lay aſleep, after having drunk to exceſs [q]. The Scythians, encouraged by theſe domeſtic commotions, renewed their incurſions, and, over-running the neighbouring provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon; but having paſſed the ſummer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greateſt part of his army in pieces, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape. After this, the barbarians roved about the country without controul, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor diſpatched againſt them firſt Alexius Guido, and afterwards Batatzes Baſilius; but both theſe generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the ſpot with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raiſed new forces, reſolved to march againſt them once more in perſon. Accordingly, he ſet out from Conſtantinople early in the ſpring, and arriving at Cypſella on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops, that were marching from all parts, joined him. In the mean time, his brother Alexius Angelus, who had long aſpired at the empire, obſerving the general diſcontent that reigned among the ſoldiery, reſolved to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of attaining what he had ſo long wiſhed for. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to ſome of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to eſpouſe his intereſt and combine againſt Iſaac, while the emperor was one day diverting himſelf with the chace, the conſpirators, ſeizing Alexius, as had been agreed on before-hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and, with repeated acclamations, ſaluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. Iſaac, judging it impoſſible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to Macra, where he was overtaken by thoſe whom his brother had ſent after him, and by his orders deprived of his ſight and thrown into priſon, after he had reigned nine years and eight months [r].

The emperor defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius Angelus revolts.

ALEXIUS ANGELUS, thus raiſed to the throne, abandoned himſelf to the ſame vices, for which he pretended to have removed his brother, ſpending his time in riot and luxury,

Alexius Angelus,

[q] Idem, l. iii. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 9.

ury, while the Scythians on one hand, and the Turks on the other, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral important places, and laid waſte whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife Euphroſyne and his favourites, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſelling the firſt employments of the ſtate to the higheſt bidder, without any regard to their birth or abilities, and uſing all other means, how unjuſt ſoever and diſhonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202, Alexius, reflecting on the great kindneſs his brother had ſhewn him during his reign, and thinking himſelf now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, ordered the unhappy Iſaac to be ſet at liberty, and called his ſon Alexius, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But Iſaac, ſtill mindful of the indignity that had been offered him, and the injuſtice done both to himſelf and his ſon, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and aſſerting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correſpondence with the Latins, and by their means with his daughter Irene, wife to Philip emperor of Germany, earneſtly preſſing her to perſuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. Irene giving them hopes of a ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, young Alexius made his eſcape from Conſtantinople; and embarquing in a ſhip belonging to a merchant of Piſa, riding then at the mouth of the Helleſpont, landed ſafe in Sicily, where he ſpent ſome days in private conferences with his ſiſter, who was then in that iſland, and from thence purſued his journey to Rome, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received and warmly recommended to Philip. That prince received young Alexius with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of kindneſs and eſteem, and was ſenſibly touched, as he had an entire affection for Irene, with the misfortunes of her family; but being then engaged in a troubleſome war with Otho, who diſputed the empire with him, he could not eſpouſe the young prince's cauſe. However, by means of his embaſſadors, he engaged the French and Venetians, who had then a powerful army in Dalmatia, ready to march againſt the Turks, to attempt the reſtoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole ſtrength againſt the uſurper. The treaty, after ſome warm diſputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the French and Venetians were to eſtabliſh Alexius on the imperial throne, and Alexius, upon his reſtoration, to pay two hundred thouſand marks in ſilver

H's bad government.

Iſaac, the late emperor, ſet at liberty.

His ſon Alexius recurs to the weſtern princes.

towards

towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thouſand men one year to be employed in the conqueſt of Egypt, and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed for the defence of ſuch places as they ſhould conquer in the holy land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarqued and ſailed for Corfu, the place of the general rendezvous.

Dyrrhachium ſubmits to Alexius.

As they appeared before Dyrrhachium, the inhabitants were no ſooner informed, that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they preſented him with the keys of the place, and ſwore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy preſage, they purſued their courſe to the iſland of Corfu, and from thence, after a ſhort ſtay, to the port of St. Stephen, on the Propontis, where they refreſhed themſelves, and then ſailed to Chalcedon, oppoſite to the imperial city, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having drawn together all his forces, encamped on the Boſphorus, over-againſt the confederates, who nevertheleſs paſſed the ſtreights, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppoſe them, and landed in ſight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great diſorder. The next day, the French made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Galata, and the Venetians, being favoured by an eaſterly wind, ſailed up to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and having cut it with ſheers of ſteel, that opened and ſhut by means of an engine, they took or ſunk all the Greek veſſels in the haven. After this, the Venetians having battered the walls for ten days together by ſea and the French by land, a general aſſault was given on the ſeventeenth of July. The Greeks made a more vigorous oppoſition than was expected; and being aſſiſted both by the advantage of the place and their numbers, often repulſed the aggreſſors. But at length the celebrated Henry Dandalo, duke of Venice, though then above eighty years old, putting himſelf at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more with his example than his words, broke in, maugre all oppoſition; and having ſeized on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great ſtandard of St. Mark. The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops was got into the town, ſallied out with a deſign to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the brave Dandalo having by this time made himſelf maſter of twenty-five towers on the ſide of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a ſmall veſſel, kept ready for that purpoſe, and eſcaped with his treaſures and the imperial or-

Conſtantinople beſieged.

The uſurper makes his eſcape.

naments, to Zagora, a city of Thrace, at the foot of mount Hæmus. It was no ſooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crouding to the priſon, where Iſaac had been detained ever ſince the flight of his ſon Alexius, ſaluted him anew witth the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the uſurper, and the re-eſtabliſhing of Iſaac, invited the young prince to ſhare the empire with his father. The confede ates were tranſported with joy at the news of ſo ſudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the Greeks, they refuſed to acknowledge Iſaac, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his ſon; which he had no ſooner done, though not without ſome reluctance, the articles appearing to him very hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was aſſociated with his fath r in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity on the firſt of Auguſt 1203[s]. As the uſurper continued ſtill in Thrace, ſupported there by a ſtrong party; and Theodorus Laſcaris, his ſon-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other ſide of the Boſphorus, the two emperors earneſtly entreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy land, till they had completed the work, which they had ſo happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching againſt the tyrant, who had ſeized on Adrianople, drove him from thence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. Theodorus Laſcaris no ſooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to croſs the ſtreights, in order to attack him, than he diſbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the Turks. The confederates, having thus eſtabliſhed the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to Conſtantinople, where they were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable; and from thence paſſed early in the ſpring over into Aſia. The ſame year, 1203, happened a dreadful conflagration at Conſtantinople, occaſioned by ſome Latin ſoldiers, who having plundered a moſque, which the late emperor had ſuffered the Mohammedans to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the Turks, who were much ſuperior to them in number, ſet fire to ſome wooden houſes, the better to favour their eſcape. The flame, ſpreading in an inſtant from

Iſaac reſtored.

A dreadful fire at Conſtantinople.

[s] Nicet. l. iii. c. 2—12.

from ſtreet to ſtreet, reduced in a ſhort time great part of the city to aſhes, with the capacious ſtore-houſes, that had been built at a vaſt expence on the key [t]. The emperor Iſaac died ſoon after the departure of the Latins, leaving his ſon Alexius ſole maſter of the empire. The young prince, to diſcharge the large ſums he had promiſed to the French and Venetians, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his ſubjects, which, with the great eſteem and friendſhip he ſhewed to his deliverers, raiſed a general diſcontent among the people, who were ſworn enemies to the Latins. This encouraged John Ducas, ſurnamed Murtzuphlus from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the ſovereignty. As he was a perſon of great addreſs and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himſelf with the multitude, by exclaiming againſt the Latins, as the only cauſe of the preſent miſeries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to diſoblige the Latins, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hoſtilities were returned by the weſtern princes, Murtzuphlus diſpatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of Montferrat, with propoſals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the palace and fortreſs of Blachernæ, within the walls of Conſtantinople, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged populace, who, he ſaid, had revolted and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis giving credit to the embaſſador, prepared to march to Conſtantinople: but, in the mean time, the treacherous Murtzuphlus, having ſtirred up the people by giving out, that Alexius had ſold the city to the Latins, who were in full march to take poſſeſſion of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and ſtrangled him with his own hands. After this, he preſented himſelf to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to ſecure their liberties, and earneſtly entreated them to chuſe an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them againſt the Latins, who were ready to oppreſs and enſlave them. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than thoſe who were privy to his wicked deſign, ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended deſigns of the Latins. The princes of the cruſade no ſooner heard of the death of Alexius and the promotion of the treacherous aſſaſſin,

Murtzuphlus betrays the young prince.

And murders him.

The Latins reſolve to revenge his death.

[t] Idem l. iii. c. 12.

aſſaſſin, than they unanimouſly agreed to turn their arms againſt the uſurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and ſince they had been ſo often betrayed, and retarded in their ſeveral expeditions to the holy land by the Greek emperors, to make themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople, and ſeize on the empire for themſelves. Purſuant to this reſolution, having muſtered all their forces in Aſia, they croſſed the ſtreights, and cloſely beſieged the imperial city both by ſea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the Latins, after having battered the walls for ſeveral days together with an incredible number of engines, gave a general aſſault on the eighth of April, which laſted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having loſt ſome of their engines and a great number of men. It was nevertheleſs reſolved the ſame night in a council of war, that the attack ſhould be renewed, which was done accordingly on Monday the twelfth of April, when after a warm diſpute of ſeveral hours, the French planted their ſtandard on one of the towers; which the Venetians obſerving, they quickly made themſelves maſters of four other towers, where they likewiſe diſplayed their enſigns. In the mean time, three of the gates being broken down with the battering rams, and thoſe who had ſcaled the walls having killed the guards and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle-array within the walls. But the Greeks flying up and down in the greateſt confuſion, ſeveral parties were detached to ſcour the ſtreets, who put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or condition. Night put a ſtop to the dreadful ſlaughter, when the princes, ſounding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to ſtand upon their guard, and fortify themſelves, not doubting but they ſhould be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of an armed enemy, they ſaw by break of day proceſſions of ſuppliants advancing to them from every quarter of the city, with croſſes, banners, images of ſaints, relics, &c. to implore mercy. The princes touched with compaſſion, promiſed them their lives, but at the ſame time, ordering them to retire to their houſes, they gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiery for that day, ſtrictly enjoining them to abſtain from ſlaughter, to preſerve the honour of the women, and

They beſiege Conſtantinople.

Which is taken and plundered.

and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a juſt diſtribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The Greeks had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their moſt valuable effects during the night; the moſt eminent perſons had made their eſcape, and carried with them infinite treaſures; moſt of the ſoldiers had, in all likelihood, reſerved ſeveral things of great value for themſelves, as it commonly happens, notwithſtanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the ſtatues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a ſum almoſt incredible. As for Murtzuphlus, he made his eſcape in the night, embarquing on a ſmall veſſel with Euphroſyne, the wife of the late uſurper Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whoſe ſake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204, of the chriſtian æra, eight hundred and ſeventy-four years after the removal of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Roman hiſtory, from the expulſion of the Greeks, to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and the utter deſtruction of the Roman empire.

THE Latins, now maſters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; when Baldwin, earl of Flanders, a prince in every reſpect equal to that high truſt, was, after ſome deliberation, choſen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. Sophia. To him was allotted the city of Conſtantinople and the country of Thrace, with a limited ſovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or ſhould afterwards be, taken from the Greeks. To Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, they aſſigned Theſſaly, which was erected into a kingdom. The Venetians had for their ſhare the iſlands of the Archipelago, part of Peloponneſus, and ſeveral cities on the Helleſpont. But while the Latins were thus dividing

Baldwin, earl of Flanders, choſen emperor of Conſtantinople.

Theodorus Laſcaris erects a new empire at Nice.

dividing their new acquiſitions, Theodorus Laſcaris, ſon-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having, at the taking of Conſtantinople, made his eſcape into Bithynia, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and poſſeſſing himſelf not only of that country, but of Phrygia, Myſia, Ionia, and Lydia, from the Meander to the Euxine ſea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial ſeat in the famous city of Nice. At the ſame time, David and Alexius Comneni, grand-children to the late tyrant Andronicus, ſeizing on the more eaſtern countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, erected a new empire at Trapezus or Trapezond where their poſterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of Conſtantinople, fell into the hands of Mohammed the Great, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. Thus the Greek empire was no longer one, but divided into ſeveral empires, Baldwin reigning at Conſtantinople, the marquis of Montferrat in Theſſaly, Theodorus Laſcaris at Nice, the Comneni at Trapezond, and the Venetians in the iſlands, not to mention ſeveral other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the Conſtantinopolitan empire. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory, Baldwin, the new emperor of Conſtantinople, having with the aſſiſtance of the other princes, reduced all Thrace, except Adrianople, whither great numbers of Greeks had fled for ſhelter againſt the prevailing power of the Latins, reſolved to lay ſiege to that important place, aud accordingly ſat down before it with all his forces. The Greeks defended themſelves with great reſolution, and at the ſame time, by means of ſome of their nation, who had withdrawn into Bulgaria, prevailed upon John, king of that country, to eſpouſe their cauſe, who marching at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting partly of Bulgarians partly of Scythians, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, into an ambuſcade, cut off moſt of his men, and took Baldwin himſelf priſoner. After this victory, the Bulgarians over-ran all Thrace, plundering the cities, laying waſte the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor Baldwin, he was ſent in chains to Ernoc, or Ternova, the capital of Bulgaria, where after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a deſert, and there left expoſed to the wild beaſts and birds of prey. In that miſerable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The Greek hiſtorians themſelves, who, we may well imagine, were no-

The Comneni at Trapezond.

Baldwin's army defeated by the Bulgarians. Baldwin taken and put to a cruel death.

ways

ways prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a perſon in his high ſtation [u].

In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, the late uſurper, hearing that Theodorus Laſcaris, his ſon-in-law, reigned in Aſia, left Greece, where he then lay concealed; and paſſing over into Aſia, went privately to the court of Jathatines ſultan of Iconium, his antient friend and ally; and laying before him the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his aſſiſtance for the recovery of his empire, eſpecially of that part of Aſia Minor, which was, with the utmoſt injuſtice, with-held from him by Theodorus Laſcaris. Jathatines, at this time ſultan of Iconium, was the younger ſon of ſultan Aladin, who, at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children Aratines and Jathatines. But, they quarrelling about the ſovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to Conſtantinople, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his rank by Alexius, then emperor. Jathatines therefore eſpouſing, out of gratitude, the cauſe of his unfortunate friend, ſent embaſſadors to Laſcaris, requiring him in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjuſtly poſſeſſed, to the lawful owner Alexius, his father-in-law. Before the return of the embaſſadors, the ſultan, attended by Alexius, advanced at the head of twenty thouſand men to Antioch on the Meander, and laid ſiege to that place; which Laſcaris no ſooner underſtood, than he marched with two thouſand men, the moſt he was able in that exigence to raiſe, to the relief of the beſieged city, being well appriſed, that if he ſuffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it ſtood on that river and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The ſultan at firſt could ſcarce give credit to thoſe who brought him intelligence of the approach of Laſcaris with ſo ſmall a force. However, he drew up his army in the beſt manner the narrowneſs of the place would allow of; which he had ſcarce done, when eight hundred Italians, of Laſcaris's army, charging the Turks with incredible reſolution, broke through the ſultan's army, diſordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmoſt confuſion. As the Greeks had not courage enough to follow them, they were ſeparated from the reſt of the army, and on their return ſurrounded by the Turkiſh cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The Greeks,

Alexius Angelus ſtirs up the Turks againſt Theodorus Laſcaris.

[u] Nicet. in Bald. c. 1—11.

Greeks, diſheartened at ſo great a loſs, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the ſultan, now, as he imagined, ſure of the victory, ſingling out the Greek emperor, and truſting to his own ſtrength, engaged him in perſon, and at the firſt blow ſtruck him off his horſe. But Laſcaris, quickly recovering himſelf, unhorſed the ſultan, and, before he could put himſelf in a poſture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing it upon the point of a ſpear, in ſight of the enemy's army, ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, leaving the Greeks, who before were ready to fly, maſters of their camp and baggage. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried to Nice, where he was confined to a monaſtery, in which he ended his days ſome years after. [w]. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the Turks upon the Greek emperor's own terms, who being now at leiſure to ſecure his dominions againſt Henry, brother to the late emperor Baldwin and his ſucceſſor in the Conſtantinopolitan empire, a bloody war was continued for ſeveral years between theſe two princes, with various ſucceſs; but the Greeks being divided among themſelves, and ſeveral princes of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, Laſcaris was in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of Henry, and conclude a peace with him. After this, Henry turned his arms firſt againſt the Bulgarians, whom he drove out of Thrace, and afterwards againſt Michael Angelus, a Greek prince of the imperial family, who having ſeized on Ætolia and Epirus, during the confuſion that enſued upon the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged deſpot or lord of the country. The emperor waged war with him and his brother Theodorus, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. Henry, after having reigned ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and ſucceſs, died at Theſſalonica in the fortieth year of his age. He was ſucceeded by Peter, count of Auxerre, who had married his ſiſter, and ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions. This prince, arriving at Rome on his way from France to Conſtantinople, was ſolemnly crowned there by pope Honorius III. on the ninth of April 1217. From Rome he proceeded to Venice, where he entered into an alliance with that republic againſt Theodorus, who

They are defeated, and the ſultan ſlain.

War between the Latin and Greek emperors.

Henry, the Latin emperor, ſucceeded by Peter.

[w] Idem ibid. c. ult.

who had ſucceeded his brother Michael in the principality of Ætolia and Epirus. Leaving Venice, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid ſiege to Dyrrhachium, which Theodorus had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and ſoon after to come to an agreement with Theodorus, who promiſed him a free paſſage through his dominions; but nevertheleſs fell upon him unexpectedly, cut moſt of his forces in pieces, and having taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, put him to death ſoon after [x]. Upon his death, the Latins named his eldeſt ſon Philip, count of Namur, to ſucceed him; but he declining that burden, Robert, the deceaſed emperor's ſecond ſon, was, with much ado, prevailed upon to ſubmit to it. In the third year of his reign died Theodorus Laſcaris, after having governed, for the ſpace of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the Greeks ſtill retained in Aſia, and defended it with no leſs courage than ſucceſs againſt the Turks on one ſide, and the Latins on the other. He left behind him one ſon and three daughters; but the ſon being yet an infant, he bequeathed the empire to John Ducas, ſurnamed Vataces, who had married his eldeſt daughter Irene, and was by the dying emperor not undeſervedly judged more capable than his own brothers, Alexius and Iſaac, of defending, and even enlarging, the empire, which he had founded. John Ducas was crowned in the year 1222, by Manuel, patriarch of the Greeks, at Nice. Alexius and Angelus, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to Conſtantinople, to implore the protection of the Latins againſt one, whom they looked upon as no other than an uſurper. Robert, the Latin emperor, readily eſpouſed their cauſe; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, committed it to their conduct. But John, having aſſembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called Poemaneum; and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the Latin army being cut off, and the two commanders taken priſoners. The Greek emperor, encouraged with this ſucceſs, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the ſeveral ports of Aſia; and falling unexpectedly upon the iſlands in the Archipelago, reduced moſt of them, driving every-where the Latins before him. The fame of his exploits reaching Aſſan or Azen, king of Bulgaria, that prince, courting his friendſhip, propoſed a match between his daughter Helena and Theodore,

Who is treacherouſly put to death by Theodorus, prince of Epirus.

Robert, Latin emperor of Conſtantinople.

His troops defeated by John Ducas, the Greek emperor.

[x] Georg. Acrop. L. i. c. c.

Theodore, the emperor's ſon, which was readily embraced by Ducas, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with ſo powerful a prince. At the ſame time, the ſultan of Iconium, apprehending an irruption of the Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Perſia, ſent embaſſadors to Nice, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which Ducas readily agreed to, and then employing his whole ſtrength againſt the Latins, made himſelf maſter of all the places held by them on the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont. While the Latins were thus diſtreſſed on the other ſide of the ſtreights by John Ducas, Theodorus, prince or deſpot of Epirus, invading Theſſaly and Thrace, made himſelf maſter of thoſe countries; and, aſſuming the title of emperor, cauſed himſelf to be crowned with great ſolemnity by Demetrius, patriarch of Bulgaria. He had lately concluded a peace with John, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Azen, in the kingdom of Bulgaria; but elated with his ſucceſs againſt the Latins, and deſirous of enlarging his dominions with new conqueſts, in defiance of the late treaty, he broke into Bulgaria. But John, whom he looked upon as no-ways a match for ſo renowned a conqueror, having raiſed a mighty army, engaged him: and having after a long and bloody diſpute, put his forces to flight, took the deſpot himſelf priſoner, and cauſed his eyes to be pulled out[y]. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228, died Robert, emperor of the Latins in Conſtantinople, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in Achaia, as he was returning from Rome, which city he had viſited, according to ſome writers, in order to be crowned there in a more ſolemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of Baldwin of Neville, though ſhe had ſome time before been bethrothed to a Burgundian lord, who, highly provoked at her forſaking him to marry the emperor, ſeized on her and her mother, during the prince's abſence; and having cauſed the ambitious mother to be thrown into the ſea, ordered the noſe, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The ſenſe of this barbarous outrage ſunk ſo deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occaſioned his death. He was ſucceeded by Baldwin II. his brother, or, as ſome writers will have it, his ſon, who being but eight years old, John of Brienne, formerly king of Jeruſalem, and one of the greateſt captains of this time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. Some writers reckon

Who recovers ſeveral places from the Latins.

Robert dies.

Baldwin II.

John, earl of Brienne, regent of the empire.

[y] Idem. c. 3–9.

reckon him among the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople, and tell us, that it was agreed among the Latin princes, that he ſhould be hounoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire ſhould return to Baldwin, who was to marry Martha, or, as ſome ſtyle her, Mary, the daughter of John, by his ſecond wife Bevengaria, the daughter of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. Be that as it will, it is certain, that John governed with an abſolute and uncontrouled power and was by all reſpected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, John Azen, king of Bulgaria, and John Ducas, the Greek emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the Latins, and laid cloſe ſiege to Conſtantinople itſelf. But the regent, behaving with a courage and reſolution equal to his former reputation, ſallied out with no more than two hundred horſe and an handful of foot, put the enemy's army, though a hundred thouſand men ſtrong, to flight; and having obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following year 1236, the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better ſucceſs, being a ſecond time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new ſupplies, and the Latin army being in time greatly weakened and diminiſhed, partly by ſickneſs, and partly by frequent battles and ſkirmiſhes, the regent was at length obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were neceſſary to defend the walls. The enemy, well appriſed of the ſtate of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the ſiege; whereupon John, knowing he could not rely upon the Greeks, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were entirely devoted to the families at Nice and Trapezond, ſent the young emperor Baldwin to ſolicit ſuccours in perſon from the weſtern princes. During his abſence, the Venetians, arriving with a powerful fleet at Conſtantinople, obliged the confederate forces of Azen and Vataces to raiſe the ſiege. But John of Brienne dying ſoon after, that is, in 1237, the ninth year of his adminiſtration, the loſs of ſo great a man would have proved fatal to the Latins, but for a miſunderſtanding that aroſe between the Greek emperor and king of Bulgaria, and was carried to ſuch an height, that the latter having by a ſtratagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's ſon, joined the Latins againſt him, and with them laid

He defeats the united forces of Azen and Ducas.

Conſtantinople beſieged.

The ſiege raiſed.

John of Brienne dies.

laid ſiege to the city of Chiorli. But, in the mean time, news being brought him of the death of his wife Ann, daughter to the king of Hungary, he dropped that enterprize and returned home, where he ſoon after married the daughter of Theodorus Angelus, the late deſpot of Epirus, whom he had taken priſoner a few years before and deprived of his ſight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of Theodorus; for Azen not only ſet him at liberty, but aſſiſted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been uſurped by his brother Manuel. Being thus reſtored to his former power, he appointed his ſon to govern in his room, cauſing him to be acknowledged as emperor. This gave no ſmall umbrage to John Vataces, who pretended to be the ſole emperor of the Greeks; and therefore, upon the deate of Azen, which happened ſoon after, he paſſed over into Thrace; and entering into an alliance with the Scythians, who had lately ſettled in Macedon, he entered the mock-emperor's territories, ſtripped him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of emperor, and content himſelf with that of deſpot. In 1239, the emperor Baldwin, returning from the weſt, arrived at Conſtantinople, and was there crowned by the patriarch in the church of St. Sophia. He concluded an alliance with the Comneni reigning at Trapezond, and, with their aſſiſtance, beſieged and took the city of Chiorli, which, however, was ſoon after retaken by Vataces, together with the iſland of Rhodes, ſurpriſed a few years before by the Genoeſe. Vataces, having thus recovered ſuch places as had been by the Latins diſmembered from his empire, and not only made himſelf maſter of the greater part of Aſia, but extended his conqueſt in Europe almoſt to the very gates of Conſtantinople, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, being then in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age [y].

The deſpot of Epirus reſtored.

Vataces reduces ſeveral places in Thrace.

Vataces dies.

Theodorus Laſcaris.

VATACES was ſucceeded by his ſon Theodorus Laſcaris, who having renewed the antient alliance with the ſultan of Iconium, paſſed the Helleſpont at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of Bulgaria and the deſpot of Epirus, who had invaded his dominions in Macedon and Thrace, with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were forced to ſue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While

[y] Acrop. in Vat. c. 12—21.

While he lay at Theſſalonica, he received letters from Nice, informing him, that Michael Palæologus, whom he had left governor of Aſia during his abſence, had ſecretly withdrawn to the Turks, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by miſrepreſenting his conduct, had rendered him ſuſpected to the emperor, whoſe diſpleaſure he feared. As Michael was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the ſultan of Iconium received him with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and gave him the command of a body of Greeks in the Turkiſh pay, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſoon after in a battle between the Turks and Tartars, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the ſudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the ſultan, turned the fortune of the day. The Turkiſh army being almoſt entirely cut off, the victorious Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Perſia, and the more eaſtern provinces, ravaged without controul the countries belonging to them in Aſia, and reduced the ſultan to ſuch ſtreights, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor Theodorus, who received him in a very obliging manner, and ſent him back with a body of choſen troops, under the command of Iſaac Ducas, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The ſultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of Laodicea. In the mean time, Theodorus, unwilling to loſe a ſubject of ſuch extraordinary parts as Palæologus, wrote to him a moſt kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promiſing to receive him anew into favour, and reſtore him to his former honours and employments. With this invitation Palæologus readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinſtated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to Theodorus and his ſon. The emperor died ſoon after, having ſcarce reigned three years complete, leaving his ſon John, then about nine years old, to ſucceed him. Some time before his death, he took the monaſtic habit, diſtributed great ſums among the poor, and applied himſelf with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed Arſenius, the patriarch, and George Muzalo guardians to the young prince. Muzalo was a perſon of a mean deſcent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deſerved to be raiſed to the higheſt employments in the ſtate, which he had ever diſcharged with wonderful integrity, and a character altogether unblemiſhed. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to

Michael Palæologus withdrawsto the Turks.

He is recalled home.

The emperor dies.

John Laſcaris

them, began to complain of his conduct, and malign all his meaſures. Hereupon Muzalo, who ſincerely deſired to retire, and lead a private life, having aſſembled the nobility, offered to reſign the adminiſtration to ſuch as they thought the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. But they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themſelves under a ſolemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, thoſe whom the deceaſed emperor judged proper to entruſt with the care of his ſon and the government of the ſtate. But, notwithſtanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conſpiring againſt Muzalo, on the day appointed for the obſequies of the late emperor, repaired to the abby of Soſandra, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the croud, in the midſt of the ſervice, fell upon Muzalo with their drawn ſwords, and diſpatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers Andronicus and Theodorus, men of diſtinguiſhed characters. Muzalo being thus removed, the conſpirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter ſtranger to ſtate-affairs, declared Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He ſignalized the beginning of his adminiſtration with a ſignal victory over Michael Angelus, deſpot of Epirus, who, taking advantage of the diſtractions of the ſtate, after the death of Vataces, had broken into Thrace and Macedon, at the head of a numerous army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by John Palæologus, the protector's brother, after having loſt, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his army. When news of this victory was brought to Magneſia, where Palæologus then reſided, he was, by the moſt powerful among the nobility and the populace, ſaluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at firſt to cut off from the church both Palæologus and his adherents; but the protector binding himſelf, by a ſolemn oath, to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he ſhould be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head. Palæologus, thus raiſed to the empire, diſpatched his brother Conſtantine with a conſiderable army into Peloponneſus, which was then held partly by the deſpot of Epirus, and partly by the Latins, but ſoon recovered by Conſtantine. After this, Michael paſſed in perſon with a numerous army into Thrace, having nothing leſs in view than the reduction of Conſtantinople itſelf, the dominions of the Latins being now ſo diſmembered, that

Muzalo the young prince's governor; murdered.

Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince.

He is crowned.

that ſcarce any thing was left to the inactive and ſlothful Baldwin beſides the imperial city. However, Palæologus apprehending the difficulty and dangers of ſuch an extraordinary undertaking, reſolved to put it off to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Pera, in order to diſtreſs the Latins more effectually. But, being in ſeveral ſucceſſive aſſaults repulſed with great loſs, he was obliged to give over the enterprize and retire. However, as he was maſter of the neighbouring country, before his departure, he diſpoſed his troops in ſuch manner, that the city being in ſome degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, deſpot of Epirus, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with Palæologus, to recover the places he had loſt in Theſſaly and Greece, Alexius Strategopulus, a perſon deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and for his eminent ſervices diſtinguiſhed with the title of Cæſar, was ſent againſt him, with orders to try whether he could on his march ſurpriſe Conſtantinople. Alexius, having paſſed the ſtreights, encamped at a place called Rhegium, where he was informed by the natives, that a ſtrong body of the Latins had been ſent to the ſiege of Daphnuſa; that the garriſon was in great want of proviſions; and that it would be no difficult matter to ſurpriſe the city. Hereupon the Greek general reſolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by ſome of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered themſelves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of the night, which ſome of his men ſcaled without being obſerved; and killing the centries, whom they found aſleep, opened one of the gates to the reſt of the army, who ruſhing in, put all they met to the ſword; and at the ſame time, to create more terror, ſet fire to the city in four different places. The Latins, concluding from thence the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not ſo much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguiſh the flames; but, ſtruck with terror and amazement, ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces in the ſtreets or their houſes, which were ſoon filled with blood and ſlaughter. In this general confuſion, the emperor Baldwin, quitting the enſigns of majeſty, fled with Juſtinian, the Latin patriarch, and ſome of his intimate friends, to the ſea-ſide; and there embarquing on a ſmall veſſel, ſailed firſt to Eubœa, and from thence to Venice, leaving the Greeks in poſſeſſion of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty, years, by the Latins. This happened

Attempts the reduction of Pera in vain.

Alexius Strategopulus ſurpriſes Conſtantinople, and expels the Latins.

pened in the year 1261, of the chriſtian æra, the ſecond of the reign of Michael Palæologus [y]. When news of the ſurpriſing, and altogether unexpected, ſucceſs of Alexius was firſt brought to Palæologus, reſiding then at Nymphæum, he gave no credit to it; but receiving ſoon after letters from Alexius himſelf, with a particular account of ſo memorable an event, tranſported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great ſolemnity, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their beſt apparel, and ordered couriers to be immediately diſpatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having ſettled his affairs at Nice, ſet out for Conſtantinople with the empreſs, his ſon Andronicus, the ſenate, and the nobility, to take poſſeſſion of the imperial city, and fix his reſidence in the place, which, at firſt, had been deſtined for the ſeat of the weſtern empire. Having paſſed the ſtreights, he advanced to the Golden gate, and continued ſome days without the walls, while the citizens were buſied in making the neceſſary preparations to receive him with a magnificence ſuitable to the occaſion. On the day appointed, the Golden gate, which had been long ſhut up, was opened, and the emperor entering it amidſt the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the biſhop of Cyzicus, carrying the image of the virgin Mary, ſuppoſed to have been done by St. Luke, and followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their moſt pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of St. Sophia, at which the emperor aſſiſted in perſon, with the clergy, the ſenate, and the nobility. The exerciſes of piety were ſucceeded by all ſorts of diverſions, which laſted ſeveral days, the nobility, and chief citizens, ſtriving to excel each other in teſtifying their joy by banquets and public ſports, on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully ſurveyed the imperial city, which allayed in great meaſure the ſenſe of his preſent good fortune; for he obſerved the ſtately palace of Blachernæ, with the other magnificent dwellings of the Roman emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his predeceſſors at an immenſe charge, deſtroyed by fire and other unavoidable accidents of war; ſeveral ſtreets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbiſh of the ruined

The emperor removes his court from Nice to Conſtantinople.

His entry and public rejoicings.

[y] Pachym. l. i. c. 1—22. & l. ii. c. 27.

ruined houſes, &c. Theſe objects gave the emperor no ſmall concern, and kindled in him a deſire of rebuilding the city, and reſtoring it to its former luſtre. In the mean time, looking upon Alexius as the reſtorer of his country, he cauſed him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name ſhould in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of ſo great and glorious an action, he commanded his ſtatue to be erected on a ſtately pillar of marble before the church of the apoſtles. His next care was to repeople the city, many Greek families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the Latins, to ſettle elſewhere, and the Latins now preparing to return to their reſpective countries. The former were recalled home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The Genoeſe were allowed to live in one of the moſt beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, and to trade without paying cuſtoms or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewiſe granted to the natives of Venice and Piſa, which encouraged them to lay aſide all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the ſtate. The emperor being ſoon after informed, that Baldwin had married his daughter to Charles, king of Sicily, and given him by way of dowry the city of Conſtantinople, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the Genoeſe, who were become very numerous, and might have done great miſchief, if the city had been attacked, to remove firſt to Heraclea, and afterwards to Galata, where they continued. As for the Piſans and Venetians, who were not ſo numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to continue in the city [z]. The emperor, having thus ſettled the ſtate, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of ſecuring to himſelf and his poſterity the ſovereignty, which he only held as it were in truſt, and was to reſign to the young prince as ſoon as he came of age. Having therefore cauſed himſelf to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he ſoon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his ſight, pretending, that no one but himſelf had any title to the city or empire of Conſtantinople, which he alone had recovered from the Latins.

The Latins encouraged to continue in the city.

Palæologus puts out the eyes of the young emperor, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged ſole emperor.

[z] Pachym. l. ii. c. 27—35.

tins. This treaſon and barbarity involved him in endleſs troubles and dangers. For Arſenius, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him and all thoſe who had been anyways acceſſory to his crime, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the city. At the ſame time, Michael, deſpot of Epirus, and Conſtantine, king of Bulgaria, who had married the young emperor's ſiſters, breaking into Thrace, laid waſte that country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Palæologus marched againſt them in perſon; but as he was returning home without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Bulgarians, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not eſcaped by ſea on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed him ſafe to Conſtantinople. The troops he had with him were for the moſt part cut in pieces or taken priſoners; and the Bulgarians, being reinforced with twenty thouſand Tartars, roved about the country without controul, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The Venetians, obſerving the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the iſlands in the Archipelago, which Palæologus had ſeized after the reduction of Conſtantinople. The Venetians were joined by the king of Sicily and moſt of the weſtern princes, who combining againſt Palæologus, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope Urban IV. to eſpouſe his cauſe, by promiſing to ſubmit himſelf and his dominions to the Latin church, and by that means diverted the ſtorm that threatened him. The pope perſuaded Charles count of Anjou and king of Sicily, to conclude a peace with him; and Palæologus, on his ſide, did all that lay in his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowleding by his embaſſadors, or in perſon, as ſome will have it, the ſupremacy of the pope in the famous council of Lyons held in the year 1274. This occaſioned great diſturbances at Conſtantinople and throughout the empire, Joſeph the patriarch, and with him moſt of the clergy, openly inveighing againſt theſe innovations; which provoked Palæologus to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſuch as appeared moſt obſtinate to be impriſoned and cruelly racked, and baniſhed the reſt with the patriarch Joſeph, in whoſe room Veccus was choſen. However, not long after, Simon of Bire, a native of France, being, by the intereſt of Charles, king of Sicily, choſen pope, on which occaſion he took the name of Martin IV. he ſolemnly excommunicated Michael for having contributed to the famous maſſacre of the French

He is involved in great troubles.

The union of the Greek and Latin churches.

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in Sicily, which happened on Eaſter-day, the thirtieth of March 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the Sicilian veſpers. At length the unhappy prince, oppreſſed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching againſt the Turks, who had broken into the eaſtern provinces; and, his diſtemper encreaſing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called Allogium. There he received the embaſſadors of the Tartars, whom he had invited to his aſſiſtance, and ſoon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, wanting one month [a]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Andronicus Palæologus, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by reſtoring the ceremonies of the Greek church, and refuſing to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope, annulled whatever his father had done with reſpect to the union of the two churches. But ſuch as had received the Latin ceremonies defending them with great obſtinacy, and thoſe of the contrary faction, now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the ſchiſm was revived, and ſuch animoſities raiſed in the ſtate, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to reſtore the antient ceremonies diſobliged ſuch only as were adicted to the Latin church; but his conduct towards his brother Conſtantine eſtranged from him the minds of both parties. Conſtantine was the darling of the people; and being ſent by the late emperor his father into Aſia, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in ſeveral battles overthrown the Turks. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him ſuſpected to the emperor, he was by his orders ſeized and thrown into priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, amongſt whom was Michael Strategopulus, ſon to the celebrated Alexius, who had recovered Conſtantinople from the Latins. Upon the removal of theſe two brave officers, the Turks, under the conduct of the famous Othoman, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in Phrygia, Caria, and Bithynia, and among the reſt of the city of Nice. To put a ſtop to their conqueſts, the emperor diſpatched into Aſia Philanthropenus and Libadarius, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of Ionia, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the Meander. Philanthropenus gained ſeveral advantages over the Turks; but, elated with

The emperor dies.

Andronicus Palæologus.

Jealous of his brother Conſtantine.

[a] Idem l. vi. c. 30. & ultim.

Alexius Philanthropenus revolts;

his ſucceſs, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, marched againſt Libadarius, who had declared him a public enemy, and ſet a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the Cretans, who ſerved under Philantropenus, and had been before-hand gained over by Libadarius, ſeizing their leader, delivered him up to his adverſary, who cauſed his eyes to be put out. In the mean time, the Turks, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diſturbances, not only extended their dominions in Aſia, but conquered moſt of the iſlands in the Mediterranean; and, being maſters at ſea, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the emperor, diſtruſting his own ſubjects, took into his pay ten thouſand Maſſagetes or Alans, who, being driven out of their own country by the Tartars, had paſſed the Danube. Theſe being ſent over into Aſia, under the conduct of Michael, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, whom he had lately declared his collegue in the empire, the Turks, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence ſoon after they came ſuddenly down, and falling upon the Maſſagetes, while they lay in their camp, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, put them to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the young emperor, who, on that occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to fly with the reſt, and take refuge in the ſtrong caſtle of Magneſia. The Maſſagetes, abandoning him, marched directly to the Helleſpont, ravaging the countries through which they paſſed, and thence croſſed over into Europe. The Turks, purſuing them, made themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong-holds to the ſea-ſide. As for Michael, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands, he got in the end ſafe to Conſtantinople. The emperor, notwithſtanding the ſhameful conduct of the Maſſagetes, repoſing ſtill greater truſt in ſtrangers than in his own ſubjects, of whom he was grown jealous ſince the rebellion of Philanthropenus, took into his ſervice a body of Catalans, under the command of one Ronzerius or Rouzerius, who had formerly ſerved in the wars between the kings of Sicily and Naples; and, having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſent him with his troops to the relief of Philadelphia, then cloſely beſieged by the Turks, whom, upon his arrival he obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms againſt thoſe whom he was ſent to protect; and roving about the country, committed every-where unheard-

But is betrayed by his own men.

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks.

The Catalans revolt.

heard-of cruelties, ſubjecting all to the rage and luſt of thoſe diſſolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in Aſia, he returned with his Catalans to Europe; and leaving the reſt at Callipolis, went with two hundred choſen men to demand of the young emperor Michael, lying then at Oreſtias in Thrace, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himſelf and his men. Michael, juſtly provoked at his late conduct in Aſia, and now incenſed againſt him on account of his inſolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him and moſt of his men in pieces. Thoſe, who eſcaped, flying to Callipolis, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, tranſported with rage, firſt put all the citizens to the ſword, and then, fortifying themſelves in the beſt manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they diſtruſted their own ſtrength, they ſent for aſſiſtance to the Turks dwelling over-againſt them in Aſia, who immediately conveyed over the ſtreights five hundred choſen men to reinforce them. Theſe were ſoon followed by others, who, joining the Catalans, laid waſte the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ſhips in the ſtreights, and would have greatly diſtreſſed the imperial city itſelf, had not their ſmall fleet been encountered and deſtroyed by the Genoeſe. On this occaſion the Turks came firſt into Europe; an event which we may deſervedly reckon one of the moſt fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor Michael marched againſt the Catalans and Turks, with a conſiderable army, conſiſting of Greeks, Maſſagetes, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing, as ſoon as the ſignal for battle was given, and ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance as idle ſpectators, at whoſe inſtigation was never known, the Greeks were ſo diſcouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promiſes ſtop their flight. He performed in perſon all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant ſoldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horſe being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his eſcape to Didymothicum, where his father lay encamped. After this victory, the Catalans and Turks over-ran all Thrace, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword, till finding it impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt longer there, the Catalans reſolved to invade Theſſaly; but the Turks, deſirous of returning home with their booty,

Their leader is killed by the emperor's orders.

They ſeize on Callipolis.

The Turks firſt in Europe.

Thrace ravaged by the Catalans and Turks.

booty, ſeparated from them, being then thirteen thouſand horſe, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through Macedon, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a ſafe paſſage through his dominions, and ſupply them with ſhips to tranſport them into Aſia. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, readily condeſcended, and accordingly ordered the neceſſary veſſels to be got ready with the utmoſt expedition. But the Greek officers, obſerving the immenſe booty with which they were loaded, began to contrive how they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it, and in the end reſolved to fall upon the Turks in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the ſubjects of the empire, and enrich themſelves with the booty. The matter was not managed with ſuch ſecrecy, but the Turks had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having ſurprized a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other ſide of the ſtreights with the danger that threatened them, who, enticed with the hopes of booty, haſtened to their aſſiſtance; and croſſing the Helleſpont, ravaged the adjacent country, making excurſions to the very gates of Conſtantinople. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily complaints of his people, reſolved to root them out; and accordingly marched againſt them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their ſpades, mattocks, and other inſtruments of husbandry, in order to aſſiſt him in the reduction of the caſtle. The Turks were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themſelves as inevitably loſt; but afterwards obſerving, that the Greeks, who had cloſely beſieged the place, confiding in their ſtrength and numbers, utterly neglected all diſcipline, they took courage, and ſallying out with no more than eight hundred choſen horſe, penetrated almoſt without oppoſition to the emperor's tent; which ſtruck the undiſciplined peaſants with ſuch terror, that they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Their example was followed by the reſt of the army, tho' the emperor, and ſome of the officers, made ſeveral bold ſtands, hoping thereby to ſtop the flight of the diſheartened multitude; but the cowardly Greeks could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſtand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and taken ſome of the chief officers

The emperor's face is defeated by the Turks.

officers priſoners, made themſelves maſters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large ſum, deſigned for the payment of the troops, ſeveral ſtandards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the Turks roved up and down Thrace for two years together, without controul; which brought unſpeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to ſtir out to till their ground. At length Philes Palæologus, a perſon nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, deſired leave to march againſt the enemy, with ſuch officers and ſoldiers as the emperor ſhould think fit to appoint for that ſervice, not doubting, he ſaid, but, with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, he ſhould revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As Philes was an utter ſtranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one choſen by providence for the relief of his oppreſſed country, readily complied with his requeſt. Philes's firſt care was to eſtabliſh good diſcipline among his ſoldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and ſobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promiſing to reward each of them at the end of the war according to his deſerts. Having thus modelled his ſmall army according to his deſire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wiſhes of the emperor and the whole people. Being informed, ſoon after his departure from Conſtantinople, that Chaleb, the Turkiſh commander, was ravaging the country about Bizia, with one thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, he marched immediately againſt him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called Xerogipſum, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and with a pathetic ſpeech, encouraged them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at ſun-riſing. The Turks, not in the leaſt terrified with the ſurprize, having formed a ſtrong barricade with their waggons, and ſecured their priſoners, advanced in good order againſt the imperial troops, who received them with great reſolution and intrepidity. Philes, having firſt invoked the divine aſſiſtance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horſe being killed under him,

him, he was obliged to withdraw; which ſomewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with freſh vigour upon the enemy with the moſt reſolute of his men, put their horſe to flight; and then diſmounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with ſuch reſolution, that the Turks, no longer able to withſtand them, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. Philes purſued them with great ſlaughter to the entrance into the Cherſoneſus, and there encamped, with a deſign to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, tranſported with joy at the news of this victory, diſpatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more ſent by the Genoeſe of Peræ, to guard the ſtreights, and prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance out of Aſia. At the ſame time, Philes's army was ſtrengthened with two hundred choſen horſe, ſent him by Crales king of Servia, who had married the emperor's daughter. The Turks being thus ſhut up both by ſea and land, Philes, advancing with his forces to the caſtle they had ſeized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines; which did great execution. The Turks, now deſpairing of relief, and weakened by daily ſkirmiſhes, reſolved to uſe an utmoſt effort, and attempt to break through the Greeks ſword in hand; but finding them, when they firſt ſallied out, upon their guard and ready to receive them, they returned to their caſtle; but not ſo diſcouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themſelves a way through the Servians; which attempt proving equally unſucceſsful, they began utterly to deſpair. Having therefore caſt away their arms, and taken with them their gold and ſilver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made towards the ſea-ſide with a deſign to ſurrender themſelves to the Genoeſe, who, they hoped, would ſhew them more mercy than the Greeks, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, miſtaking the Greek for the Genoeſe galleys, fell into the hands of their moſt implacable enemies, by whom they were cut in pieces without compaſſion. The reſt fared not much better; for the Genoeſe killed ſuch as brought the moſt money with them, leſt in time they ſhould diſcover it to the Greeks, who would have claimed it. The poorer ſort they loaded with chains, ſending ſome of them to the emperor, and keeping the reſt for

Who are overthrown by Philes *Palæologus.*

And are ſhut up in the Cherſone us.

They are all cut in pieces or taken.

for their own ſlaves [b]. Thus was Europe delivered for the preſent from the Turks; but the time is drawing near, when we ſhall ſee them, through the indolence of the emperors and cowardice of the Greeks, firmly eſtabliſhed on this ſide of the ſtreights, to the utter ruin of the empire.

THE unhappy emperor was ſoon after involved in far greater troubles: Michael, his eldeſt ſon and collegue in the empire, had two ſons, Andronicus and Manuel, of whom the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather Andronicus, though a youth of a moſt untractable temper, debauched, diſſolute, and abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs. Being greatly addicted to women, and ſuſpecting he had ſome rival in the affections of his favourite miſtreſs, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night, and diſpatch the perſon that ſhould come to viſit her. It unluckily happened, that Manuel came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the houſe, in queſt of his brother. The aſſaſſins, not knowing him in the dark, miſtook him for the prince's rival, and falling upon him, gave him ſeveral mortal wounds, of which he died a few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor Michael his father, the good prince was ſo affected with it, that he died ſoon after of grief. The grandfather Andronicus, notwithſtanding his deep concern for the death of Manuel, ſtill continued to cheriſh and favour Andronicus, who, anſwering his kindneſs with the utmoſt ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendſhip with Syrgiannes, John Cantacuzenus, Theodorus Synadenus, and Alexius Apocaucus, all perſons diſaffected to the emperor, and ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to raiſe diſturbances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts and great experience in affairs of ſtate, they ſoon gained an aſcendant over the young prince, and finding him a ſubject proper for their deſigns, they inſpired him with a thirſt after power, and an utter averſion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent into two oppoſite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to his great grief, unſucceſsful, he reſolved in the end publicly to reprove him before the patriarch and the chief of the nobility.

Andronicus, the younger, a diſſolute prince.

The emperor endeavours in vain to reclaim him.

[b] Gregor. l. iii. c. 13——17. Cantacuzen. l. iii. Pachym. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

bility. The prince, receiving timely intimation of his grandfather's deſign, went, when ſent for, to the palace, attended by a great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments, ready, if any violence was offered to the young prince, to ruſh upon the aged emperor with their drawn ſwords, and, diſpatching him, proclaim Andronicus emperor in his room. But the emperor, who was paſſionately fond of him, reproved the youth in ſo tender and affectionate a manner, that, burſting into tears, he fell at the grandfather's feet, and promiſed an entire ſubmiſſion for the future. The grandfather, on his ſide, embracing him with paternal affection, promiſed to appoint him his heir, and name him for his ſucceſſor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but this reconciliation was ſhort-lived, for the prince, returning to his favourite counſellors and companions, ſoon fell from the reſolution he had taken, and began to entertain the ſame ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceiving he was become irreclaimable, reſolved to ſecure him, and by that means prevent the diſturbances, in which he foreſaw the ſtate would be otherwiſe unavoidably involved. This reſolution was communicated by the emperor to Geraſimus the patriarch, and by him ſcandalouſly betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and eſcaped to Adrianople. The emperor, upon the firſt notice of his flight, cauſed him to be declared a public enemy, proſcribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitans of Conſtantinople, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at Adrianople, was there acknowledged for emperor by Syrgiannes, Cantacuzenus, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in Thrace; ſo that, finding himſelf in a few days at the head of a conſiderable army, he detached a ſtrong body of horſe and foot to attempt, under the conduct of Syrgiannes, Conſtantinople itſelf, before the citizens could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, diſpatched Theoleptus, biſhop of Philadelphia, with other perſons of diſtinction, to the young prince, then encamped at Oreſtias, with propoſals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire ſhould be divided, and the prince have Thrace, from Chriſtopolis to Rhegium, and the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, for his ſhare; that his followers ſhould enjoy, without

The young prince makes his eſcape.

And openly revolts.

The emperor obliged to divide the empire with him.

without moleſtation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor ſhould retain Conſtantinople, with all the cities and iſlands in the eaſt, and in the weſt the whole country lying between Chriſtopolis and Dyrrhachium [c]. In the mean time, the Turks, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine broils, enlarged their dominions in Aſia, and reduced moſt places on the Meander, and among the reſt the ſtrong and important city of Pruſa in Bithynia. Othoman had ſome years before attempted to take it by ſtorm; but being repulſed with great loſs, he had built two ſtrong caſtles at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and left in them numerous garriſons, under the command of two of his beſt generals, Actemur and Balabanzuch, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the garriſon to ſuch ſtreights, that great numbers of them dying for want of neceſſaries, the reſt, deſpairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and ſubmit to Orchanes, the ſon of Othoman, who was then indiſpoſed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garriſon ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted whither they pleaſed, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. Theſe two articles were faithfully obſerved by Orchanes, who, entering Pruſa, took poſſeſſion of that important place in the year 1327, and, upon the death of his father Othoman, choſe it for the ſeat of the Turkiſh empire. To return to Andronicus: the agreement between him and his grandſon was but ſhort-lived; for Syrgiannes, who had firſt adviſed the young prince to revolt, not thinking his ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of ſubmiſſion to the emperor, and, upon promiſe of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in Thrace, and repaired to Conſtantinople, where he incenſed the emperor againſt his grandſon to ſuch a degree, that the war was renewed on both ſides. Conſtantine, the emperor's ſon, was ſent with a conſiderable army to Theſſalonica, to take upon him there the government of Macedon, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while Syrgiannes, at the head of a body of Turks, who had entered into the emperor's ſervice, reduced that part of Thrace, which lay next to Conſtantinople. Againſt Syrgiannes the prince diſpatched Synadenus, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in perſon againſt his uncle Conſtantine, being highly provoked againſt him for having ſeized on his mother Xene, and ſent her priſoner

Pruſa taken by the Turks.

The emperor and his grandſon fall out anew.

And come to an open rupture.

[c] Greg. & Cantacuz. l. i. c. 1—23.

ſoner to Conſtantinople. Conſtantine gained ſeveral advantages over him; which reduced him to great ſtreights: but the prince having cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, Conſtantine was ſo alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave entire credit, that he retired in the utmoſt conſternation to Theſſalonica. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and ſoon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, ſuſpected of maintaining a private correſpondence with the prince, and ſend them in chains to Conſtantinople. The letters were delivered to Conſtantine with the utmoſt ſecrecy; but the citizens nevertheleſs, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, ſtirred up the populace; who, ſeizing on Conſtantine, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept cloſely confined as long as he lived. At the ſame time, the Turks under Syrgiannes, quitting the emperor's ſervice, retired home; which obliged that general to return in great haſte to Conſtantinople. Upon his retreat, Synadenus reduced ſeveral places in Thrace, and threatened with a ſiege the imperial city itſelf; which ſo alarmed the emperor, that he releaſed Xene, and ſent her to her ſon, then encamped at Rhegium, with propoſals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promiſing to take him for his collegue in the empire, and to cauſe him to be ſolemnly crowned, with his wife Ann of Savoy, whom he had lately married upon the death of Irene his firſt wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. Sophia with the utmoſt magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a collegue, reſolved ſoon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without controul. With this view he entered into an alliance with Michael prince of Bulgaria, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diverſion in Servia, if the prince of that country ſhould move, as it was ſuſpected he would do, to the aſſiſtance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from Conſtantinople, ſeized on the public revenue in Thrace; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refuſed to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the ſame time his lieutenants in Macedon and the neighbouring provinces to act againſt him, as a public enemy. The prince, in the mean time, by pretending a great readineſs to comply in any thing reaſonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that they could ſcarce be reſtrained

The peace renewed.

They diſagree again.

reſtrained in Conſtantinople itſelf, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to eſtrange from him the minds of the multitude, having ſummoned the patriarch and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this moſt of them conſented, and agreed that his name ſhould be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch and ſome others, who privately favoured him, ſummoning the people together, pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the patriarch to be depoſed, and confined him to the monaſtery of Mangana. The prince, who was then at Rhegium, being informed of what had paſſed in the metropolis, approached it with thirteen hundred choſen men, and leaving his army at ſome diſtance, rode up, with Cantacuzenus and a guard of thirty ſoldiers, to one of the gates, deſiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by Phocas Maroles, who commanded the guards on the walls, ſent him by the ſame officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his ſubjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, ſome reviled him from the walls with moſt bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having ſolemnly declared, that he deſired nothing ſo much as to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to Selymbria, and from thence into Macedon, where he took, almoſt without oppoſition, ſeveral caſtles and ſtrong-holds; and then marched to Theſſalonica, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous reſiſtance, but was in the end obliged to ſubmit, the prince having ſurpriſed and cut off a body of three hundred choſen men, ſent by the emperor to reinforce the garriſon. The emperor, alarmed at the progreſs of his grandſon's arms, applied to the king of Bulgaria for aſſiſtance, who immediately diſpatched a conſiderable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the Melanes, advanced with long marches to Conſtantinople. However, three thouſand Bulgarian horſe reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheleſs, diſtruſting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already ſuffered unſpeakable calamities, admitted only their com-

The prince ſeizes on ſeveral places in Macedon.

mander in chief and a ſmall number of officers into the city, aſſigning to the reſt quarters in the ſuburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived ſoon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich preſents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The Bulgarians being thus removed, the prince prepared for the ſiege of Conſtantinople; but in the mean time, two of the ſoldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promiſe of a reward anſwerable to that important ſervice, they returned into the city undiſcovered; and the following night, while the reſt of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had ſupplied them in great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking open that which was called the Roman gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were ſo far from making any oppoſition, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they ſaluted young Andronicus emperor. Gregoras, tho' greatly biaſſed in favour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced againſt young Andronicus, tells us, that the prince, aſcribing the ſucceſs that had attended his arms ever ſince the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, iſſued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or ſoldiers to offer the leaſt affront or injury to the emperor his grand-father. The ſame writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in perſon, and was ſo affected with the ſpeech, which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and reſpect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greateſt diſtreſs. After this, he returned ſolemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almoſt without bloodſhed; and then, repairing to the monaſtery of Mangana, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to the church, and reſtored him to his former dignity [d]. Young Andronicus, now maſter of the imperial city, and univerſally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, ſuffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the enſigns of majeſty; but would not allow him the leaſt ſhare in the adminiſtration, which he took entirely into his own hands, governing with an

The city of Conſtantinople betrayed to him.

His conduct towards the old emperor.

Who is deprived of all power.

[d] Gregor. l. iv. Cantacuzen l. i. c. 50——5. Onuph. & Genebr. in chron.

an abſolute ſway, without ſo much as conſulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thouſand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himſelf reſided in that of the deſpot Demetrius. He granted a general pardon to all thoſe who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred ſome of his chief favourites to the firſt employments in the ſtate [e].

Andronicus III.

His wars with the Bulgarians.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of Bulgaria, entering Thrace at the head of a numerous army, conſiſting partly of Bulgarians, and partly of Scythians, plundered ſeveral cities, and laid waſte the whole country. Andronicus, having with incredible expedition drawn together a conſiderable army, appeared unexpectedly at Byzium, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of Bulgaria lay encamped. His ſudden arrival ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. Andronicus purſued them, and carrying the war into Bulgaria, ravaged the country far and near, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of a very powerful and numerous army, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for a peace; which, after ſeveral conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to Andronicus. After this, the two princes had an interview on horſeback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their antient friendſhip, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in ſuch places as ſhould be moſt convenient for both [f]. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms againſt the Turks, who, taking the advantage of domeſtic quarrels among the Greek princes, had greatly enlarged their dominions in Aſia. Othoman, whom we may juſtly ſtyle the founder of the Turkiſh empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover ſeveral places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the reſt the famous city of Nice, with a ſtrong caſtle on the Sangarius, which commanded the paſſes leading into Bithynia. This caſtle, however, was ſoon after retaken by Urchan or Orchanes, ſon and ſucceſſor of Othoman, who, having happily ſettled his affairs at home, raiſed a formidable army, and entering Bithynia as ſoon as the emperor had left that country, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places there, and at laſt ſat down before Nice. The

He recovers Nice and other places from the Turks.

[e] Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 1. [f] Idem, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

emperor, who was then at Conſtantinople, leaving the imperial city, haſtened back into Aſia; and advancing as far as Philocrene, encamped there at a ſmall diſtance from the Turks; who, after having harraſſed his men with frequent ſkirmiſhes, and ſudden onſets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which both ſides behaved with great bravery and reſolution; but in the end, the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retired in the utmoſt confuſion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to Philocrene, to have his wound dreſſed there, a report was ſpread in the camp, that he was killed; which ſo diſheartened his men, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter, ſeized on the rich booty which they had left, and amongſt other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. Andronicus, quite deſpirited at this misfortune, returned to Conſtantinople, while the Turks, having now no enemy to controul them, made themſelves maſters of all the maritime towns in Bithynia, and in the end of Nice itſelf, by the following ſtratagem: Andronicus, in leaving Aſia, had promiſed to reinforce the garriſon of Nice with a thouſand horſe; Orchanes, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the Roman manner, and marching with them in perſon through by-ways into the road leading from Conſtantinople, diſpatched three hundred more, armed like Turks, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a ſudden to have diſcovered the enemy; and leading his men againſt the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the ſight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended Romans, were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no ſooner opened, than they fell ſword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the garriſon in pieces, and made themſelves maſters of the city. After this, Orchanes, leading his men to the ſea-ſide, laid ſiege to Abydus; which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two ſons, Solyman and Amurath, reduced ſeveral other important places in Aſia, and among the reſt the antient city of Nicomedia. As the emperor was at this time

By whom he is in the end defeated.

The Turks recover Nice

And take Abydus and Nicomedia.

time ſeized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was deſpaired of, the court was in too great a confuſion to think of the proper meaſures for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the Turks in Aſia. Such as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they muſt inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor ſhould die, and his grandfather be reſtored to his power and authority. This conſideration prompted Cantacuzenus and ſome others, if Gregoras is to be credited, to reſolve on the old emperor's death; but this reſolution being generally diſapproved, they all agreed at laſt to confine him to a monaſtery, and force him to take the monaſtic habit, and exchange the name of Andronicus for that of Antony; which was done accordingly. Thus Gregoras [g]. But Cantacuzenus tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more ſevere uſage from his enemies, if his grandſon ſhould die, retired to a monaſtery of his own accord, and, taking the monaſtic habit, continued there unmoleſted to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332, he being then in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age [h]. Young Andronicus intended, during his malady, to reſtore the crown to his grandfather; but, upon his recovery, he ſuffered him to continue in the monaſtery, retaining the whole power to himſelf. In the mean time, the Turks purſued their conqueſts in Aſia, and threatened Europe itſelf with an invaſion. As the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formidable an enemy, he was perſuaded by Cantacuzenus to conclude a diſhonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in Aſia, and ſuffer the Romans peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wreſted from them. Not long after the inhabitants of Theſſaly revolting, the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but while he was employed in reducing them, the Turks, who obſerved the peace no longer than it ſuited their intereſt, paſſed over into Europe; and having ravaged the ſea-coaſt, repaſſed the ſtreights with an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives. Andronicus died ſoon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he depoſed his grandfather, and 1341ſt of the chriſtian æra. Cantacuzenus, in the hiſtory he has left us, endeavours to juſtify his conduct towards his grandfather. Tho' the old emperor deſigned, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him

Andronicus the elder confined to a monaſtery, where he dies.

Andronicus the younger dies.

[g] Greg. l. x. c. 10. [h] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 43.

from the ſucceſſion, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deſerved. Gregoras, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young Andronicus, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandſon the leaſt provocation. All the diſorders in the ſtate were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counſels of Cantacuzenus and his favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if the grandfather was to blame, the grandſon was altogether inexcuſeable. Andronicus the younger left two ſons, John and Manuel, of whom the eldeſt was, upon his father's death, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, John Cantacuzenus was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. Cantacuzenus governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the ſecurity of the provinces; and in ſhort, omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and diſintereſted miniſter. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince againſt the will and approbation of John the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him ſuſpected to the empreſs Anne, repreſenting him as one who had nothing leſs in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit with the empreſs, Cantacuzenus, apprehending he might in the end gain the aſcendant over her to his utter ruin, was for reſigning his charge, and earneſtly preſſed the empreſs for leave to retire; but ſhe refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and aſſuring him, that ſhe was fully convinced of his integrity, and conſequently determined to ſhut her ears againſt the unjuſt calumnies and malicious informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the adminiſtration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the princeſs with the dangers ſhe was to apprehend from the protector, and miſconſtruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take ſuch meaſures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for giving entire credit to the malicious inſinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own ſafety and that of her children, againſt the wicked deſigns of the protector, ſhe began to look upon him as an ene-

John Palæologus.

The patriarch an enemy to Cantacuzenus, the young prince's guardian.

my

my to herſelf and her family; and having cauſed ſome of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was abſent at Didymothicum, ſhe ſent him orders to reſign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refuſing to do, till he had an opportunity of juſtifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empreſs, at the inſtigation of the patriarch, declared him a public enemy and traitor. Cantacuzenus, now appriſed, that his enemies aimed at nothing leſs than his utter deſtruction, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raiſed to oppoſe the Servians, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him ſeveral perſons of the greateſt authority in the empire, who all adviſed him to aſſume the purple, as the only means of defeating the deſigns of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at Didymothicum in 1342, the ſecond year of his adminiſtration. When news of his revolt was brought to Conſtantinople, his mother and the reſt of his friends and relations in the city were immediately apprehended, and thrown into priſon, his eſtate was confiſcated, and troops levied to ſuppreſs the rebellion in its birth. Thus Cantacuzenus himſelf in his hiſtory [i]; and with him moſt other hiſtorians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the perſecuted miniſter to take arms in his own defence. Having thus aſſumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and ſoldiery in a long ſpeech with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, which, he ſaid, the malice of his enemies had rendered neceſſary. He then gave leave to all thoſe, whoſe friends and relations were at Conſtantinople, to depart, leſt, by continuing with him, they ſhould occaſion the ruin of their innocent friends. The reſt of the army declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him to the laſt, he advanced to Adrianople, the inhabitants of which city had ſeized on all thoſe whom they ſuſpected to favour him, and ſent them in chains to Conſtantinople. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of Bulgarians were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aſide the deſign he had formed againſt Adrianople, and retire to the ſea-ſide, that he might with more eaſe receive ſupplies from the Turks in Aſia, with whom he had entered into an alliance,

Cantacuzenus declared a public enemy.

He aſſumes the purple.

[i] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 1—27.

upon his firſt aſſuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large ſupplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all poſſible means for bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the meſſenger who brought the letters was ſeized, and thrown into priſon, Cantacuzenus was declared anew a public enemy, and ſuch of his relations, as had not the good luck to make their eſcape, were treated with the utmoſt cruelty. His mother was delivered up to Apocaucus, his moſt inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmoſt barbarity, telling her ſometimes, that her ſon was taken priſoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to Conſtantinople. Her concern and the cruel uſage ſhe met with, having thrown her into a violent fever, Apacaucus would ſuffer no phyſician to attend her, till the empreſs, hearing the danger ſhe was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own phyſicians, who nevertheleſs were not admitted by the patriarch and Apocaucus to viſit her, till they had ſolemnly ſworn not to adminiſter any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being thus deſtitute of all help, and daily inſulted by her enemies, ſhe died ſoon after, to the great grief of the empreſs, who, being informed of the unſpeakable miſeries ſhe had undergone, and on that account highly provoked againſt the patriarch and Apocaucus, obliged them to ſend deputies to Cantacuzenus with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empreſs, that Cantacuzenus would hearken to no terms; that he was obſtinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accompliſhed the ruin of her two ſons and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore reſolved on, Andronicus and Thomas Palæologi were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into Thrace, of which country moſt cities had declared for Cantacuzenus. At the ſame time a fleet, conſiſting of ſixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the Turks from ſupplying the enemy with men or proviſions. Of this fleet Apocaucus took upon himſelf the command; and having driven back the Turks, attempting to croſs the ſtreights and ſuccour their ally, reduced Cantacuzenus, who was at the ſame time warmly preſſed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two above-mentioned Palælogoli, to ſuch ſtreights, that he was forced to quit Thrace and take refuge in the dominions of Crales, prince of Moeſia, who received

His offers for a peace rejected.

His mother uſed with great cruelty.

received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection, and ſent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the emperor's forces, and made himſelf maſter of the greater part of Thrace. Hereupon his enemies, finding they could not ſuppreſs him by force, had recourſe to treachery, and, with mighty promiſes, prevailed upon one Monomachus to try whether he could diſpatch him with poiſon. Accordingly Monomachus, repairing to his camp at Selymbria, the better to compaſs his wicked purpoſe, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorſe, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poiſon, which he was to have adminiſtered. Cantacuzenus received him in a moſt obliging manner, loaded him with preſents, and taking him into his favour, repoſed ſo great a truſt in him, that the traitor would have ſoon found an opportunity of putting his deſign in execution, without incurring the leaſt ſuſpicion, had not Cantacuzenus been privately warned by his friends at Conſtantinople to be upon his guard. In the mean time Cantacuzenus, having made himſelf maſter of all Macedon and Thrace, approached the imperial city, with a deſign to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when ſeveral citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long ſiege, reſolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having firſt acquainted him with their deſign, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themſelves maſters of one of the gates, admitted him and the whole army, ſaluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who, flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud ſhouts to the forum. As for the empreſs, ſhe continued in the palace, which ſhe ſeemed determined to defend to the laſt extremity, having a conſiderable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earneſtly entreating her not to expoſe both herſelf and him to the fury of the incenſed multitude, ſhe was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms; viz. that Cantacuzenus ſhould be declared collegue to the young prince, and have the ſole adminiſtration of affairs for the ſpace of ten years, Palæologus being then but fifteen; that afterwards they ſhould both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion ſhould paſs on both ſides. This agreement being ſigned and ſworn to by Cantacuzenus, Palæologus, and the empreſs Ann, on

His enemies attempt to poiſon him.

His is received into Conſtantinople.

And crowned emperor.

on the eighth of February 1347, the new emperor was received the ſame day into the palace, and ſoon after crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by Iſidore, the new patriarch of Conſtantinople, John his predeceſſor being depoſed, and ſent into baniſhment. That the union between the two princes might be better ſettled and more laſting, Cantacuzenus gave his daughter Helena in marriage to young Palæologus, and cauſed her to be likewiſe crowned, and acknowledged empreſs by the nobility and people [k]. As Cantacuzenus had been powerfully aſſiſted by Orchanes the Turkiſh ſultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correſpondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy and ſome zealous chriſtians, who, by exclaiming againſt ſo ſtrict an alliance and intimacy between a chriſtian and a Mohammedan prince, eſtranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from Cantacuzenus; which proved very prejudicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the ſpace of ten years with ſuch equity and moderation, that even his moſt inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, the Genoeſe of Galata, who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refuſing them leave to enlarge their city, ſet fire to ſeveral buildings in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, ſeized on all the emperor's ſhips then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained ſeveral advantages at ſea, and made themſelves maſters of ſome iſlands in the Archipelago, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When Palæologus came to govern jointly with him, Crales king of the Servians, highly provoked againſt Cantacuzenus, for having obliged him to reſtore ſome cities, which he had ſeized during the late troubles, gained over with rich preſents ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who, by inſinuating to the young emperor, that Cantacuzenus deſigned to confine him to a monaſtery, to uſurp the whole power, and tranſmit the ſovereignty to his poſterity, raiſed a diffidence between the two princes, which ſoon after broke out into an open war, Palæologus being on one hand aſſiſted by Crales king of Servia and Alexander prince of Bulgaria; and Cantacuzenus on the other hand by Orchanes the Turkiſh ſultan. In a battle which was fought in Thrace, the young emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to take refuge in Conſtantinople, all the other cities in Thrace having opened

He governs with great equity and moderation.

A war breaks out between the two princes.

[k] Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 90.—100. & l. iv. c. 1. 2.

ed their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was no ſooner ſigned, than Cantacuzenus, deveſting himſelf, by a voluntary reſignation, of all his power, retired to the monaſtery of Mangana, and there took the monaſtic habit. But his ſon Matthew, whom he had ſome time before declared emperor, purſued the war, and ſeized on ſeveral cities in Thrace, and among the reſt on Adrianople. Againſt him Palæologus marched in perſon; and having utterly defeated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thouſand Turks ſent by Orchanes, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his ſtrong-holds; whence while he was making his eſcape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was ſeized by one Boienas, and delivered up to Palæologus, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, reſtored him to his liberty [1].

Cantacuzenus reſigns, and takes the monaſtic habit.

During theſe civil commotions, the Turks, under the conduct of Solyman, the ſon, or, as others will have it, the brother of Orchanes, paſſed the Helleſpont, and having ſeized on a ſtrong caſtle called Coiridocuſtron, marched from thence againſt Gallipolis, which Solyman took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garriſon to offer him battle. Thus the Turks, having reduced all Aſia, firſt ſettled in Europe, where they have continued ever ſince. This happened in the year 1357, Orchanes dying ſoon after, Amurath his ſon and ſucceſſor purſued the conqueſts, which Solyman had begun; and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Thrace, laid ſiege at length to Adrianople, which was forced to ſubmit, the emperor not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Amurath, having in a ſhort time maſtered all Thrace, made Adrianople the ſeat of his empire in Europe, as the moſt proper place for the enlarging his dominions, and extending his conqueſts to Greece and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, Andronicus, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, having conſpired againſt his father, was by his orders deprived of his ſight, and kept under cloſe confinement. Ducas the hiſtorian tells us, that Andronicus and Cuntuzes, Amurath's younger ſon, having contracted an intimate friendſhip, conſpired the death of their fathers, binding themſelves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendſhip, when the one ſhould be emperor, and the other ſultan. The ſame writer adds, that the conſpiracy being diſcovered

The Turks firſt ſettled in Europe.

They take Adrianople.

[1] Idem, c. 32—49.

diſcovered to Amurath, he ordered his own ſon's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to inflict the ſame puniſhment on his ſon, threatening him with a war, if he refuſed to comply. The emperor, dreading the power of the ſultan, cauſed the eyes both of his ſon and grandſon, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the ſame time his ſecond ſon Manuel his collegue in the empire. Andronicus, however, after two years confinement, made his eſcape, being favoured therein by the Genoeſe of Galata, with whoſe aſſiſtance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into Conſtantinople, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, Manuel and Theodorus, into his power, he confined them to the ſame priſon in which he had been detained; but they having likewiſe, after two years, made their eſcape, Andronicus, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the Turks were ready to fall upon the few countries that were ſtill left to the empire, reſtored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him Selymbria, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood [m]. In the mean time Amurath, the Turkiſh ſultan being treacherouſly ſlain, his ſon Bajazet ſucceeded him in his dominions; and purſuing the conqueſts which had been ſo ſucceſsfully carried on by his predeceſſors in Europe, made himſelf maſter of Theſſaly, Macedon, Phocis, Peloponneſus, Myſia, and Bulgaria, driving out the deſpots, or petty princes, who held thoſe countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but Conſtantinople and the neighbouring country, as his vaſſal, and accordingly ſent him an arrogant and haughty meſſage, requiring, or rather commanding, him to pay him a yearly tribute, and ſend him his ſon Manuel, to attend him in his military expeditions. With this diſhonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formidable an enemy. The unhappy prince died ſoon after, that is, in 1392, the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, leaving no ſon behind him but Manuel, the other two, Andronicus and Theodore, being dead ſome time before. Manuel, who was then in Bajazet's court, hearing of his father's death, haſtened to Conſtantinople, without taking his leave of the ſultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his ſudden departure; which Bajazet highly reſenting, puniſhed the officers who had ſuffered him to

The emperor driven from the throne by his ſon, and reſtored.

Bajazet's conqueſts in Europe.

John Palæologus dies.

Manuel.

[m] Ducas. c. 12

to escape with the utmost severity; and passing with great expedition out of Bithynia, where he then was, into Thrace, destroyed with fire and sword the country adjoining to Constantinople, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns, invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who having raised an army 130,000 strong, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of Sigismund king of Hungary and John count of Nevers. The western troops were at first attended with good success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered Widin, and several other places of great importance in Bulgaria, and invested Nicopolis. Hereupon Bajazet, raising the siege of Constantinople, marched, with all the forces he could assemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, Sigismund, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched with the rest to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the French cavalry having dismounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces, began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmost effort, and charging the christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confusion. The Turks pursued them to their camp, which they took with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the conut of Nevers, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count himself and five more, put to death in Bajazet's presence, after having been insulted by him in a most outrageous manner. As for Sigismund, he had the good luck to make his escape, and crossing the Danube in a small boat, to get safe to his own dominions. This memorable battle, in which 20,000 christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of Manuel's reign, and 1393d of the christian æra [n]. After this victory, Bajazet returned to the siege of Constantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to John the son of Andronicus, to whom, as we have observed above, the emperor had yielded the town of Selymbria. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which

Bajazet besieges Constantinople.

Defeats an army of 130,000 christians.

[n] Idem, c. 14.

which Bajazet was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a juſt claim, as being the ſon of Manuel's elder brother. On the other hand, John was to yield the city of Conſtantinople to Bajazet, and remove the imperial ſeat to Peloponneſus, which the ſultan promiſed to relinquiſh to him and his poſterity. This agreement being privately ſigned and ſworn to by both parties, Bajazet diſpatched deputies to the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and abſtain from all hoſtilities, provided they would drive out Manuel, and place his nephew John on the throne, to which he had an unqueſtionable right. This politic propoſal rent the whole city into two factions, ſome favouring Manuel, and others declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being appriſed, and apprehenſive of the evils attending a civil diſcord at ſo critical a conjuncture, he acquainted his nephew, then in the Turkiſh camp, that, to deliver his ſubjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to reſign the ſovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himſelf by ſea to whatever place he ſhould think fit. With this condition John readily complied, and Manuel, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarqued on board a galley, and ſet ſail for Venice, where he landed, and from thence went to the ſeveral courts of the chriſtian princes, to ſollicit aid againſt the overgrown power of the Turks, now become formidable to all Europe. He was every-where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem, and promiſed large ſupplies, all Chriſtendom being alarmed at the late conqueſt of the infidels. In the mean time, John being crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, Bajazet took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and preſs him to a ſpeedy execution of the main article, which was to yield Conſtantinople to him, and retire to Peloponneſus or Morea; but the citizens refuſing, notwithſtanding the unſpeakable hardſhips they ſuffered, to comply with ſuch a ſcandalous treaty, Bajazet renewed the ſiege, and aſſaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmoſt extremity, news was brought him, that Tamerlane the victorious Tartar, after having ſubdued Perſia and the more eaſterly provinces, had turned his arms againſt him, and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into Syria. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haſte raiſed the ſiege, and paſſing the Helleſpont, marched with the utmoſt expedition to Pruſa, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both

Manuel reſigns the empire to his nephew John.

Conſtantinople beſieged by Bajazet;

both for his eaſtern and weſtern forces. From Pruſa he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army, to meet Tamerlane, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of Angoria in Galatia, on the twenty-eighth of July 1401, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and having taken the ſultan himſelf priſoner, to puniſh his exceſſive pride, cruelty, and arrogance, ſhut him up in an iron cage, againſt which he is ſaid to have daſhed out his brains the year following, tho' ſome aſcribe his death to poiſon °, as we ſhall relate more at length elſewhere. Manuel was no ſooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy Bajazet, than he returned to Conſtantinople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked againſt John for his ſervile compliance with the Turks, drove him from the throne, and reſtored Manuel, by whom he was baniſhed to the iſland of Leſbos. This great overthrow of the Turks had like to have occaſioned the total diſſolution of their empire, both in Europe and Aſia; for the five ſons of Bajazet, taking arms againſt each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. Iſa-Zelebis, Bajazet's third ſon, upon his father's death, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed ſultan; but was ſoon driven from the throne by his brother Solyman, as was Solyman by his brother Muſa. At length Mohammed, Bajazet's youngeſt ſon, having overcome all his competitors, was univerſally acknowledged ſultan, and the ſole monarch of the Turks. The emperor Manuel in the mean time, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diviſions, and ſiding ſometimes with one of the competitors, and ſometimes with another, recovered ſeveral provinces, which Mohammed, whom he had aſſiſted againſt his brother Muſa, ſuffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424, the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-ſeventh of his reign P. Some authors write, that he reſigned the empire to his ſon John Palæologus five years before his death, and retiring to a monaſtery, took the monaſtic habit, with the name of Antony. Be that as it will, he was ſucceeded by his ſon John, in whoſe reign Amurath II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Mohammed, recovered all the provinces which had been ſeized after the death of Bajazet by the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid ſiege to Conſtantinople, being provoked againſt the emperor for eſpouſing the cauſe of an impoſtor, who, pretending to be Muſtapha the ſon of Bajazet,

Who is overcome and taken priſoner by Tamerlane.

Manuel reſtored.

Manuel dies.

John Palæologus.

Conſtantinople beſieged by Amurath II. who is forced to raiſe it.

° Ducas, c. 14. P Idem, c. 28.

jazet, was acknowledged for ſultan in all the provinces of the Turkiſh empire in Europe. The citizens defended themſelves with great bravery; but, being haraſſed with continual aſſaults, muſt have in the end ſubmitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of Caramania to countenance another Muſtapha, Amurath's younger brother, who, having revolted in Aſia, was, with the ſupplies ſent him by his new ally, enabled to lay ſiege to the city of Nice, which he ſoon reduced. This obliged Amurath to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and march with all his forces againſt the uſurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one Ilras, in whom he repoſed great confidence. Amurath, having got him into his power, cauſed him to be immediately ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring; and then turning his arms againſt the prince of Caramania, obliged him to ſue for peace; which the ſultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to preſcribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered Macedon at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, laid ſiege to Theſſalonica, which he took, and plundered with the utmoſt cruelty, as he did moſt of the cities of Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia. From Greece he marched into Servia, which country he ſoon reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of Hungary, beſieged the ſtrong city of Belgrade, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thouſand Turks being ſlain by the chriſtians in one ſally; which obliged Amurath to drop the enterprize, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves under the walls of Sinderovia. Not long after he gained a ſtill more ſignal victory over the enemy in the plains of Tranſilvania, with the loſs of no more than three thouſand of his own men, whereas twenty thouſand Turks were killed on the ſpot, and almoſt an equal number in the purſuit. Amurath, who was then at Adrianople, ſent another army into Tranſilvania, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better ſucceſs, being cut off almoſt to a man by the brave Hungarian. He gained over the Turks ſeveral other no leſs remarkable victories, and recovered all Bulgaria and Servia; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by Amurath, in the memorable battle of Verna, fought in the year 1444, the chriſtians being diſheartened by the death of Uladiſlaus, king of Hungary, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all

Theſſalonica and ſeveral other places, taken by Amurath.

John Hunniades's ſucceſs againſt the Turks.

all ſides, and cut in pieces. However, Hunniades, having had the good luck to make his eſcape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of Ladiſlaus, who was choſen king of Hungary in the room of Uladiſlaus, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and advancing to Coſſova, engaged Amurath, who lay encamped there. The battle laſted three days, both armies retiring to their reſpective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two firſt days the chriſtians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, Amurath charging them with freſh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, put to flight and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448, thirty-four thouſand Turks were ſlain, and eight thouſand chriſtians, with the flower of the Hungarian nobility. As for Hunniades, he made his eſcape into Servia, and from thence returned into Hungary [q]. In the mean time, John Palæologus, the Greek emperor, fearing the victorious ſultan ſhould turn his arms againſt him, ſent embaſſadors to Adrianople, where Amurath then reſided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The ſultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to Conſtantinople, unleſs the emperor yielded to him ſome ſtrong-holds, which he ſtill poſſeſſed on the Euxine ſea, and engage to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thouſand aſpers. To theſe ſhameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to ſubmit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the Roman empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but Amurath, as ſoon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with George Caſtriot, ſurnamed Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, would, under ſome pretence or other, attempt Conſtantinople itſelf, he applied to the weſtern princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cauſe, he promiſed to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at Ferrara, he went thither in perſon, attended by Joſeph the patriarch, a great number of prelates and the flower of the Greek nobility, who were all received at Venice, where they landed, and afterwards at Ferrara, with great pomp and magnificence. From Ferrara the council was removed ſoon after, by reaſon of a plague which broke out there, to Florence, where the union was affected between

He is in the end routed by the Turks.

The emperor ſubmits to pay a yearly tribute to the ſultan.

[q] Ducas. c. 30—34.

Union of the Greek and Latin churches.

between the two churches, and ſubſcribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died ſoon after at Florence; but the emperor and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to Venice, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to Conſtantinople. Upon his return, he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, and that of the biſhops, ſome of whom had refuſed to ſubſcribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to ſign them. The diſturbances which this union raiſed in the church, the death of the empreſs Deſpina, and the inſupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the ſultan, gave him ſuch concern, that, being already broken with age, he ſunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty ſeventh of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Conſtantinople, to his brother Conſtantine[r]. Amurath the Turkiſh ſultan, did not long ſurvive him; but dying in the beginning of February 1450, was ſucceeded by his ſon Mohammed, who had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than he cauſed all his brothers to be ſtrangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is ſaid to have been the ſon of a concubine) to marry a ſlave, by name Iſaac. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with Conſtantine, the Greek emperor, who, upon the firſt news of his father's death, had ſent embaſſadors to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the throne. The embaſſadors were received very graciouſly, the new ſultan declaring, that he had nothing ſo much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. The embaſſadors of the Walachians, Lesbians, Bulgarians, Rhodians, Servians, &c. were likewiſe received in a moſt obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the acceſſion of Mohammed to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the chriſtians, the more becauſe his mother was of that religion, being, according to the moſt credible writers, the deſpot or prince of Servia's daughter. But notwithſtanding the friendſhip and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no ſooner put an end to the war with Ibrahim, king of Caramania, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in Aſia, than he begun to entertain thoughts of making

John, the emperor, dies.

Conſtantine Palæologus.

Mohammed II.

[r] Idem, c. 33.

ing himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, and aboliſhing the very name of the Roman empire. With this view he built on the Europe ſide of the Boſphorus a ſtrong caſtle, called by the Turks Genichicar, and by the Greeks Neocaſtrum, oppoſite to another in Aſia called Aſpocaſtron, which he cauſed to be repaired, placing in both ſtrong garriſons. Theſe two caſtles commanded the ſtreights, and the former, being but five miles from Conſtantinople, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. Mohammed had no ſooner begun the work, than the emperor and the citizens of Conſtantinople, alarmed at the undertaking, diſpatched embaſſadors to the ſultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him ſtom it. But Mohammed was ſo far from granting them their requeſt, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an annual tribute, provided he put a ſtop to the work, he threatened, with the utmoſt arrogance, to cauſe ſuch as ſhould be ſent to him upon the like errand to be ſtead alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to Conſtantine, and that he had an unqueſtionable right to build in his own dominions what caſtles and forts he pleaſed. When the fort in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople was finiſhed, the garriſon left there by the ſultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excurſions to the very gates, returned to their ſtrong-hold loaded with booty. This occaſioned ſeveral skirmiſhes between the chriſtians and Turks; in one of which a conſiderable number of the latter being killed, the ſultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the chriſtians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the ſword, which was done accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut, ordered all the Turks within the walls to be arreſted, but ſet them at liberty the next day, ſending at the ſame time embaſſadors to Mohammed, with propoſals for concluding a laſting peace between the two crowns. As the ſultan ſeemed averſe to an accommodation, and was aſſembling his forces from all parts, Conſtantine, well appriſed of his deſign, in the firſt place took care to fill the public magazines, and ſupply the city with great plenty of all ſorts of proviſions; then by his embaſſadors to the weſtern princes, acquainted them with the deſigns of the ſultan, and the ſtorm that was gathering againſt the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all Chriſtendom. That they might the more readily aſſiſt him at ſo critical

He builds a fort on the Boſphorus.

Which occaſions a miſunderſtanding between him and the emperor.

Conſtantine has recourſe in vain to the chriſtian princes.

critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonſtrations of eſteem and reſpect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the eccleſiaſtics zealouſly attached to the ceremonies of their anceſtors, and occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the leaſt aſſiſtance from the Latins in the weſt, who, by a ſtrange infatuation, ſuffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of Chriſtendom, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the chriſtian name, who, they well knew, would not ſtop there, but extend his conqueſts to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the moſt diſtant, kingdoms. While Conſtantine was ſoliciting aid from the weſtern princes, Caracia, one of Mohammed's chief commanders, reduced ſeveral places on the Euxine ſea, which were ſtill held by the emperor, viz. Meſembria, Acheloun, Biſon, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by aſſault a ſtrong caſtle called St. Stephen's tower, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Other forts in that neighbourhood ſubmitted at the approach of the enemy; but Selymbria held out for ſome time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and reſolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated aſſaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, Caracia was ordered to ſcour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any ſupplies of men or proviſions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the Greeks were ſtill maſters at ſea, their galleys ravaged the coaſts of Aſia, and returned with an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were ſold for ſlaves in Conſtantinople [a].

All the forts in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople taken by the Turks.

In the mean time, Mohammed, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thouſand men, left Adrianople; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the ſixth of April 1453, covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His Aſiatic troops were poſted on the right towards the Boſphorus; thoſe of Europe on the left towards the haven; and he himſelf, with fifteen thouſand janizaries, and other choſen troops, between both, over-againſt the gate named Karſias. On the other ſide of the haven, Zoganus, one of his chief officers,

Conſtantinople beſieged.

Diſpoſition of the Turkiſh army.

[a] Ducas, c. 37.

officers, encamped with a conſiderable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that ſide. At the ſame time Pantologes, the Turkiſh admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred ſail; but the emperor had taken care to ſecure the haven, in which were three large ſhips, twenty ſmall ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn croſs the entrance from the city to Pera. Mohammed having thus aſſigned to each part of his army their ſeveral quarters, and ſurrounded the city both by ſea and land, he began the ſiege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raiſing mounts in ſeveral places as high as the walls themſelves; whence the beſieged were inceſſantly galled with ſhowers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious ſize, which carried, according to Ducas, a ball of an hundred pound weight, made of hard black ſtone brought from the Euxine ſea. It had been caſt by an Hungarian engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to Mohammed, while he was buſied in building the above-mentioned forts[t]. With this vaſt piece, the enemy made ſeveral breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the beſieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and reſolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by John Juſtiniani, a Genoeſe adventurer, who arriving before the ſiege, with two large ſhips and a conſiderable number of voluntiers on board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and beſides, for his farther encouragement, promiſed the ſovereignty of the iſland of Leſbos, provided he obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of ſo great a reward, performed exploits, ſays our hiſtorian, tho' no-ways biaſſed in favour of the Latins, worthy of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Not ſatisfied with repulſing the enemy in their frequent aſſaults, he often ſallied out againſt them at the head of his voluntiers, overturned their machines, deſtroyed their works, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt troops, that his name ſoon became formidable. But Mohammed, to carry on the ſiege with more vigour, ordered new levies to be made throughout his extenſive dominions; which reinforcements

John Juſtiniani commander in chief of the emperor's forces.

Mohammed's army reinforced.

[t] Idem, c. 35.

forcements arriving daily from all parts, his army was ſoon encreaſed to the number of near four hundred thouſand men, while the garriſon conſiſted only of nine thouſand regular troops, viz. ſix thouſand Greeks, and three thouſand Genoeſe and Venetians. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day without intermiſſion, great part of them, with the tower called Baclatina, near the Roman gate, was beaten down; but while the Turks were buſied in filling up the ditch, in order to give the aſſault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expreſſed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the ſhore his whole fleet worſted by five ſhips, four of which belonged to the Genoeſe of Galata, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from Peloponneſus, and the others with all manner of proviſions from the iſland of Chios, where they had paſſed the winter. When they firſt appeared, Mohammed ordered his admiral to take them, if poſſible, or at leaſt to prevent their entering the harbour and joining the reſt of the fleet. Hereupon the whole Turkiſh navy, weighing anchor, ſailed out to meet them, covering the ſtreights, as they were in all three hundred ſail, from ſhore to ſhore. The above-mentioned ſhips purſued their courſe; and ſailing into the midſt of the enemy's fleet, ſunk ſome of their galleys, diſabled others, and made ſuch a dreadful havock among them, that Mohammed, who beheld the whole from the ſhore, could not forbear ruſhing with his horſe into the ſea, as if he intended to ſwim to his fleet, and encourage them with his preſence. But being ſoon appriſed of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curſes, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered ſuch menaces againſt the admiral, and his other officers, as ſtruck all with terror who heard him. But notwithſtanding his impotent rage, and the loud ſhouts of the whole Turkiſh army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ſhips opened themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpreſſible joy of the chriſtians, got ſafe into the harbour [t]. The Turks attempted ſeveral times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that ſide; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, Mohammed formed, and, to the great terror and amazement of the beſieged, put in execution, one of the boldeſt deſigns we find mentioned in hiſtory. For, not being able to remove the chain

The Turkiſh fleet worſted by five ſhips of the chriſtians.

[t] Ducas, c. 38.

chain drawn croſs the entrance into the harbour, and the ſhips within it making a dreadful fire on the Turkiſh fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the Boſphorus behind Pera to the haven of Conſtantinople, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed eighty galleys over land for the ſpace of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no ſooner maſter, the ſhips riding there being either taken or ſunk, than he cauſed a bridge, a work no leſs wonderful and ſurpriſing, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of Zoganus at Pera to the walls of Conſtantinople, the city was laid open to an aſſault on that ſide too. And now the place being inveſted, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all ſides, the emperor, well appriſed he could not with his ſmall garriſon hold out much longer againſt ſuch a mighty fleet and ſo numerous an army, ſent deputies to Mohammed, offering to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, by paying him yearly what tribute he ſhould think proper to impoſe upon him, provided he raiſed the ſiege and withdrew. The tyrant anſwered, that he was determined at all events to become maſter of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him Peloponneſus, and other provinces to his brothers, which they ſhould peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies, whereas, if he held out to the laſt extremity, and ſuffered it to be taken by aſſault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the ſword, abandon the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, ſtripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great ſtreights; but the emperor being determined to periſh withit, rather than give it up upon any terms whatſoever, the ſiege was carried on with great vigor till the twenty-fifth of May, when a report being ſpread in the Turkiſh camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common ſoldiers, ſeized with a panic, began to mutiny, and preſs Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to break up the ſiege; nay, they openly threatened him with death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they deſpaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the ſuppoſed ſuccours. Mohammed, tho' hitherto an utter ſtranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incenſed and ungovernable ſoldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the ſtorm, and raiſing the ſiege, agreeable to

Mohammed conveys eighty galleys over land into the haven.

The emperor rejects the conditions offered him.

A mutiny in the Turkiſh camp.

the advice of the grand viſier Haly who favoured underhand the chriſtians. But Zagan, a Turkiſh officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the chriſtian name, having confirmed the ſultan in his former reſolution, adviſed him to give, without loſs of time, a general aſſault; to which, he ſaid, the ſoldiery, however mutinous, would not be averſe, provided he ſolemnly promiſed to abandon the city to be plundered by them. As this advice beſt ſuited the humour of Mohammed, he readily embraced it, and cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his ſoldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, requiring nothing for his ſhare but the empty houſes. The deſire of plunder, and the proſpect of an immenſe booty, ſoon got the better of the fear, which had ſeized the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the aſſault. Hereupon the emperor was ſummoned for the laſt time to deliver up the city, with a promiſe of his life and liberty. To this ſummons the brave emperor anſwered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this anſwer the meſſenger returned, and on the evening of the ſame day, which was Trinity ſunday, the twenty-ſeventh of May, the Turkiſh camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights ſet up by the ſultan's orders on every tent and veſſel to admoniſh the whole army, that a ſolemn faſt was to be obſerved the next day, to implore the protection of heaven. Conſtantine, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend Haly, that on the Tueſday following he ſhould be attacked by ſea and land, made the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the aſſault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever elſe was dear to him lying at ſtake. He ordered in the firſt place a general proceſſion, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent ſpeech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themſelves in the defence of the empire and the chriſtian religion. He then retired to the church of St. Sophia, attended by the cardinal Iſidore and ſeveral other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the Latins; and there, after aſſiſting with exemplary piety at divine ſervice, he received the holy euchariſt. Zygomola, a modern writer, tells us, that Conſtantine, having firſt cauſed the empreſs and his children to receive the ſacrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be ſtruck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in moſt of the modern Greek writers, it being manifeſt

Mohammed prepares for a general ſtorm.

Conſtantine makes the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the aſſault.

feſt from Ducas and other contemporary writers, that Theodora, Conſtantine's firſt wife, and Catharina Cataluſa, his ſecond, died long before, without his having children by them; and that the king of Georgia's daughter, who not long before had been bethrothed to him, died before ſhe came to Conſtantinople, or was married to him. From the church Conſtantine repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his miniſters, as if he were never to ſee them again, he ordered every man to his poſt, and, putting on his armour, marched in perſon at the head of a choſen body to the gate Karſia, where a conſiderable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor and Juſtiniani his lieutenant-general, with 300 Genoeſe and a ſelect body of Greeks, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noiſe in the Turkiſh camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by ſuch troops as they ſultan leaſt valued, and therefore, deſigning them for ſlaughter, had ordered them to march the firſt, with no other view but to tire the chriſtians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that diſorderly multitude. After the carnage had laſted ſome hours, the janiſaries, and other freſh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigor and fury. The chriſtians, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, twice repulſed the enemy, but in the end being quite ſpent, and freſh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to ſtand their ground; ſo that the enemy in ſeveral places broke into the city. In the mean time, Juſtinian having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, he was ſo diſheartened at the ſight of his blood, that, abandoning his poſt, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to Galata, where he died ſoon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The Genoeſe and Greeks, who ſerved under him, diſmayed at the ſudden retreat of their general, quitted their poſts, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. However, the emperor, attended by Theophilus Palæologus, Francis Comnenus, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, John of Dalmatia, and a few more of the moſt reſolute among the nobility, ſtill kept his poſt, ſtriving, with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity, to oppoſe the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent ſtorm now broke in on all ſides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and ſeeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, What! he cried

The Turks begin the attack.

Juſtinian is wounded, and retires.

The emperor's gallant behaviour.

cried aloud, is there no chriſtian left alive to ſtrike off my head? He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut croſs the face with his ſabre: at the ſame time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign, Conſtantine XV. courageouſly defending that city which Conſtantine I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to ſtand his ground, he fled with the reſt, and was ſtifled and preſſed to death in the crowd. But we have followed Ducas and Phranzes, of whom the latter was chancellor to Conſtantine, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole time of the ſiege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the Turks and chriſtians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. Ducas adds, that Mohammed, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor [u]. The emperor being thus ſlain, the few chriſtians, who were left alive, betook themſelves to flight, and the Turks, meeting with no further oppoſition, entered the city, and ſcouring the ſtreets, filled that once ſtately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. But of the unſpeakable miſeries the inhabitants ſuffered, during the three days which Mohammed had allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in Ducas and other contemporary writers. Many thouſands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, but they were all maſſacred without pity in their aſylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the deſire of revenge, and the love of booty, ſpared no place nor perſon. Moſt of the nobility were by the ſultan's orders cut off, and the reſt reſerved for purpoſes more grievous than death itſelf. However, many of the inhabitants, amongſt whom were ſome men of great learning, found means to make their eſcape, while the Turks were buſied in plundering the city. Theſe embarquing on five ſhips then in the harbour, arrived ſafe in Italy, where, with the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal ſciences, which had been long neglected in the weſt. When the three days were expired, Mohammed

He is killed.

And the town taken and plundered.

[u] Ducas, c. 39.

Mohammed commanded the ſoldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hoſtilities, and they put an end to the moſt cruel pillage and maſſacre mentioned in hiſtory. The next day, he made his public and triumphal entry into the city; and chuſing it for the ſeat of his empire, he ſolemnly promiſed to take under his protection ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould continue in it, or, being fled, ſhould return to their antient habitations, and even to allow them the free exerciſe of the chriſtian religion. The death of the laſt Roman emperor, the loſs of Conſtantinople, and the final diſſolution of the Conſtantinopolitan Roman empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of May in the year of the Greeks 6961, of the Hegira 857, and of the chriſtian æra, according to the moſt probable opinion, 1453.

The total diſſolution of the Conſtantinopolitan Roman empire.

THE downfal of a ſtate, once ſo mighty and powerful, was not ſudden or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a viſible decay of ſeveral ages. To what cauſes that was owing, we have, on proper occaſions, pointed out in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory; and therefore, not to treſpaſs on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we ſhall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourſelves to the immediate cauſes of ſo great a revolution, ſuch as human policy may account for; not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor aſcribe, as ſome have done, the calamities, that befal a nation, to the ſins of thoſe on whom they are inflicted.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, to the deſtruction of Carthage by the Romans.

SECT. I.

A deſcription of Carthage, and ſome account of the origin of that city.

WERE the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the hiſtory of Carthage, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, few nations would make a greater figure in this work; but ſuch has been the infelicity of this ſtate, that notwithſtanding the immenſe riches, the extended commerce, the conſummate policy and military genius of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with Rome for the empire of the world, yet we have but very ſhort and ſcanty memorials left us of the great tranſactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own hiſtorians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have eſcaped oblivion, have either been tranſmitted to poſterity by its enemies, or ſuch as were favourably diſpoſed towards them, and conſequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juſter idea of it. And yet, notwithſtanding this, by collecting all the remarkable paſſages relating to it, ſcattered in the Greek and Roman authors; by comparing theſe together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and laſtly, by making ſome obſervations of our own, in order to illuſtrate and explain them; we doubt not but to ſupply the defects of all former hiſtorians, and give the moſt complete, as well as the moſt entertaining, hiſtory of the Carthaginians, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage when built.

CARTHAGE, the metropolis of Africa Propria for ſeveral centuries, was, according to Velleius [a], built ſixty-five years before

[a] Vell. Paterc. hiſt. Rom. l. i.

before Rome, tho' Trogus [b] and Juſtin will have it to be ſeventy-two years older than that miſtreſs of the world. Livy [c] ſeems to place its foundation twenty-years higher than theſe; and Solinus [d] exceeds him twenty-ſeven years. Timæus [e] of Sicily intimates, that Carthage and Rome were founded at the ſame time, viz. thirty-eight years before the firſt olympiad. Laſtly, from Menander [f] the Epheſian, as cited by Joſephus (A), and the Tyrian annals, it appears to have preceded the Roman æra an hundred and forty years. We ſhall not take upon us to determine which of theſe is in the right, nor whether any of them deſerves abſolute credit; but only obſerve, that as Carthage [g] conſiſted of different parts, which were ſuppoſed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients ſhould hand down ſuch a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns ſhould diſagree ſo much amongſt themſelves in this affair. It is not very material to our preſent purpoſe, whether we can hit upon the preciſe year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore

[b] Juſt. hiſt. l. xviii. [c] Liv. hiſt. l. li. epit. [d] Solin. c. 29. [e] Timæus Sicul. apud. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l. i. [f] Menan. Epheſ. apud. Joſeph. l. i. cont. Apion. [g] Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. & Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

(A) Joſephus, in his computation from Menander Epheſius (1), ſeems inconſiſtent with himſelf, or at leaſt very inaccurate; but Petavius (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix Dido's arrival in Africa an hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. Solinus (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that Carthage, at its final deſtruction by Scipio Africanus, had ſtood ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven years. As therefore this deſtruction happened in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſix, or ſix hundred and ſeven, it is evident, that, according to this author, Carthage was built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before Rome; and if, with Sir Iſaac Newton (4) and Salmaſius, we ſuppoſe Solinus intended the encœnia or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, Dido's arrival in Africa, will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the Roman æra; which agreeing ſo well with Petavius, from whom it differs but two years, a trifle in a point of ſo remote antiquity, we may juſtly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) Menand. Epheſ. apud Joſeph. l. i. cont. Apion. (2) Dion Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. (3) Solin. c. 27. (4) Salmaſ. in Solin. c. 27. Newt. chronol. p. 65

therefore we ſhall not be over ſolicitous about it. However, it may not be amiſs to refer our curious readers to Petavius [h], who has been very particular on this ſubject. That learned man, after conſidering the jarring opinions of the antients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their miſtakes, and at laſt, with an appearance of exactneſs, fixes the time of Dido's beginning to build Carthage an hundred thirty-ſeven years [i] before the foundation of Rome, if, with Varro, we place this in the third year of the ſixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbiſhop Uſher, we prefer the account of Fabius Pictor [k] (B), who will have it to be near the beginning of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatſoever.

The Carthaginians deſcended from the Phœnicians.

BUT whatever diſagreement may be found amongſt hiſtorians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation of Carthage, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the Phœnicians were its founders. The Greek poet Nonnus [l], from ſome authors, whoſe works are now loſt, aſſures us, that Cadmus made a very ſucceſsful expedition into theſe parts. Euſebius [m] and Procopius are poſitive, that the Canaanites who fled from Joſhua retired hither; and St. Auſtin [n] would have it believed, that the Carthaginians were deſcended from theſe Canaanites. Philiſtus [o] of Syracuſe, a writer of good authority, who lived about three hundred and fifty years before

[h] Petav. ubi ſupra. & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xii. [i] Petav. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13. [k] Onuph. Panvin. in ant. urb. imag. Uſſ. an. p. 87. [l] Nonn. in Dionyſ. l. xiii. [m] Euſeb. in chron. l. i. p 11. Procop. de bell. Vand l. ii. c. 10. [n] Auguſt in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub. init. [o] Philiſt. Syracuſan. apud Euſeb. in chron. ad ann. 804.

(B) This Fabius Pictor was the moſt antient of the Roman hiſtorians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by Onuphrius Panvinius (6), as well as archbiſhop Uſher. Several arguments might be offered in ſupport of his authority, particularly with regard to the point under conſideration; but we chuſe to refer our readers to archbiſhop Uſher (7), Voſſius, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

(5) Liv. l. i ii. &c Dio. Hal l. i. Uſſer. an. p. 60, ad. ann. Jul. per. 3966. Voſſ de hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 13. &c. (6) Onuph. Panvin antiq. urb. imag. apud. Grævium in theſaur ant. Rom. tem. 3. p. 315 Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 51. (7) Uſſer an. ubi ſupra. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. & Petav. ubi ſupra.

fore Chriſt, relates, that the firſt traces of Carthage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phœnicians, thirty years before the deſtruction of Troy, according to Euſebius. Appian [p], who undoubtedly received his notion from Philiſtus, attributes this event to Zorus and Charcedon, the two ſaid Phœnicians, fifty years before that period; and from him Scaliger [q] corrects Euſebius's numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, Virgil [r] ſeems to hint, that Dido was rather the finiſher than founder of this city, by giving us to underſtand, that the ground on which it ſtood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town ſtood upon it. What likewiſe renders the account of Philiſtus and Appian not a little probable is, that the Greeks always called this city Charchedon, for which no reaſon ſo proper can be aſſigned, as that the perſon who firſt ſettled with a colony on this ſpot of ground, was called by that name. Beſides, ſomething muſt have determined Dido to chuſe this particular place for her Tyrians before any other [s]. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for ſome time by the Phœnicians, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore ſhe had reaſon to expect the kindeſt and moſt friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coaſt of Africa, and the coaſt of Spain [t] oppoſite to it were known in very early ages to the Tyrians; ſince it is remarked by Velleius [u], that they built the cities of Cadiz in Spain, and Utica in Africa, a little above eighty years after the Trojan war; and Strabo declares, that the Phœnicians were poſſeſſed of the beſt parts of Spain and Africa a conſiderable time before the age of Homer; all which conſiderations ſtrongly ſupport the firſt Phœnician ſettlement mentioned by Philiſtus and Appian. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the tranſactions of thoſe very remote times, except what is deducible from the inſpired writings of the old teſtament, and as nothing is leſs to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many antient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they pleaſe.

However,

[p] Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. [q] Joſ. Scalig. animadverſ. in Euſeb chron. ad ann. 804. [r] Virg. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Vide etiam. Car. Ruæi. not. in Virg. Æn. iv. ſub init. [s] Procop. ubi ſupra. [t] Strabo. l. iii. p. 104. edit. Caſaub. 1587. [u] Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 2.

Eliſa either founded or enlarged the city of Carthage.

HOWEVER, if moſt of the events, mentioned by profane hiſtorians as happening before the deſtruction of Troy, may ſeem liable to diſpute to ſome perſons of a critical exactneſs, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that Eliſa [w], called alſo Dido, ſiſter of Pygmalion king of Tyre, flying with her brother Barca, in the ſeventh year of the reign of that prince, from Tyre, fixed her reſidence at Carthage, and either founded, or much enlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great conſideration till her arrival. The wealth of her huſband [x] Sichæus, and the Tyrians ſhe brought with her, who, at that time, were the [y] moſt polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place, if ſhe did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a ſtrong citadel in it; to lay the baſis of a moſt flouriſhing and extenſive commerce, for which the Tyrian nation was ſo renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which ſeemed, in Ariſtotle's [z] opinion, by his deſcanting ſo largely upon it, to have been one of the moſt perfect that ever was known in the world, at leaſt, in his time. Dido's arrival in Africa, as we have obſerved, was an hundred thirty-ſeven years before the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account; an hundred forty-two, according to Fabius Pictor, an hundred and fourteen before the firſt olympiad; eight hundred ninety-two, or eight hundred and ninety, before the birth of Chriſt, and near three hundred after the deſtruction of Troy, unleſs, with Sir Iſaac Newton [a], we will ſuppoſe the antient chronologers to have anticipated that deſtruction near three hundred years. Virgil indeed ſeems to have allowed this ſuppoſition; for notwithſtanding what has been advanced by ſeveral learned men [b] to excuſe him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monſtrous anachroniſm he makes, by bringing Æneas and Dido together as contemporaries, would have been utterly inexcuable. We ſhall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occaſion and manner of Dido's flight from Tyre, of her putting into the iſland of Cyprus, and ſteering afterwards her courſe

[w] Juſt. l. xviii Virgil. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Cedren in hiſt. compend. p. 140. edit Pariſ. 1647. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 381, 382, &c. [x] Virg. Juſt &c. ubi ſupra [y] Newt. chron. p. 13. Boch. phal & de col Phœn paſſim. 1. Kings, c. v. &c. [z] Ariſt de rep l. ii. c 11. [a] Newt chron. p. 32, 65, &c. [b] Ludovic. de la Cerda Car. Ruæus Macrob. aliique.

courſe for the coaſts of Africa, where ſhe happily arrived; ſo that it will be entirely unneceſſary, even ſo much as to touch upon theſe particulars in this place [c].

Name whence derived.

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not fully agreed. Solinus [d] tells us, that its true name was Carthada, which, in the Carthaginian language, ſignified the New City; and herein he is followed by Salmaſius [e], Schindler [f], Bochart [g], and others, who deduce it from the two Oriental words, Charta Hadatta, which are of the ſame import. But, beſides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, theſe very authors themſelves ſupply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for Schindler [h] derives Carthago from the Oriental word Charta, a city; and the other two [i] allow, that the city was founded long before Dido came into Africa, and that ſhe only built that part of it called Byrſa, or the citadel. Dr. Hyde [k] derives it either from Chadre Hanacha, i. e. The chamber of reſt, or place of repoſe, or from Card Haneca, the New City, as before, becauſe Plautus in his Pœnulus intimates, that it was called by the natives Chaedreanech; but theſe derivations likewiſe are too forced and unſatisfactory, and are beſides overthrown by Bochart [l]. Servius [m] therefore ſeems to come nearer the truth, when he ſays, that, according to the Carthaginians themſelves, who muſt be ſuppoſed to be the beſt acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation; and this town is called by Cedrenus [n] Chartica, or Chartaca, i. e. Charta Aca, or Charta Aco, the city of Aca [o] or Aco, a celebrated ſea-port of Phœnice (C), near Tyre and Sidon, in the territory of the

[c] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 380, 381. [d] Solin. c. 27. [e] Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 322. [f] Schind. pentaglot. p 1654. [g] Bochart de col. Phœn. l i. c. 24, &c. [h] Schind. ubi ſupra. [i] Salmaſ. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. [k] Hyde in not. ad Peritſol. p. 44. [l] Bochart. Chan, l. i. c. 1. [m] Serv. in Virgil. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. in ver. 75. [n] Cedren, hiſt. compend p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. [o] Schind. pentaglot. p. 1313. Strab. l. xvi. p. 521. Diodor. Sic. l. xix. c 93. Corn. Vep. Datam. c. 5. Plin. l. v. c. 19. Steph. Byz. de urb. Hieronym. in Am. i, ii. & LXX. in Jud. i.

(C) The place was, according to Cedrenus, a maritime city or ſea-port, as will appear from a peruſal of the paſſage referred to; which is an additional argument in favour of our notion. We find

the tribe of Aſher [p], tho' poſſeſſed by the [q] Tyrians or Phœnicians. In ſupport of Servius and Cedrenus's authority, it may be obſerved, that the Sidonians, Tyrians and Canaanites inhabiting that part of Phœnice, frequently prefixed the word kiriath, cariath, or charta, i. e. city, to the proper names of towns, as Kiriath [r], or, according to St. Jerom, Cariath-Arba, Cariath-Baal, Cariath-Sanna, Cariath-Sepher, &c. tho' ſometimes they ſtyled them ſimply Cariath [s], or Charta, city, and, for the moſt part in writing, uſed their proper names [t] alone; ſo that is no wonder the town under conſideration, ſhould be known by the names Charta, Aca, Aco, Chartica, Chartaca, Cartaco, &c. ſince this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' Dido's city was conſtantly called by the Latin writers Carthago, yet its true name amongſt the antient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themſelves, was Cartaco [u], as is evident from the columna roſtrata (D) of Duilius. This, together with what has been [w] obſerved in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, ſeems to render the authority above mentioned inconteſtable.

That

[p] Jud. i. ver. 31. [q] Ibid. [r] Jud. i. ver. 10. Joſh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver 15, 49. [s] Jerem. xlviii. ver. 24, 41. Am. xi. ver. 2 [t] Joſh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c. [u] Vide Pet. Ciacconium in column. roſtrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Græv. in theſaur. antiquit. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii p. 380, 381.

find likewiſe a city, called Kartah, given to the Levites in this country, taken out of the tribe of Zebulun.

(D) We have before given an Engliſh tranſlation (8) of the old Latin inſcription upon the baſis of the columna roſtrata of Duilius; but as it is a moſt curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquiſitive readers would think us guilty of a great omiſſion, were not the original itſelf inſerted ſomewhere in this work; eſpecially as many fine concluſions relating to the Latin language may be drawn from it; and the ſurpriſing manner in which that language was poliſhed and refined in leſs than two centuries, may be from thence diſcovered. In order therefore to render our hiſtory as complete as poſſible, and evince the point at preſent in view, we ſhall here preſent our readers with the inſcription itſelf, and the chaſms of it, as ſupplied by Lipſius and Ciacconius, together with a verſion of it into the Latin of the Auguſtan age:

C.

(8) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 115. in not.

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS. ECEST. ANO S. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD OBSEDEONED. REMET. LECION. EIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS. MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUCAES. BOVEBOS RELICTEIS. NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELLAM. MOENITAM. URBEM. PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQUE. DIEBOS LX CUMQUE EIS NAVEBUS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE. SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRESENTED. MAXUMOD. DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PUCNANDOD. VICET XXXQUE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CUM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET

AUROM. CAPTOM. NUMEI ϕϕϕ OCC

ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRÆDA NUMEI. ↀↀIↃↃↃ C

CRAVE. CAPTOM. AES. ↀↀIↃↃↃ ↀↀIↃↃↃ ↀↀIↃↃↃ ↀↀIↃↃↃ ↀↀIↃↃↃ ↀↀIↃↃↃ

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TRIOMPOQUE. NAVALED. PRÆDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET CAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCENVOS. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM PRIMOSQUE. CONSOL. DE. SICELEIS. CLASEQUE. CARTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

Caius

THAT it was uſual in thoſe early ages to denominate ſom cities from others, as well as from their founders, is a truth well known to all perſons moderately verſed in the knowledge of antiquity; and the city of Thebes in Bœotia (E), ſo called

Caius Duilius Marci filius Conſul adverſus Carthaginienſes in Sicilia
rem gerens, Egeſtanos (ſocios atque) cognatos populi Romani artiſſima
obſidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginienſium (qui Egeſtam obſidebant, & Amilcar)
maximus (eorum) magiſtratus (feſtinandi ſtudio) elephantis relictis
novem, caſtris effugerunt. Macellam (deinde) munitam (validamque) urbem
pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magiſtratu proſpere rem navibus mari conſul primus geſſit: remiges
claſſeſque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus ſexaginta, & cum his navibus claſſes Punicas omnes,
paratas (ornatas) que ſummas copias Carthaginienſium, præſente (Annibale) maximo
dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando ſuperavit;
triginta que naves cum ſociis (hoc eſt cum ipſis hominibus) cepit, & ſeptiremem prætoriam,
quinqueremes (præterea) ac triremes naves xx depreſſit.
Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.
Argentum captum in præda nummi C. M.
Æs grave captum vicies ſemel centena millia pondo,
atque in triumpho navali prædam (omnem in ærariam) Popul. Rom. intulit.
captivos (etiam) Carthaginienſes ingenuos (hoc eſt, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit:
primuſque Conſul, de Siculis, & claſſe Carthaginienſium triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo
S. P. Q. R. ei hancce columnam poſuit. *vel*
triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the Carthaginians were called by the Romans CARTACINIENSES, and conſequently the name of their city, then in uſe amongſt the Romans, was CARTACO.

(E) It is plain from ſcripture (9), that there was a town of this name likewiſe in Phœnice, or the land of Canaan, not far from

(9) Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet. in column. roſt. Duil. apud Grav. in theſaur. antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1810. (9) Jud. c. ix ver. 50, 53.

led from Thebes in Egypt; Piſa in Italy, from Piſa in Peloponneſus; Salamis in Cyprus, from Salamis in Attica, to omit ſeveral others that might be mentioned, are ſufficient inſtances of it.

SALMASIUS [x] will have the Greek name Charchedon to be derived from Solinus's Carthada; becauſe the Sicilians now-and-then uſed the Greek letter chi for theta. But ſure nothing can be more weak than this; beſides, were it much more plauſible, it could not be admitted, becauſe it claſhes with the authority of Philiſtus (F), Appian, Euſebius, and St. Jerom. Herodotus, Menander Epheſius, Polybius, &c. the moſt antient Greek authors, mentioning the Carthaginians, likewiſe diſprove it, becauſe they were not Sicilians.

THE Carthaginians were called by the Greeks, ſometimes Libyans, on account of the country they poſſeſſed, and ſometimes Phœnicians, on account of the country from whence they were originally deſcended. The Romans alſo ſtyled them Pœni, or Phœnicians, for the ſame reaſon; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, Punic or Pœnic, i. e. Phœnician, or belonging to the Phœnicians.

Caccabe the Punic name of Carthage.

WE muſt not omit obſerving, that, according to Stephanus [y] and Euſtathius, this city was antiently named, in Punic, Caccabe, from a horſe's head, which was found by the Tyrians, whilſt they were digging for the foundations of Byrſa. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the future greatneſs of the city. Our readers will find the whole ſtory in Virgil [z] and Juſtin, and to theſe authors we refer them. In the mean time, we ſhall only remark, that the learned Bochart [a] has ſhewn the word Caccabe to have ſignified, in

[x] Salmaſ. ubi ſupra [y] Steph. Byz. de urb. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. [z] Virg. Æn. i. Juſt. l xviii Serv. & Ludovic: de la Cerda in Æn. i. Coel. Rhodigin. l. xviii. c. 38. [a] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

from Shechem; ſo that whether we look upon Cadmus as a Phœnician or an Egyptian, it can ſcarce be doubted, but that Thebes in Bœotia was ſo denominated from ſome more antient city.

(F) All theſe authors are clearly of opinion, that Carthage was built a conſiderable time before Dido came into Africa; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel Byrſa only, the addition ſhe made to the old city, the place was called Carthada, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it muſt likewiſe be admitted, that Salmaſius endeavours abſurdly to reduce Carchedon from Carthada.

the Phœnician language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the Carthaginians [b] had frequently upon the reverſes of their coins, either a horſe's head, or the body of a horſe dimidiated, or a horſe entire, with Victory upon him. Moſt of theſe coins have likewiſe a Punic inſcription upon their ſaid reverſes, with ſeveral other ſymbols; as is evident from Agoſtini, Paruta, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

In order to avoid all future digreſſions on this head, we ſhall here give a faithful and particular account of the ſituation, dimenſions, different parts, and power of the city of Carthage, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third Punic war, extracted from Polybius [c], Strabo, Diodorus, Appian, and other antient authors of the beſt reputation and authority.

Deſcription of Carthage.

Carthage ſtood at the bottom of a gulf, upon a peninſula three hundred and ſixty ſtadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the iſthmus joining this peninſula to the continent of Africa, being twenty-five ſtadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the weſt ſide there projected from it a long tract of land, in ſhape reſembling a tongue, half a ſtadium broad; which ſhooting out into the ſea, ſeparated it from a lake or moraſs, and was ſtrongly fortified on all ſides by rocks, and a ſingle wall. In the middle of the city ſtood the fortreſs or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrſa, having on the top of it a temple ſacred to Æſculapius, ſeated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the aſcent was by ſixty ſteps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a conſiderable extent; ſo that when Byrſa was taken by Scipio, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſiege of Carthage, nine hundred Roman deſerters fortified themſelves there. At laſt Aſdrubal's wife ſetting fire to it, entirely conſumed it, together with herſelf, her children, and the ſaid nine hundred deſerters, to avoide falling into the hands of Scipio. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, where Byrſa had its ſituation, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abſtracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances, each interval being fourſcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations ſunk thirty foot deep, and was four ſtories high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, correſponding in depth

[b] Ant. Auguſt. dial. vi. ant. [c] Polyb. l. i. c. 73. Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Appian. in Libyc. p. 129. Diodor. Sic. bibl. hiſt. l. iii. p. 178. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were ſtalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder &c. Over theſe were ſtables for four thouſand horſes, and lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Such a number of forces and beaſts of war were contained within the walls, without in the leaſt incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the firſt building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the ſea towards the weſtern continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were on the ſame ſide. Of theſe there were two, which were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, ſeventy foot broad, and ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vaſt number of places of refreſhment, and all kinds of accommodations for the ſeamen. The ſecond, or inner port, was, as well as the iſland called Cothon in the midſt of it, lined with large kays, in which were diſtinct receptacles for ſecuring and ſheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ſhips, it being deſigned chiefly for ſhips of war. Over theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; ſo that both the harbour and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. Upon the iſland was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations iſſued out; and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, tho' no one there could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themſelves, when they entered into their port, had no proſpect of the men of war, being ſeparated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without paſſing through the other.

Of how many parts the city conſiſted.

HENCE it is apparent, that the city conſiſted of three parts, Byrſa, Megara (G) or Magaria, and Cothon. Byrſa, according

(G) The true name of the exterior part of Carthage, (or that which was, properly ſpeaking, the town) was Megara or Megaria, not Magalia, as we formerly imagined. Appian, Iſidore, and Servius put this point beyond diſpute (10).

(10) Appian. & Serv. ubi ſupra. Iſidor. in orig. l. xiii. c. 12. Vide etiam *Bochart.* Chan. l. i. c. 24.

ding to Servius [d], was twenty-two ſtadia, or near three Engliſh miles, in circumference; tho' Eutropius ſays, it did not much exceed two thouſand paces, which is not quite two Engliſh miles. It was not ſo preciſely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the ſouth, or iſthmus that joined Carthage to the continent, as is obſerved by Appian [e]. The word Byrſa is only a Greek corruption of the true Punic or Phœnician name Burſa, Borſa, or Botſra, (for it may be pronounced all theſe ways) i. e. a fortreſs or citadel, as has been demonſtrated by Scaliger [f], Bochart, and others, verſed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from Strabo, Virgil, and Appian, the fable of the ox's hide having long ſince been exploded by the learned. This was juſtly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, ſurrounded by the Megara [g], or Magaria, i. e. the houſes, or town, (for that the word imports in the Phœnician tongue) its exterior part, according to Servius; ſo that together they formed a kind of double town. Strabo calls the ſmall iſland in the midſt of the ſecond harbour, Cothon [h]; tho' Appian applies this name likewiſe to that port or harbour [i] itſelf, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a ſtrong wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word Cothon is of oriental extraction, and ſignifies a port not formed by nature [l], but the effect of labour and art; ſo that this ſeems to have been not a proper, but a common, name among the Carthaginians, who undoubtedly pronounced it Kathum or Kathom; but the Greeks, adopting it into their own language, gave it a Greek termination, and expreſſing the Phœnician A by their great O, (which may eaſily be conceived) thence came the name Cothon. The Carthaginians were ſo extremely active and indefatigable, that when Scipio [m] had blocked up the old port, or Cothon, they, in a very ſhort time, built a new one, the traces of which, ſcarce an hundred yards ſquare, are ſtill to be ſeen [n]. This Cothon was perhaps

[d] Serv in Æn. i. ver. 320. Eutrop. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. [e] Appian. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. [f] Scalig. in not ad Feſt. Bochart. ubiſupra. Salmaſ in Solin. &c. [g] Serv. in Æni & iv. [h] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. [i] Appian. in Libyc. p 129. &c. [l] Feſt in voc cothones. Serv. in Æn. i Bochart. ubi ſupra. Buxtorf, in voc קסם &c [m] Liv. l. li. epit. [n] Shaw's geographical obſervations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151.

perhaps the ſame that was called the Mandracium [o] in the time of Procopius.

THE number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third Punic war, was ſeven hundred thouſand; a prodigious number, conſidering the many terrible blows the Carthaginians had received from the Romans during the courſe of the firſt and ſecond Punic wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt theſe wars, and the deſtructive broils they had been engaged in with Maſiniſſa. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by ſea, when they had a mind to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by Hamilcar in his expedition againſt Gelon the tyrant of Syracuſe, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was compoſed of more than two thouſand ſhips of war, and above three thouſand tranſports. Their riches were likewiſe immenſe, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the final deſtruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, entirely exhauſted and conſumed, viz. near a million and an half ſterling. All which may ſerve to give us ſome faint idea of what Carthage was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence. Number of inhabitants.

As to the extent of the city, Livy informs us, that it was twenty-three [p] miles round; and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. Pliny [q] intimates, that Carthage, when in the hands of the Phœnicians, was much larger than when it was a Roman colony; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greateſt and moſt powerful city in the world. The dominion of the ſea, which it enjoyed for ſix hundred years, almoſt without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a moſt prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extenſive trade, the mines of Spain, &c. thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the Carthaginians ſhould have arrived at ſuch an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our deſcription of Carthage, it may not be improper to take notice of, viz. the temple of Apollo [r], ſtanding near the Cothon, The extent of Carthage.

[o] Procop. l. i c. 20. [p] Liv. l. li. epit [q] Plin. l. v. c. 4.
[r] Appian. ubi ſupra.

thon, wherein was a ſtatue of that deity of maſſive gold, and whoſe inſide was all covered with plates of the ſame metal, weighing a thouſand talents [s]. But this was involved in the common deſtruction of the city, being pillaged and deſtroyed by a party of Scipio's men, when the Cothon and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

Preſent remains of antient Carthage.

IT has been [t] obſerved by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was himſelf upon the ſpot, that the greateſt part of Carthage was built upon three hills, ſomewhat inferior in elevation to thoſe upon which Rome was erected. All the remains of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a ſpacious room upon one of thoſe hills, over-looking the ſouth-eaſt ſhore, with ſeveral ſmaller ones hard by it; the common ſewers, which time hath not in the leaſt injured or impaired; and the ciſterns, which have very little ſubmitted to the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now ſtopped up, and, by the north-eaſt winds with the (H) Mejerdah, made almoſt as far diſtant from the ſea as Utica, tho' it is ſtill called El-Merſa, or the port, lying to the north and north-weſt of the city, and formeth, with the lake of Tunis, the peninſula on which Carthage ſtood.

Vaſt extent of the Carthaginian dominions.

STRABO [u] obſerves, that the Carthaginians poſſeſſed three hundred cities in Africa before the beginning of the third Punic war; which may eaſily be believed, if we conſider, that the dominions of this ſtate in Africa before that war, extended from the weſtern confines of Cyrenaica [w], to the pillars of Hercules, or ſtreights of Gibraltar (I), a tract of land near fifteen

[s] Idem, ibid. [t] Shaw ubi ſupra. [u] Strab. l. xvii. [w] Scylax Caryand. Vide & Bochart. ubi ſupra, &c.

(H) This river, the Bagrada of the antients, will be deſcribed in the next chapter.

(I) The diſtance betwixt the Philænorum Aræ and pillars of Hercules, according to Polybius (11), was ſixteen thouſand ſtadia, or about two thouſand miles. But from Dr. Shaw's moſt accurate obſervations, it appears to have been one thouſand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, ſixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be ſeen in the following table:

From

(11) Polyb. l. iii.

fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its laſt period of perfection, the beſt part of Spain, even as far as the Pyrenees, of Sicily, and all the iſlands in the Mediterranean to the weſt of this latter, were ſubject to it. How it came to make ſuch large acquiſitions, and by what ſteps it grew ſo formidable, as to diſpute the empire of the world with Rome itſelf, will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

	Miles.
From Tingi, or Tangier, to the river Malva, or Mulloïah	200
To the eaſtern part of the river Chinalaph, or Shelliff	220
To the river Ampſaga, or city of Cirta	165
To Laribus by Theveſte, or Tiffeſh	130
To Carthage	70
To Kairwan, olim Vicus Auguſti	75
To Tacape in the Leſſer Syrtis	110
To Tripolis	135
To Leptis Magna, or Libda, in the Greater Syrtis	115
To the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, where the Philænorum Aræ are ſuppoſed to have been ſituated	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that Polybius makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was, tho' conſidering the largeneſs of the geographical miles above-mentioned, that author does not ſo much exceed the truth, as may at firſt ſight be imagined.

SECT. II.

A deſcription of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage.

HAVING given our readers the beſt account of the origin and foundation of Carthage that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewiſe a ſmall ſketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we ſhall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, or deſcribe the religion, government, Africa Propria.

government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, ſciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a deſcription of the country wherein they were ſeated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, poſſeſſed, or got a footing in, they were ſometimes of a larger, and ſometimes of a narrower, extent; ſometimes in their own hands, and ſometimes in thoſe of other ſtates, according as ſucceſs or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Its limits. MELA [a] and Ptolemy will have Africa Propria to have contained all the countries ſituate between the river Ampſaga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which, Pliny [b] tells us, were inhabited by twenty-ſix different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include Numidia and the Regio Syrtica, which are countries diſtinct from the proper territory of Carthage. Its true limits ſeem [c] to have been the river Tuſca on the weſt, or ſide of Numidia; the Mediterranean or African ſea on the north; the frontiers of the Garamantes and deſerts of Libya Interior on the ſouth; and the Mediterranean, with the Leſſer Syrtis, on the eaſt. It [d] was divided into two provinces, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium, with which the kingdom of Tunis [e], under its diviſion into the ſummer and winter circuits, at preſent nearly correſponds. According to Dio [f], this region was likewiſe called the old province, and Numidia the new one. Byzacium [g], or at leaſt the ſea coaſt of that province, ſeems to be the Emporia of Livy and Polybius.

Diviſion.

PTOLEMY [h] has placed Carthage, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too ſoutherly, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the inaccuracy of that geographer in aſcertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the poſition of Africa Propria to have been nearly the ſame with that of the kingdom of Tunis, as there is great reaſon to believe [i], it muſt have taken up almoſt four degrees of north latitude, viz.

[a] Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. [b] Plin. l. v. c. 4. [c] Idem, ibid. Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. [d] Plin. ubi ſupra. Strab. l. ii. [e] Shaw's geographical deſcription of the kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1, 2 &c. [f] Dio, l. xliii. p. 246. [g] Liv. l. xxxiv. Polyb. l. i. & Cellar. ubi ſupra. [h] Ptol. geog. l. iv. Shaw ubi ſup. [i] Shaw, ibid.

viz. from 33° 30′ N. to 37° 12′ N. and of longitude above three degrees, ſince Sbekkah, the moſt advanced city of the kingdom of Tunis to the weſtward, is in 8°, and Clybea, the fartheſt to the eaſt, in 11° 20′ E. longitude from London. The ſpot of ground on which Carthage ſtood is, according to the lateſt obſervations [k], about 10° 40′ eaſt of London, and in north latitude 36° 40′.

ZEUGITANA, or the Regio Zeugitana, was ſeparated from Numidia by the river Tuſca, and extended as far as Adrumetum, which Pliny [l] makes to be the firſt city of Byzacium. The ſummer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis [m], including the fruitful country about Keff and Bai-jah, and ſeveral other diſtricts, anſwers at preſent to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginienſium of Strabo [n], and the Africa Propria of Pliny and Solinus [o]. We ſhall not pretend here to give a minute and particular deſcription of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our preſent deſign; but only touch upon ſome of the principal of them, which have been taken the moſt notice of by thoſe writers who have treated of the Roman and Carthaginian affairs. Zeugitana.

THE firſt place in Zeugitana worthy our notice, ſince Carthage has been already deſcribed, is Utica. In rank and dignity this city was next to Carthage itſelf, and even ſuperior to it in point of antiquity. Ariſtotle [p] ſays it was built, according to the Phœnician hiſtorians, two hundred and eighty-ſeven years before Carthage. Vellius [q], as has been above related, makes the Tyrians to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy. Juſtin [r] intimates, that the Tyrians were ſettled there a conſiderable time before Dido came into Africa; nay, that this ſettlement commenced upon their firſt arrival in that country: and with theſe two laſt authors Mela and Stephanus [s] agree. From this great antiquity, Bochart [t] thinks the Phœnicians gave it the name Atica, the antient, i. e. city, rather, in our opinion, Etuca [u] or Ituca, i. e. the city of long ſtanding, or the great city, the ſtrong city, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongſt the Tyrians, even in Dido's time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from Scylax and Polybius, the moſt antient authors mentioning it, who Utica.

[k] Ibid. [l] Plin. ubi ſup & Cellar. ibid [m] Shaw, ubi ſup. [n] Strab. l. xvii. [o] Plin. ubi ſup. & Solin. c. 27. [p] Ariſtot de mirabil. [q] Vell. Paterc. ubi ſup. [r] Juſt l. xviii. [s] Steph. de urb. & Mela, c. 7. [t] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. [u] Part. Pahul. Vid. Schind. pentag.

who call it Ituce, or Ityce, to whom the other Greek authors, ſpeaking of it, except Dio, who uſes the Latin name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and Carthage ſtood, was formed by two promontories, viz. the promontory of Mercury and that of Apollo, under the laſt of which Utica was ſeated. Appian [w] ſays it was ſixty ſtadia, or ſeven miles and an half to the weſtward of Carthage; but, according to the itinerary, theſe two cities were twenty-ſeven Roman miles diſtant from each other [x]. Utica had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the Roman hiſtory, but on none more than the death of the younger Cato, who was from thence called Cato Uticenſis, or Cato of Utica. After Carthage was razed by the Romans, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was for a conſiderable time the metropolis of Africa. An ingenious modern traveller [y] ſuppoſes this place to have ſtood where Boo-ſhatter does at preſent; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence ſtill viſible there, and the diſtance from Carthage perfectly agreeing with that of the itinerary, beſides other circumſtances, giving good grounds for ſuch a ſuppoſition.

Tunes.

THE next town in the neighbourhood of Carthage, but in a contrary direction to the former, is Tunes, or Tuneta, the Tunis of the moderns. This town is undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by Polybius [z], Diodorus, Livy, and others; nay, that it was of Phœnician original, the name itſelf ſufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the Lower Egypt, almoſt contiguous to the borders of Arabia Petræa and Phœnice, a town called Tanes [a], from whence the Tanitic nome and Tanitic mouth of the Nile took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of Egypt [b] was over-run by the Phœnicians, either in the time of Joſhua, or much earlier; and that theſe ſame Phœnicians afterwards ſettled in Africa Propria, Numidia, and Mauritania. In confirmation of which ſentiment, we find

[w] Appian. in Libyc. [x] Auct. itin. int. Carth. & Utic. [y] Shaw ubi ſup. [z] Polyb. l. i. Liv. l. xxx Diodor. Sic. l xiv. Strab. l. xvii. &c. [a] Herod. Strab. Plin. Ptol. aliiq; Vide etiam Cellar. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipſiæ 1732. [b] D. Auguſt. in expoſit. epiſt. ad 3 Rom. ſub init. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Euſeb chron. l. i p. 11 Gemar Hieroſol. ad Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. Manetho apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. i. Nonnus in Dionyſiac. l. xiii. Newton's chronol. p. 198—202. Marſham's can. chron. Bp. Cumberland's treatiſe on Sanchoniatho's Phœn. hiſt.

find a river in Numidia [c], not far from the Ampſaga, called Tanas; from whence we may infer, ſince nothing is more common in the oriental languages, than a permutation of vowels, that Tunes is a Phœnician name, and that the city itſelf is of Phœnician extraction. That it was a town of ſome note in very early ages, is evident from Livy [d], Diodorus, and Strabo, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and ſurrounded with a wall. It was ſeated on or near the mouth of the river Catada, fifteen Roman miles eaſt of Carthage. The city is more famous now, than it was even amongſt the antients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greateſt part of it is ſituate upon a riſing ground, along the weſtern banks of the lake, which goes by the ſame name [e], and in a full proſpect (as the antients have deſcribed it) of the Guletta, Carthage, and the iſland Zowa-moore. Tunis ſome time ſince was noted for its corſairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themſelves wholly to trade, and are now become the moſt civilized and polite people in Barbary (A).

Maxula. MAXULA, or, according to Ptolemy, Mazula [f], is an antient town of the ſtate of Carthage, and, if Pliny [g] may be credited, pretty near the city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of Apollo and Utica. We find on the weſtern banks of the Tigris a city in Arabic [h], named Moſul, or Mozul; which word is not remote from the Mazula of Ptolemy. 'Tis likewiſe evident from the authority of Scylax, who mentions it, that Mazula was of ſome repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which conſiderations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the Arabic and Phœnician languages,

[c] Sal. in Jugurth. c. 95. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 913. [d] Liv. Diodor. & Strab. ubi ſup. & alibi. [e] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 155. [f] Ptol. geog. l. iv. [g] Plin. l. v. c. 4. [h] Val. Shind. pentaglot. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 623.

(A) Somewhere near this place Adis or Adda is to be looked for, where Regulus gave the Carthaginians a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from Polybius (1), that this was a town of ſome importance; but the antients being ſilent as to any farther particulars relating to it, ſave only that it was ſituated amongſt rocks and hills, we ſhall think it ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it.

(1) Polyb. l. i.

languages, that this town was built by the Phœnicians. It ſtood on the eaſtern ſide of the Catada, now the Miliana; and, if the conjecture of the ingenious gentleman [i] above-mentioned be true, viz. that Mo-raiſah, two leagues to the north-eaſt of Solyman, be the Maxula, or Mazula, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four Engliſh miles, ſouth-eaſt of Tunes (B).

Carpis. CARPIS, a city of this diſtrict, placed by Ptolemy [k] one third of a degree more northerly than Carthage. Pliny calls it Carpi. Our learned traveller [l] ſuppoſes the ſpot which this town occupied, to be that which Gurbos, or Hammam-Gurbos, at preſent ſtands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the Aquæ Calidæ of Livy. Though the poſition Ptolemy aſſigns his Carpis does not agree with that of the modern Gurbos, this laſt lying above a league more ſoutherly than Carthage, yet we doubt not but the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Miſua. MISUA [m], or Niſua, a town taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, between Carpis and Clypea. The ruins [n] of this place are ſtill to be been at the ſanctuary of Seedy Doud, in the kingdom of Tunis, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of Hercules.

Aquilaria. THE next place that occurs is the Aquilaria of Cæſar [o], where Curio landed his troops from Sicily. Cæſar tells us, it was a very convenient ſtation in the ſummer ſeaſon, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of theſe, in all probability, that of Mercury (called by the Moors the Raſ-adder

[i] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 57. [k] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. [l] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 57. [m] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. [n] Shaw ubi ſup. [o] Cæſ lib. ii. civ. bell. c. 23.

(B) We find the Muſulani, a people ſeated in the weſtern part of Numidia, not far from the Ampſaga, taken notice of by Tacitus (2); and a town and promontory of Ethiopia, famous for the cinamon they produced, near the confines of Nubia and Libya interior, named Moſylon or Moſulum, remembered by Pliny (3). Now as a Phœnician colony came very early into Numidia, and the Nubians and Ethiopians were the deſcendants of the Egyptians and Arabians, as will hereafter be proved, poſſibly ſome light may from thence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

(2) Tacit. ann. ii. c. 52. & l. iv. c 24 & l. vi. c. 29. (3) Plin. l. v. c. 4.

adder, and by the Franks cape Bon) was one; ſince this is about a league to the northward of Lowah-reah, ſuppoſed to be the antient Aquilaria. Many fragments [p] of antiquities are ſtill extant here, but among them nothing remarkable.

CLYPEA [q], a city built upon the ſmall promontory Taphitis, five leagues ſouth-eaſt of the promontory of Mercury, which being in the figure of a ſhield or hemiſphere, gave occaſion to the name. It is called by Livy, Mela, and Pliny, Clupea; by Polybius, Appian, and Agathemerus, Aſpis; but by Solinus and the itinerary, Clypea. A mile [r] diſtant from the ground where the old city ſtood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clypea. Ptolemy is guilty of a great miſtake, when he makes Aſpis and Clypea two different cities. Clypea.

CURUBIS, Curobis, and Curabis, a town, according to the itinerary, thirty-two Roman miles diſtant from the former; but, according to the more accurate obſervations of the moderns [s], ſeven leagues, or twenty-one miles, ſouth-weſt and by weſt of it. It is ſtyled by Pliny [t] the free city Curubis, and ſeems to have been a conſiderable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the ciſterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boaſt of at preſent, if the modern Gurba anſwers to it, as both the name and ſituation ſufficiently intimate. Curubis.

CANTHELE, a Phœnician city, not far from Curubis, according to Hecatæus [u]. This town ſeems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity Saturn; ſince, according to Sanchoniatho [w] and Damaſcius, the word el in the Phœnician tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis obſerved by Ponticus, in his life of St. Cyprian, that there was a town in that place called by the Romans, vicus Saturni, the ſtreet or town of Saturn. This was not a place of figure, at leaſt ſo low as the claſſic times, ſo that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity. Canthole.

NEAPOLIS, a famous and antient empory of the Carthaginians in the ſouth-caſt part of Zeugitana, five leagues to Neapolis.

the

[p] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 158. [q] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 573. [r] Shaw ubi ſup. [s] Shaw ibid. [t] Plin. ubi ſup. [u] Hecatæus perieget. apud Steph. de urb. [w] Sanchioniatho apud Euſeb in præp. evang. l. i. c. 10. & Damaſcius apud Photium in bibliothec. 242.

the north-eaſt of Curubis. Thucydides [x] ſays, that the paſſage from hence to Sicily was very ſhort, as being performed in two days and a night. Scylax places it not far from the leſſer Syrtis, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of Mercury. Nabal, a thriving and induſtrious modern town, is a furlong to the weſtward of the antient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city. Pliny ſtyles this place, as well as Curubis, a free city. Here is a great number of inſcriptions upon ſtones of ſix foot in length, and three in breath; but they are either ſo unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbiſh and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. Strabo and Hirtius agree with Scylax in fixing it pretty near the promontory of Mercury. Nabal [y] ſtands upon the gulph of Hamonet in N. lat. 36° 8′ two leagues from a little opulent town of the ſame name.

Nepheris. To theſe may be added Nepheris, a fortreſs lying a little to the eaſtward of Carthage. It was a place of good conſideration, being built upon a rock, and ſtrongly fenced by nature on all ſides. Aſdrubal, with his whole army, was cut off near it by Scipio, who, after a ſiege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conqueſt of Carthage. Strabo, Appian, and the epitomizer of Livy, take particular notice of it.

Hippo. THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is Hippo, towards the north-weſt borders of it, a ſort of frontier town on the ſide of Numidia. From the navigable lake Hipponitis, on which it was built, and which ſerved it as a natural fortification, it was denominated Hippo Diarrhytus, and Hippo Zarytus; tho', from the promontory near it the antients ſometimes gave it the denomination of Acra, Hippuacra, and Hippagreta. Scylax calls it ſimply Hippo, notwithſtanding it generally went by the names above-mentioned in the time of Polybius, Diodorus, Pliny, and Appian; and this in order to diſtinguiſh it from Hippo Regius in Numidia. Appian [*] tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repoſitories for naval ſtores. The modern name is Bizerta, which is a corruption of the Hippo Zarytus of the antients. It is pleaſantly ſituated upon a canal [†], eight miles to the ſouth and by weſt of cape Blanco, betwixt an extenſive lake and the ſea. It is at preſent about a mile in circuit, defended by ſeveral caſtles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the ſea. The origin

[x] Thucyd. l. vii. [y] Shaw ubi ſup. [*] Appian. in Libyc.
[†] Shaw ubi ſup.

gin of it was Phœnician, as has been fully proved by Bochart [z], who derives the name of Hippo from the Syriac or Phœnician Ubbo, or Uppo, a gulph, which perfectly well anſwers to the ſituation of the place. To which by way of corroboration it may be obſerved, that the gulph, on which it was ſeated, ſeems, in contradiſtinction to the city Hippo or Hippon, to be called Hippos by Ptolemy, when he takes notice of the promontory of Hippos, or of the gulph cloſe by it; and if ſo, this was only the Syriac or Phœnician Ubbo (gulph) with a Greek termination ſuperadded. This gulph is formed by the Promontorium Candidum and Promontorium Apollinis of the antients, the Ras el abeadh and Ras Zibeeb of the preſent Tuniſeens.

As for the inland towns of Zeugitana, Ulizibirra, Mediccara, Tucma, Cerbica, Saſura, Cilma, Vepillium, Vina, Valli, Cigiſa, Muſti, Membreſſa, Cilio, and others equally obſcure, enumerated by Ptolemy, the itinerary, and Peutinger's table; they were for the moſt part, if not entirely, modern in compariſon of the Carthaginian times, and never conſiderable in any other. We ſhall therefore conclude what we have to ſay of this province with obſerving, that there ſeem to be ſome traces of Zeugis or Zeugitana in the preſent name of the city of Zowan or Zagwan, a ſmall flouriſhing town built upon the north-eaſt extremity of a conſpicuous mountain of the ſame name, in the ſummer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis. This will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by Soiinus, compared with the obſervations of the learned traveller [a] ſo often cited. The Zygantes of Herodotus ſeem likewiſe to have been placed in the neighbourhood of Zagwan, which is an additional argument in ſupport of this notion.

Byzacium. BYZACIUM, according to Pliny [b], was inhabited by the Libyphœnicians, that is, by a mixture of Aborigines, or native Africans, and Carthaginians. The ſame author tells us, it was about two hundred and fifty Roman miles in circumference, and of ſo great fertility, that the earth made a return of an hundred fold. The limits of this province ſeem impoſſible to be preciſely defined, becauſe the antients have paſſed over the interior part of it bordering upon Libya in a very ſlight manner, and greatly miſtaken the courſe, magnitude and ſource of the river Triton; only in general it may be proper to remark, that it is ſuppoſed not to have differed

[z] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i c. 24.
[a] Shaw ubi ſup c. 3.
[b] Plin. ubi ſup.

much in extent and ſituation from the preſent winter circuit of the Tuniſeens. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief deſcription of ſome of the principal of them will ſuffice.

Adrumetum. ADRUMETUM, or Hadrumetum, the capital of Byzacium, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by Strabo and Stephanus, Adryme or Adrume, as alſo Adrymetus; by Plutarch and Ptolemy, Adrumetus or Adrumettus; by Appian, Adrymettus; and by Cæſar, Hirtius, and Pliny, Adrumetum; by Mela, Hadrumetum, or according to Voſſius, Hadrumentum; and laſtly, in Peutinger's table, we find it named Hadrito. The city was large and ſpacious, built upon an hemiſpherical promontory, like Clypea, at the diſtance of two leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the moraſs, the boundary, as hath been ſuppoſed, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. According to the itinerary, it was eighteen Roman miles from Leptis Minor, though Peutinger's table makes the diſtance greater. Adjacent to this city was a cothon, being either a port or little iſland, in imitation of that of Carthage ſo called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the preſent ſituation, was ſomething more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins[c], ſeems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the Phœnicians, is evident from Salluſt[d] and others; as likewiſe from the name itſelf, which Bochart, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two Syriac or Phœnician words, importing, the land or country returning an hundred fold, i. e. of corn or grain. The extraordinary fertility, not only of the province in general, but of Adrumetum, the metropolis of it, in particular, is confirmed by an inſcription in Smetius[e], which gives a ſanction to Bochart's authority, and ſufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the Latin authors; though at this day[f] it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry ſandy nature, and partly incommoded with moraſſes and ſhibkahs (C) diſperſed over it, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon.

[c] Shaw ubi ſup. [d] Salluſt. in Jugurth. Bochart. ubi ſup.
[e] Smetius in inſcript. vol. & Vet. Inſcript. apud Gruter. p. 362.
[f] Shaw ubi ſup. p 186.

(C) The word ſhibkah ſignifies in the Arabic language a ſaltiſh plat of ground; and denotes a ſpot generally overflowed in the winter,

ſeaſon. If the Herkla of the Tuniſeens, the Heraclea of the lower empire, be Adrumetum, as we ſee no reaſon to doubt, it muſt have been in N. lat. 35° 50′, though Ptolemy places it in N. lat. 32° 40′.

RUSPINA, a town of Byzacium, betwixt Adrumetum and Leptis Minor, where Cæſar encamped in his wars with Scipio [g]. The village of Sahaleel, a little above ſix leagues from Herkla, and a full mile from the ſea, has the faireſt pretenſions to Ruſpina; ſince we are aſſured by Hirtius [h], that the port of Ruſpina was not at a much greater diſtance from the town. Ruſpina.

LEPTIS Minor, one of Pliny's free cities, eighteen Roman miles from Adrumetum, of Phœnician extraction. It had the epithet Minor commonly annexed to it, in order to diſtinguiſh it from Leptis Major, a city of the Regio Syrtica, which was built either by the Sidonians, as Salluſt ſeems to intimate [i], or the Tyrians, according to Pliny [k]. Bochart [l] deduces the name Leptis from the Phœnician labt or lapt, denoting a port or ſtation for veſſels. Strabo and Stephanus ſay, that Lepethis, a city of Cyprus, was famous for its commodious ſtation, and the ſame is ſaid of Leptis Minor by Lucan [m]. The city paid every day a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced Bochart to drive Emporia (its name in Livy and Polybius) from two Oriental words, importing "the fruitful "mother." The place is at preſent called Lempta; but there is nothing left beſides a ſmall part of the caſtle, with a Leptis Minor.

[g] Ibid. p. 190. [h] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec. 9. [i] Salluſt in Jugurth. c. 22. & 80. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 19. [l] Bochart ubi ſup. [m] Lucan. bell. civ. l. ix. v. 951.

ter, but dry all the ſummer (4). There are great numbers of theſe in the kingdom of Tunis and Algiers, which appear like ſo many extenſive lakes, and produce a conſiderable quantity of ſalt. In the ſummer they may be taken for bowling greens prepared for the turf. Some of them have a hard and ſolid bottom, without the leaſt mixture of gritty mould, retaining the ſalt that lieth cryſtalized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy abſorbent nature, ſeldom preſerving any ſaline incruſtations upon the ſurface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper ſolution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of ſalt.

(4) Shaw in phyſ. and miſcel. obſerv. p. 230.

low ſhelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the Cothon.

Agar. AGAR [n], a town taken notice of by Hirtius, a few miles to the weſtward of Leptis. The ſituation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of ſtones and ruins. The village, at preſent taking up the ſpot of ground on which Agar ſtood, is called [o] by the Arabs, Boo-Hadjar, i. e. "the father of a ſtone;" which agrees in ſignification pretty well with the old name, and anſwers to the circumſtances above-mentioned.

Thapſus. THAPSUS, a maritime town of this province, ſeated, according to Dio [p], upon a ſort of iſthmus, betwixt the ſea and a lake. Peutinger's table makes it eight miles diſtant from Leptis to the ſouth. The inhabitants of Thapſus were famous for their fidelity to Scipio, in his wars with Cæſar; but notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the place, they were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, after he had defeated the former. Demaſs, the antient Thapſus, is ſituated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of To-bulba, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by Hirtius. Here is ſtill remaining [q], in defiance of time and the ſea, a great part of the Cothon, built in frames; the compoſition whereof is made up of ſmall pebbles and mortar, which are ſo well cemented and knit together, that a ſolid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of Tlemſan very much reſemble the remaining part of this cothon.

Acholla. ACHOLLA or Acilla, another free city, called by Appian [r], Cholla. If the ſite Ptolemy aſſigns this city be allowed, Elalia, ſix miles to the northward of She-ah, the antient Ruſpæ, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly anſwers to it.

Turris Hannibalis. TURRIS Hannibalis *, the tower of Hannibal, was a fort, tower, or country ſeat, belonging to Hannibal, betwixt Thapſus and Acilla, according to Livy. To this place Hannibal fled from Carthage, for fear of the Romans; and immediately, upon his arrival, embarking in a veſſel that waited for him, paſſed over to the iſland Cercina. Either El-Medea, five miles to the ſouth of Demaſs, or Salecto [s], five miles to the S. by W. of El-Medea, in all probability, occupies

[n] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec. 68. 79. [o] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 191. [p] Dio, l. xliii. p. 245. [q] Shaw ubi ſup. [r] Appian in Libyc. * Liv. l. xxxiii. Juſt. l. xxxi. [s] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 192.

cupies the ſpace on which this fort, tower, or country ſeat, was erected.

THENA or Thenæ, a town on the coaſt of the leſſer Syrtis mentioned by Strabo [t], known at this time among the Tuniſeens by the name Thainee. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refreſh it. Thena.

BETWIXT Thenæ and the mouth of the Triton, or the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, Ptolemy places his Macodama, with which perhaps Maha-reſs [u], four leagues to the weſt of Thainee, correſponds. 'Tis a village famous for nothing, but ſeveral ciſterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water. Macodama.

UZITA, a town of ſome note near Tiſdrus and Leptis Minor, mentioned by Hirtius, Ptolemy, and Dio. Bochart [w] derives the name from zaith or zait, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and, according to Hirtius, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, ſince Cæſar exacted yearly from the inhabitants of Leptis a vaſt quantity of oil by way of mulct or tribute. This gives great weight to Bochart's opinion, and proves the city to be Phœnician. Uzita.

THALA [x], a city of great extent, taken notice of by Salluſt, ſituated, like Capſa, in the midſt of mountains and deſerts, though there were ſome fountains without the city. All which particulars agree with the ſituation of the modern Ferre-anah, in the ſouth-weſt part of this province. Thala.

TWELVE leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is Gafſa, the Capſa of the antients, and one of the ſtrong caſtles of Jugurtha [y]. It is built upon a riſing ground, incloſed, almoſt in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy ſituation with Ferre-anah, only with this difference, that the landſkip here is ſomewhat more gay and verdant by the proſpect we have from it of the palm, olive, piſtachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eaſtern languages the word ſignifies ſtreightly environed, and ſo the place is on every ſide by ſolitudes and deſerts; which is a good proof that it was originally Phœnician [z]. There ſeem to have Capſa.

[t] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572, 574. [u] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 195.
[w] Bochart, ubi ſup. [x] Salluſt. in Jugurth. [y] Idem ibid.
[z] Vid. Bochart. ubi ſup. & Cellar. in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913.

been two more cities of this name, the one in Numidia, the other in Libya Interior.

SUFFETULA, Turzo, Sarſura, Tiſdra, or Tiſdrus, Caraga, Orbita, and other obſcure towns of Byzacium, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either entirely depend upon the faith of Ptolemy, were always inconſiderable in themſelves, or built below the claſſic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the leaſt tendency to illuſtrate any part of the Carthaginian hiſtory, or ſupply us with the leaſt hint or circumſtance relative thereto, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a conciſe deſcription of the moſt celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curioſities of it, and a brief enumeration of the African nations, who in the remoteſt times poſſeſſed it.

Lakes.

THE chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients (beſides the lake Hipponitis above-mentioned, and the Palus Siſara joined to it, of no great repute) were the Palus Tritonis or Tritonitis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Libya; all which, according to Ptolemy, had a communication with one another, by means of the river Triton, which ran thro' them into the ſea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The ſource of the Triton is nearer the ſea than theſe lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the ſame lake, whoſe modern name is, the Shibkah El Lowdeah [a], or lake of marks, ſo called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are placed at proper diſtances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itſelf near twenty leagues from eaſt to weſt, and is interſperſed with ſeveral dry ſpots, which appear like iſlands in it. To the eaſtward eſpecially, in the ſame meridian with Telemeen, there is one, which, though uninhabited, is very large, and well ſtocked with date trees. This ſeems to be the Cherſoneſus of Diodorus [b], and the Phla of Herodotus [c]; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the Arabs, ſprung originally from the ſtones of thoſe dates which the Egyptians brought with them for proviſions, many ages ſince [d], when they invaded this part of Africa, and halted here. The Punic name perhaps was Tarit [e], Terit, or Trit, i. e. paſturage,

[a] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 211, 212. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. iii. p. 130. [c] Herodot. l. iv. [d] Shaw. ubi. ſup. [e] Bochart. ubi ſup.

paſturage, or paſture-ground; for, if we may believe Scylax and Herodotus [h], it ſerved as a boundary to the Libyan Nomades, who abounded with flocks and herds, and whoſe country muſt of conſequence have been of ſuch a nature as the word tarit imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river Triton to have been. Scylax makes the lake to have been in his time about a thouſand ſtadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the beſt modern deſcription we find given of it. Feſtus [i] tells us, that the goddeſs Minerva firſt appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

Rivers. THE moſt famous river of Africa Propria was the Bagrada [k], Bagadras, or Bragada, for it went by all thoſe names. On the banks of which, Regulus, in the firſt Punic war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a ſerpent [l] of a monſtrous ſize, being an hundred and twenty foot in length, whoſe ſkin and jaw-bones were preſerved at Rome till the Numantine war. Ptolemy [m] derives this river from mount Mampſarus where he fixes its ſource, making it bend its courſe almoſt directly from north to ſouth; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a miſtake [n], its ſtream flowing in a direction almoſt from weſt to eaſt. At this day it is called the Me-jerdah [o], whoſe firſt and moſt diſtant branches are the ſmall rivers Hameeſe and Myſki-anah, in the diſtrict of the Hen-neiſha; which, with the concurrent ſtreams of the Wed el Boule, Scilliana, and ſome other rivulets of the Frig-eah, render it as large as the Iſis and Cherwell united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes ſo well ſaturated with ſoil, that it is of the ſame complection with the Nile, and appears to have no leſs the property of making encroachments upon the ſea. Utica ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the Bagrada, and Carthage on the other ſide, but at ſome diſtance from it. Bochart will have the Phœnicians to have pronounced the name Bragda [p] or Bractha, i. e. a pond, and produces ſeveral authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion. The Bagrada.

The Catada. THE Catada of Ptolemy, now the Miliana, is famous for nothing but having Tunis ſeated upon the mouth of it; nor the Triton, now the Gabbs, but on account of the lake of

[h] Scylax Caryand. in peripl. & Herodot l. iv. [i] Feſtus Pompeius, & Diodor. Sic. l. iii. p. 142. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 4. Strab. l. xvii. Appian. l. ii. bell. civil. p. 748. Silius Italicus, Lucan. &c. [l] Gellius, l. vi. c. 3. Plin. hiſt. nat. l. viii. c. 14. Liv. epit. p. xviii. Val. Max. 1, 8, 19. [m] Ptol. Geog. l. iv. [n] Shaw ubi ſup. l. 147. [o] Ibid. p. 146. [p] Bochart. ubi ſup.

of the ſame name already deſcribed. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it has its ſource [q] only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of Gabbs, and becomes at once a conſiderable ſtream, near as big as the Cherwell.

AMONG the principal curioſities of this country are to be ranked the Hammam Leef (D), a noted hot bath [r], very much reſorted to by the citizens of Tunis; the hot bath, with ſome ruins, at the creek of Gurbos [s], the Aquæ Calidæ of Livy; the ſalt lake near To-bulba, the Stagnum Salinarum of Hirtius; the Jibbel Had-deffa, an entire mountain [t] of ſalt, ſituated near the eaſtern extremity of the lake of marks, whoſe ſalt is as hard and ſolid as ſtone, and of a reddiſh or purple colour; the lead oars at Jibbel Riſ-ſaſs [u], near Hammam Leef, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuſe to reſerve them for a more proper place (E).

THE

[q] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 197. [r] Ibid. p. 157. [s] Ibid. [t] Idem ibid. p. 229. [u] Idem ibid. p. 237.

(D) Theſe hammams, or baths, are ſo called from the Hebrew or Chaldee verb חמם hammam incaluit, their waters being hot, though not all in the ſame degree; perhaps the words hummums, which we have adopted into our language, of the ſame import, is to be deduced from the ſame original

(E) We ſhall beg leave in this note juſt to mention the principal iſlands on the coaſt of Africa Propria, taken notice of by the antients, which are the following:

1. Coſſyria or Coſyrius, a ſmall iſland in the African ſea, which ſome authors refer to Sicily; but Strabo makes it part of the proper territory of Carthage. According to Ptolemy, it had a city of the ſame name, which, by reaſon of its vicinity to Carthage, was doubtleſs a place of ſome repute. Scylax tells us it was a day's ſail only from the promontory Lilybæum in Sicily; and Strabo places it in the middle of the African ſea, at an equal diſtance from Lilybæum and Clypea, a city of Africa Propria. From ſome antique coins, exhibited by Paruta and Lucas Holſtenius, it appears, that Coſſyra was the name moſt frequently uſed. According to Strabo, this iſland was an hundred and fifty ſtadia in circumference (5).

2. The Tarichiæ of Strabo were certain minute iſlands very near the coaſt of Africa Propria, almoſt oppoſite to Leptis Minor.

(5) Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Scyl. Caryand. Strab. l. vi. Parut. apud Theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol. viii. Luc. Holſten. in not. ad Steph. Byzant.

Antient inhabitants.

THE moſt antient inhabitants of this country were, according to Herodotus [w], the Auſes, ſituated to the weſt of the river Triton, whoſe capital city was doubtleſs Auza or Auzate, ſaid by Menander Epheſius to be built by Eth-baal or Ithobal, king of Tyre; the Maxyes, a Libyan nation; the Machlyes, another Libyan nation near the lake Tritonis; the Zaueces; and the Zygantes, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. Theſe were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old Libyans or Africans and Phœnicians, a more diſtinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of Libya.

As

[w] Herodot. l. iv.

nor. They are at preſent called the Jowries, and lie over-againſt Lempta and Tho-bulba. Cæſar ſeems to have looked upon them as poſts of ſome importance, which is all that we have at preſent to ſay of them (6).

3 Lopaduſa, oppoſite to Thapſus above mentioned, and ſix miles long, if we will believe Pliny. The ſame author affirms it to have been fifty miles diſtant from Cercina and Cercinitis, two ſmall iſlands belonging to the Regio Syrtica (7),

4. Æthuſa or Æguſa, another little iſland mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, lying a little to the weſtward of the former (8).

5. The Laruneſiæ, two ſmall iſlands, according to the Palatine MS. of Ptolemy, that lay above Ruſpina (9).

6. The Inſula Dracontia of Ptolemy, to the north of Hippo Diarrhytus. Two little flat contiguous iſlands called the Cani, not far from cape Blanco, ſeem at this day to bid fair for the ſame ſituation that Ptolemy aſſigns his Inſula Dracontia (10).

7. Galata, a little iſland above Tabraca, three hundred ſtadia from the continent of Africa (11).

8. Ægimurus, a ſmall iſland in the gulph of Carthage, about thirty miles from that capital. Pliny aſſures us, that there were two rocks near this iſland called the Aræ Ægimuri or Ægimori, which, according to Servius, were the remains of an iſland, ſome ages before his time abſorpt by the ſea. This author likewiſe informs us, that they were called Aræ, becauſe on them the Romans and Carthaginians concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their reſpective dominions. The modern Zowa-moor, between cape Zibeeb and cape Bon or Raſaddar, the Zimbra of our ſea charts is undoubtedly the Ægimurus of the antients (12).

(6) Strab. l. xvii. Hirt. de bel. Africa §. 20. (7) Strab. l. xvii. Plin l. v. c. 7. (8) Plin. l. iii. c. 8. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. (9) Cellar. geogr. ant. l iv. c. 4. (10) Ptol. ubi ſup (11) Cellar. ex itinerario maritimo, ubi ſup. (12) Strab. l. xxii. P 573. Liv. l. xxx. c. 24. Plin. l. v. c. 7 Virg. Æn. i. ver. 108. Serv. in loc. Steph. Byzant. &c,

As for the climate, modern ſtate, and natural hiſtory of Africa Propria, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and ſubterraneous productions, we ſhall defer what we have to ſay on each of thoſe heads, till, according to the method already propoſed to ourſelves, we come to write the hiſtory of the ſtates of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

SECT. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians originally Canaanites or Phœnicians.

THE Carthaginians being originally Phœnicians [a], were the deſcendents of the old Canaanites [b], and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as Canaan, the ſon of Ham, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the Greek and Roman [c] writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the leaſt variation. And that they themſelves were of the ſame opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongſt their poſterity ſo late as St. Auſtin's [d] days; from the authority of Servius and Procopius [e]; and from the ſtrong [f] attachment they always ſhewed to the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, from which theſe authors deduce them. One of the Punic names of Carthage, according to Plautus [g], was Chaedreanech, or Chadre-Anak, which Bochart [h] with great reaſon imagines to allude to their Canaanitiſh extraction; for Anak and his family, upon account of their extraordinary ſize of body, and diſtinguiſhed valour, being eſteemed both by ſacred and profane writers as the moſt famous of the Canaanites or Phœnicians, from him the whole nation, or at leaſt that part of it bordering upon the ſea-coaſt near the place of his reſidence, might probably receive a new denomination (A). This is to be underſtood of the moſt early Phœnician

[a] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 381, 382. & Vol xiv. p. 558. [b] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii p. 181, &c. [c] Philiſtus Syracuſanus apud Euſebium in chron. ad an. 804. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. Vell. Paterc. hiſt. Rom. Juſtin. l. xviii. &c. [d] Auguſt. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom ſub init. [e] Servius in Æn. i. v. 37. & Æn. iv. v. 75. Procop de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. [f] Herodot, Polyb Liv. Diodor. Sic. Q. Curt. Juſtin. Tertul. Minut. Fel. &c. paſſim. [g] Plaut. in Pœn. [h] Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 1.

(A) To what has been already obſerved (1) of the Anakims may

(1) Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 205.

Phœnician colonies ſettled in Africa, and many of their deſcendents; for it is to be naturally ſuppoſed, that ſome of theſe

may be added, that profane authors themſelves, as well as ſcripture, ſeem to have had ſome knowledge of them. Pauſanias (2) tells us, that in the iſland Aſteria near Miletus, the body of the hero Aſterius, from whom the iſland received its name, was buried; that he was the ſon of Anax, or Anak, who was the ſon of the Earth; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the Mileſians was antiently called Anactoria, from his father Anax, or Anak. Euſtathius (3) and the epitomizer of Stephanus agree with Pauſanias, in relation to the antient name of Miletus, with its diſtrict; and add, that this Anax was the ſon of Heaven and Earth. We are aſſured by ſcripture (4), that the Anakims, when driven out of their own country by Joſhua, fled to Gaza, Gath, and Aſhdod, and there ſettled themſelves. and it is likewiſe probable (5) from the Phœnician hiſtory, that Gath, the metropolis of theſe Anakims, was ſubject to the kings or judges of Tyre, as early as the days of Pygmalion; ſince it had revolted from the Tyrians ſome time before the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah. From whence we may conclude, that ſome of this family might even attend Dido into Africa, though it is at the ſame time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by David (6), might likewiſe retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in Africa ever ſince the days of Joſhua (7). We muſt not omit, that the Dioſcuri (8), who were Phœnician gods, i. e. deified Phœnicians of great diſtinction, were called Anakes, or Anakims, by the Greeks, on account, no doubt, of their ſuperior ſtature and majeſty. The word anax or anak (9) was a term of great honour amongſt the moſt antient Greeks, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by ſome, that this is a common name, anſwering to the Latin Torquatus (10), and that the great men in the eaſt were in the earlieſt times ſo called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they uſually wore about their necks. Benjamin of Tudela (11) aſſerts, that he ſaw a human rib hanging up in a palace at Damaſcus, which was nine Spaniſh palms long, and two broad; and that from an inſcription upon the tomb-ſtone, it appeared, that one of the Anakims was buried there, whoſe name was Abchamaz, and who was ſaid to have reigned over the whole world, i. e. over a good part of the eaſt,

(2) Pauſan. in Attic & Achaiac. (3) Euſtath. in Hom. iliad. A, p 16 & Steph. epit. ſub. voc. Μίλητος. (4) Joſ. xi. 22. (5) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 382. (6) 2 Sam. xxi. 16--22. 1 Chron. xx. 4—8, (7) Univerſ. hiſt. vol ii. p. 205. (8) Cic de nat. deor. l iii. (9) Hom. iliad. A, & alibi paſſim. (10) Bochart. ubi ſupra & Val. Schind. pentaglot. ſub voc. ענק (11) Benj. Tudel. itiner. p 56.

theſe mixed with the Aborigines, or native Africans, whom they found there upon their arrival, and with them, or at leaſt a conſiderable body of them, formed one people. And for this reaſon it is, that the inhabitants of Byzacium, eſpecially of the maritime parts of it, were ſometimes called by the Greeks and Romans, Libyphœnicians, as conſiſting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular deſcription, of the people with whom the Phœnicians were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

Dr. Hyde, in his notes upon Peritſol [i], is of another opinion; but, in order to ſupport it, he has recourſe to hypotheſes only, and thoſe ſuch as have but a ſlender foundation. On

[i] Hyde. in Peritſ. p. 44.

eaſt, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inſcription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in compariſon of the age of the Anakims, and founded only upon ſome Oriental tradition, is what we ſhall not take upon us to determine

(B) The Byzacium of Pliny (12) ſeems to be the Byzacia of Polybius, if we will give credit to Salmaſius's emendation of a paſſage in Stephanus where he quotes the twelfth book of that hiſtorian A ſtrong preſumption in favour of this is, that both Pliny and Polybius's provinces have the ſame extent, the ſame ſituation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). Byzacium, according to the Greek and Roman authors, conſiſted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the Libyphœnicians. Bochart derives the name from the oriental word biza (15), a teat, and thinks it was ſo denominated from its ſurpriſing fertility, of which that was a ſymbol amongſt moſt nations. So Virgil,

Terra antiqua potens armis, atq; ubere glebæ. Æn. i.
——Et fertilis ubere campus. Georg. l. ii,
——βῶλαξ ἀρούρης. Il. i.

Which, according to the ſcholiaſt, ſignifies a moſt fertile and beautiful part of the country. The Mamma of Procopius (16) in this province, a word of the ſame import with Biza, greatly ſtrengthens this derivation.

(12) Vide Salmaſ. in Steph. ſub voc. Βέζακις. (13) Conf. Steph. ubi ſupra. Plin. l. v. c. 4. & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 1. (14) Cellar. Geog. ant. l. iv. c. 4 Bochart, ubi ſupra. (15) Bochart. ubi ſupra. (16) Procop. de bell. Van. l. ii.

On the contrary, Bochart [k] proves what he advances by unqueſtionable authorities, the only ſolid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces ſuch a train, as will not eaſily be overborn.

Libyphœnicians.

SOME [l] authors have imagined, that the Libyphœnicians, or, as Strabo and moſt of the other Greek writers call them, the Libophœnicians, were a nation diſtinct both from the Africans, or Libyans, and Carthaginians, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or Aſiatic Phœnicians and Syrians, bordering upon their reſpective frontiers, were called Syrophœnicians, upon account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of contradiſtinction from the people inhabiting the oppoſite parts of thoſe two regions, who were known by their proper names, Syrians and Phœnicians. In conformity to our notion of the people we are here diſcourſing of, Livy [m] ſtyles them miſtum Punicum Afris genus; and Diodorus [n] ſpeaks of them to the ſame effect.

The form of government at Carthage.

THE firſt government ſettled at Carthage [o] was probably monarchial; but this ſeems to have been but of ſhort continuance, as expiring with Dido herſelf, or rather in her lifetime, when it was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this republic, authors differ. Ariſtotle tells us, that it was partly ariſtocratical [p], and partly (as he terms it) political, i. e. democratical (C). According to Polybius [q], monarchy,

[k] Bochart ubi ſupra. [l] Vide Bochart. Chan. l. i. c 25. [m] Liv. l. xxxi. [n] Diodor. Sic. l. xx, [o] Ubbo Emmius de ſtat & rep Carthag ſub init. Chriſt. Hendreich. in Carthag. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 15. p. 307. Juſt. l. i. aliique mult. [p] Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. Ubbo Emm ubi ſupra. [q] Polyb. l. vi.

(C) Πολιτεία (polity or policy) taken in a general ſenſe (17), ſignified, according to Ariſtotle, any form of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined ſenſe it was among the antient Greeks before Ariſtotle's time, frequently ſynonymous to δημοκρατία (18), (democracy) as may be proved from Æſchines, and others. But when Ariſtotle comes to diſtinguiſh more ſubtilly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a compoſition of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated moſt of oligarchy, was called ariſtocracy; but that which inclined moſt to democracy, went by the name of polity or policy. Both of theſe, in ſome reſpects (20), prevailed in the ſtate of Carthage, as we ſhall

(17) Ariſtot. de rep l. iv. (18) Idem ibid c 3. (19) Idem ibid. c. 7, 8, &c. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. (20) Ariſtot. ibid. l. ii, c. 11.

monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, all centered in it. And laſtly, Iſocrates [r] makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. In the forming of it, the Carthaginians undoubtedly borrowed many things from their anceſtors the Tyrians, who, for ſeveral ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high eſteem on account of their wiſdom, riches, and power. Ariſtotle [s] intimates, that the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Carthaginian republics were the moſt perfect and beſt modelled of any in the world; and that theſe in many particulars agreed; tho' in ſeveral reſpects, he gives the preference to the Carthaginian. The conſummate wiſdom of thoſe maxims and inſtitutions, upon which this laſt was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithſtanding the great ſway the people bore in Carthage [t], there had been no inſtance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diſturbing the public tranquillity, nor of any tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppreſſion. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the conſtitution of Carthage was compoſed, were of ſuch a nature, as to counterpoiſe one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preſerve and promote the public felicity (D). Theſe were the ſuffetes, the ſenate, and the people, who, whilſt they kept within their proper bounds, where a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the moſt flouriſhing; but when, as Polybius obſerves, but an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the aſcendant over the ſenate, prudence was baniſhed their counſels, nothing but cabals and factions took place; and, in conſequence of this,

[r] Iſocrat. in Nicocl. [s] Ariſtot. ubi ſupra. [t] Idem ibid.

ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come to conſider the defects of it; for which reaſon Ariſtotle tells us, it was compoſed of both. In ſhort, polity or policy regarded men as rich and poor (21), ariſtocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which conſiderations had their influence in the Carthaginian commonwealth.

(D) The legiſlator of the Carthaginians was undoubtedly a perſon of great political wiſdom; yet Ariſtotle himſelf finds ſome defects in his inſtitutions (22), and notwithſtanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquillity it enjoyed, was, in ſome meaſure owing to chance (23).

(21) Idem, l. iv. c. 8. (22) Idem, l. ii. c. 11. (23) Idem ibid. ſub. fin.

this, ſuch precipitate ſteps were taken, as firſt rendered this formidable ſtate weak and contemptible, and ſoon after completed its deſtruction.

In order to give our readers ſome idea of the Carthaginian government, though the antients afford us little light on this head, we ſhall give a brief account of the three principal powers above-mentioned.

The ſuffetes.

The ſuffetes [u] were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magiſtrates of Carthage [w]. They anſwered to the two kings of Lacedæmon, as well as to the Roman conſuls; for which reaſon we find them ſtyed in different authors both kings and conſuls [x]. However, theſe did not in all things correſpond; for the Spartan kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of ſucceſſion [y], and the ſtate was ſupplied with them from two families only [z]; whereas the Carthaginian ſuffetes were annually elected out of all the nobleſt families, and were always ſuch perſons as moſt attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth, which enabled them to ſupport their high ſtation with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reaſon Ariſtotle prefers the ſupreme magiſtrates of Carthage to thoſe of Lacedæmon (E). As for the Roman conſuls, they had not only a chief hand in the adminiſtration of civil, but likewiſe in the conducting of military, affairs; whereas it is very probable, that the ſuffetes were, generally ſpeaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to

[u] Chriſt. Hendreic. ubi ſupra. p. 311. Corn. Nep. in Annib. Ariſt. ubi ſupra. & l. vi. c. 49. & alibi paſſim. Diod, Sic. l. xiv. &c. [w] Ariſt. ubi ſupra. Liv. l xxx. [x] Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Juſt. l xxxi Calid. apud Feſtum. &c. Hendreich. & Ubbo Emm. ubi ſupra. [y] Ariſt. de rep. l. ii c. 11 [z] Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Liv. l. xxx. Zonar. tom. ii. Ariſt. ubi ſupra.

(E) He prefers the ſuffetes to the Lacedæmonian kings, not becauſe the Carthaginians had ſome regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he abſolutely condemns, as will be elſewhere obſerved; but becauſe they choſe them out of all the beſt families in Carthage, and eſteemed great abilities in them as an eſſential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the Lacedæmonians (24).

(F) This appears not only from Livy, Polybius, and other antient authors, but likewiſe from the judicious obſervations of Ubbo Emmius (25). However, it muſt be allowed, that we have

(24) Idem ibid. ſub init. (25) Ubbo Emm. de ſtat. & repub. Carthag. apud. Gronov. ant. Græc. vol. iv. p. 1504,

to assemble the senate, in which they presided [a], to propose subjects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to preside likewise in all emergent and decisive debates. It does not appear by whose suffrages the suffetes were elected, but most likely [b] either by those of the centumvirate, or the people. According to some authors, they had the power of life and death [c], and of punishing all crimes whatsoever. Their concurrence in [d] all points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all, the cities of note in the Carthaginian dominions [e], had their suffetes or chief magistrates, as well as the metropolis.

The senate. THE senate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their age and experience, as well as illustrious [f] on account of their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by Aristotle [g], when he makes a comparison betwixt the Spartan and Carthaginian senates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewise we are ignorant of, tho' from Justin [h] we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that of either the Spartan or Roman senators; for, according to this author, an hundred were selected from it, and appointed as judges to enquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requisite to inspect into this single article, how many must have been deemed necessary to superintend, and, in concert with the suffetes, manage every branch of the administration? Besides, it is natural to suppose, that there was a great affinity betwixt the customs and manners of the Sicilians and those of the Carthaginians, since these last may be justly looked

[a] Liv. ubi supra, & l. xxxiv. Polyb. l. iii. [b] Ubbo Emm. & Hendr. ubi supra. [c] Liv. l. xxxiii Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. [d] Ubbo Emm. & Arist. ubi supra. Polyb l. xv. [e] Liv. l. xxviii. Selden. de diis Syris in prolegom. c. 2. & Boch. Chan. ubi supra. [f] Ubbo Emm. Hendr. & Arist. ubi supra. [g] Arist. ubi supra. [h] Justin. l. xix.

have several instances of the suffetes commanding Carthaginian armies. Hannibal, who commanded the auxiliaries sent to the relief of the Ægestans, or Segestans; Himilco, who was general in the second expedition against Dionysius; and Mago, under whose conduct many thousand men were transported to Sicily and Italy, set this point beyond dispute (26).

(26) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. xiv. xv. &c. Hendr. ubi supra, p. 315.

looked upon as ſome of the antient inhabitants of Sicily [i]. Now, in the time of Agathocles, the ſenate of Syracuſe conſiſted of ſix hundred of the [k] principal citizens; no wonder then, if that of Carthage was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand [l] council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in ſhort, to all affairs of conſequence, whether foreign or domeſtic, were debated, and for the moſt part determined [m]; ſo that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and ſpirit were from thence diffuſed over all the public deliberations. When the votes [n] of the ſenate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and from hence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a diviſion or a diſagreement with the ſuffetes, the affair in [o] queſtion was referred to the people, who, in ſuch a caſe, had the liberty of offering their ſentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legiſlature; and not only ſo, but what was thus offered paſſed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier reſort of power. However, as Ariſtotle [p] obſerves, this was a flaw in the conſtitution, and was at laſt attended with fatal effects; for during the ſecond and third Punic wars, the populace at Carthage prevailed over the ſenate, whilſt the ſenatorial authority at Rome was in its full bloom and vigor; and this, if we may give credit to Polybius [q], was the principal cauſe of the riſe of the one, and fall of the other. We muſt not [r] omit, that none but perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit were ever elected ſenators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

[i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 161. [k] Ibid. p. 300. [l] Ubbo Emm. ubi ſupra. Polyb l. iii. c. 15. Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l xiv. [m] Ubbo Emm ubi ſupra. Liv. & Polyb. paſſ. [n] Ubb. Emm. & Ariſt. ubi ſupra. [o] Hendr. ubi ſupra, p. 323 Polyb. l xv. [p] Ariſt ubi ſupra. [q] Polyb. l. vi. [r] Ariſt. ubi ſupra. Ub. Emm. Hendr. Polyb. Liv. Juſt. &c. paſſ.

(G) According to Livy (27), there was a council formed of ſuch ſenators, as were the moſt venerable and eminent for their wiſdom, who were called ſeniores, ſeniorum principes, or ſimply, as Juſtin (28) intimates, principes. This council was in the higheſt repute at Carthage, on account of the vaſt influence it had over

(27) Liv. l. xxx. (28) Juſt. l. xi. c. 31.

Power of the people at Carthage.

WHAT ſway the people had in Carthage, whilſt the different parts of which the conſtitution was framed were duly proportioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural ſhare of power, does not appear from any antient author, tho' it can ſcarce be doubted, but ſo accurate a writer as Polybius muſt have taken notice of it ſomewhere in his writings. It is [s] likely they had a vote at the election of magiſtrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly thoſe in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in ſhort, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In Ariſtotle's days, the commonwealth ſeems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too ſtrong a tendency to popular government, which was cenſured as [t] a defect in it by that philoſopher. However, the ſenate ſtill kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrolable; but in Hannibal's time [u], about an hundred years after, there was reaſon to apprehend a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the ſenate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power, and of courſe every thing, which might have promoted the public welfare, was obſtructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the moſt famous and potent ſtate of Carthage began to decline, and, in the courſe of a few years, loſt not only its liberty, but its very being.

HAVING

[s] Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [t] Ariſt. ubi ſupra. [u] Polyb. l. vi.

over the ſenate (29). Recourſe was therefore had to it in all caſes of an extraordinary nature It is not improbable, that this council was Ariſtotle's centumvirate, as being inveſted with great authority, and conſiſting of a pretty large number of members. Livy tells us (30) that thirty of theſe were deputed to wait upon Scipio, and ſue to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms for a peace with Rome. Polybius likewiſe makes a diſtinction between theſe and the other ſenators; for he ſays, that among the priſoners taken at New Carthage by Scipio, there were two [ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας] belonging to the aſſembly of old men and fifteen [ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου] of the ſenate (31) In other authors, the ſenate, or at leaſt this moſt venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the optimates and patres conſcripti of the Romans (32).

(29) Liv. ubi ſupra (30) Idem ibid. Vide & Q. Curt. l. iv. c 3. edit. Amſt. 1677. (31) Polyb. l. x. (32) Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l. xx.

Eſtabliſhments, civil officers, &c. at Carthage.

HAVING thus laid down a general sketch or plan of the Carthaginian government, we ſhall mention ſome of their principal eſtabliſhments, civil officers, &c. as taken notice of by the antients, who, it muſt be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reaſon the loſs of thoſe excellent pieces of Polybius, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the more to be regretted.

The centumvirate and quinquevirate.

THE centumvirate or tribunal of the hundred, conſiſted of an hundred and four perſons, not ſimply of an hundred, as the name ſeems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number [w]. According to Ariſtotle, who is the only author that has given us any deſcription of it [x], the power it enjoyed was very extenſive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature [y]. Out of this tribunal were ſelected five judges, whoſe juriſdiction was ſuperior to that of the reſt, to whom we may, with propriety enough, give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewiſe of chuſing thoſe perſons who compoſed the tribunal of the hundred [z]; were, under the ſuffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great meaſure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. Ariſtotle [a] informs us, that the Carthaginian centumvirate, anſwered in ſeveral reſpects to the ephori at Sparta; but, with ſubmiſſion to this philoſopher, we think the quinquevirate ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room, as having a better title to the compariſon: for [b] with regard to the ephori, firſt, they were the moſt deſpotic magiſtrates in Sparta, their authority being, in a manner, boundleſs, and the lives, fortunes, &c. of all the Lacedæmonians almoſt entirely depending upon their will and pleaſure; which may be [c] ſaid of the quinquevirate in Carthage, with more reaſon than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual [d]; but whether the quinquevirate was ſo or not, is uncertain. Now, the ephori were elected annually [e]. Thirdly, the ephori were five in number [f], and ſo were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an univerſal adminiſtration of juſtice, with regard

[w] Juſtin. l. xix. Ariſt. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p 411. [c] Ariſt. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [d] Ariſt. ubi ſupra Liv. l. xxxiii. Vide etiam Rollin. in hiſt. anc. des Carthag. ſect. 3. [e] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi p. 411. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. & Ariſt. ubi ſupra.

to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at Carthage [g], as it was of the ephori at Lacedæmon; whereas the inſtitution of the centumvirate was intended only at firſt as a curb to the authority of their generals [h], by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, tho' afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which conſiderations it is probable that the council of five in Carthage, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, reſembled the Lacedæmonian ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the Carthaginian ſtate [i] the appearance of an oligarchy, tho' as the members of this council diſcharged the duties of their function without any ſalary or reward, and were elected freely by ſuffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewiſe the reſemblance of an ariſtocracy [k]. Ubbo Emmius [l] thinks, that the ſuffetes preſided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the ſenate, being the chief magiſtrates concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. If ſo, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of Hannibal [m], by whoſe influence a law paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond that term. This laſt obſervation will point out to us the reaſon why the ſupreme magiſtrates at Carthage were called ſuffetes, and enable us to trace up that inſtitution to its firſt ſource (I).

THE

[g] Univerſ. hiſt. Ub. Emm. & Ariſtot. ubi ſupra. [h] Juſtin. Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [i] Ariſt. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Ub. Emm. ubi ſupra. [m] Liv. l. xxxiii.

(H) The Carthaginian republic, in this reſpect, followed the Lacedæmonian, in which the ſenate, ephori, &c. were elected by ſuffrages or votes (33). On the contrary, at Athens the ſenate, prytanes, &c. were all choſen by lot. This laſt method of electing was peculiar to the democratical form of government, as the former was to the ariſtocratical. The manner in which the Athenians choſe their magiſtrates and rulers by lot, has been already deſcribed in the former part of this hiſtory (34); and the Lacedæmonian election of civil officers has been fully handled by Cragius. It may not be improper here to repeat, that Solon was the Athenian legiſlator, and Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian.

(I) Scaliger, in his notes upon Feſtus, derives this word from the

(33) Ariſtot. de repub. & Nic. Cragius de rep. Lacedæm. l. ii. c. 1. (34) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 136, 137. Car. Sigon. de rep. Athen. l. ii. c. 3. & Nic. Crag. ubi ſupra.

THE principal, if not only, civil officers eſtabliſhed at Carthage (beſides the ſuffetes) that have been remembered Civil officers at Carthage.

the verb צפה tzaphah, "he looked from on high, or, he "overlooked others;" and ſo makes it agree in ſignification with the Greek ἔφορος, ἐπόπτης, ἐπίσκοπος, &c. (35). But this, notwithſtanding it has ſome appearance of truth, is not ſo eaſy and grammatical as Bochart's etymon. That learned man, after the great Selden, will have ſuffetes to be the ſame word with שופטים ſophetim, or ſofetim, judges, magiſtrates, &c. which notion is abſolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewiſe by Paulus, Calidius, and Feſtus (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the Carthaginian ſuffetes reſembled very much the old judges of the Iſraelites, who governed that nation from the death of Joſhua to the election of Saul, the firſt king of Iſrael. We ſay this cannot well be denied; for theſe old judges were called in Hebrew ſophetim, or ſofetim, for which reaſon the Hebrews always ſtyled the book of judges ſophetim; and this very government flouriſhed in the neighbourhood of Tyre, the mother of Carthage. We may therefore reaſonably preſume, that the Carthaginians borrowed their ſuffetes either from Tyre, or immediately from the Iſraelites themſelves, by whom ſome of their anceſtors the Canaanites were at firſt expelled their country in the time of Joſhua, and others in the time of David, after they had, for a conſiderable period, been contiguous to them. If the Carthaginians derived this inſtitution from the Tyrians, theſe laſt probably received it from the Iſraelites their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain ſuch magiſtrates as theſe were in Tyre after the deſtruction of the old city by Nebuchadnezzar; for Joſephus, in his treatiſe againſt Apion, has given us a ſeries of them (37). It ought to be obſerved, that but one perſon was inveſted with the ſupreme authority amongſt the Hebrews during the government of the ſophetim, which was likewiſe the cuſtom at Tyre; and therefore it is natural to ſuppoſe, that it was ſo originally at Carthage alſo (38). The Romans had very inadequate ideas of the Carthaginian government in general, and of their magiſtrates in particular; and therefore we cannot abſolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from ſome of theſe it ſeems not improbable, that one of the ſuffetes, even towards the decline of Carthage, had a greater ſhare of power than the other; which is a ſort of proof, that at firſt the power of the ſuffetes was lodged in a ſingle hand. Juſtin calls Hanno the prince, or principal perſon

(35) Scalig. in Feſt. ſub. voc. ſufes. (36) Seld. de diis Syris, in prolegom. c. 2. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Paulus & Calid. apud Feſt. ſub. voc. ſufes. (37) Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. ii. (38) Jud. ii. 18, 19, & iii, iv, vii, &c. Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

by the antients, were the prætor, the quæſtor, and the cenſor.

The prætor. THE great Hannibal, who, by reaſon of his glorious atchievements, as well as noble extraction, was the moſt illuſtrious of the Carthaginians, had the prætorſhip[n] conferred

[n] Idem ibid. & Ub. Emm. ubi ſup.

ſon of Carthage. Cornelius Nepos gives Hannibal the name of prætor; Livy and Gellius of dictator. 'Tis plain Hannibal was by far the greateſt man in the city, becauſe he over-ruled all the other magiſtrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. Feſtus ſays the ſufes (or, according to the Carthaginian pronunciation, ſufet, as appears from the genitive caſe ſufetis) was the ſupreme magiſtrate of Carthag. And laſtly, from ſome inſcriptions in Gruter, it is clear, that ſeveral cities in Africa had each of them a ſufes (39). The old Archontic government, that took place at Athens after the death of Codrus, ſeems likewiſe to have been of this form. We find ſome little variation in the Carthaginian word ſuffetes from the Hebrew ſophetim, which is owing partly to the Latin termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the Punic language and the Syriac. That ES is a Latin plural termination, needs no proof; and that the Punic language was near akin to the Syriac, though it borrowed moſt of its words from the Hebrew, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewiſe from the authority of St. Jerom, St. Auguſtin, (40), and Priſcian. What therefore the Hebrews wrote ſophetim, the Carthaginians in all probability, wrote ſuphetin, or emphatically ſuphete (שופטין) א or E being the emphatical maſculine plural termination in Syriac, as ין or IN was the abſolute one. The Hebrew vaucholem, or O, anſwered to the Syriac and Punic V (41); and though the MSS of Livy and Nepos have ſuffetes with a double F, yet, from the authority of Feſtus, Calidius, and the above-mentioned inſcriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly ſufetes with a ſingle F. We have been a little more prolix than uſual in this note, becauſe we take the ſubject of it to be of a very curious nature, and ſuch a one as may lead us to farther diſcoveries both in ſacred and profane hiſtory.

(39) Juſtin. l. xxi. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxiii. & lxxxiii. A Gell. l. x. c. 52. Feſt. ſub. voc. ſufes. Gruter. p. 470. inſcript. 1, 2. edit. Græv. Amſt. 1707. (40) D. Hieron. com. ad. Jerem. v. D Aug. l. iii. cont. lit. Petil. Donat. & Priſcian. l. v. (41) Vide Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & Joſ. Scalig. in Feſt. ſub. voc. ſufes.

red upon him in the fifth year after the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war; from whence it is evident, that this muſt have been one of the firſt employments in the ſtate. The perſon inveſted with this high dignity had a vaſt influence, not only in paſſing, but likewiſe in repealing of laws, as may be inferred from Hannibal's impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point againſt them, during his continuance [o] in this office. He moreover [p] received the tribute paid by the different nations under the Carthaginian power; collected the yearly taxes and ſubſidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a tranſition [q] from the office of ſuffetes (after it became annual) to the prætorſhiy, was not uncommon in Carthage; of which Hannibal and Mago, not to [r] mention other inſtances that might be produced, ſupply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of buſineſs, beſides thoſe above-mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of ſufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

THE quæſtor [s] was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho' ſubordinate to them, had a very conſiderable degree of power. He [t] likewiſe collected and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced Livy to give him the name of quæſtor. This officer, in his double capacity, ſeems to have anſwered to the old Roman quæſtors, who [u] were introduced under the regal government, as well as thoſe who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was ſometimes at leaſt, if not of courſe, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from Livy and Polybius; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are entirely in the dark. The quæſtor.

WE find another civil officer eſtabliſhed at Carthage, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſpect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is ſtyled by Cornelius Nepos [w], the præfect of manners, or the cenſor. Hamilcar [x], the father of Hannibal, tho' the firſt man in the republic, could not eſcape this inſpection; for the cenſor took The cenſor.

from

[o] Liv. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi ſup. [q] Hendr, ubi ſup. [r] Liv. Polyb. Diodor. Sic. &c. [s] Liv. l. xxxiii. [t] Idem, l. xxiii. [u] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 394. in not. [w] Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. [x] Idem. ibid.

from him a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty; from whence we may conclude, that the power of this magistrate extended to every subject of the state, even those of the greatest figure and distinction.

The Carthaginian laws.

As for the Carthaginian laws, our readers must not expect any regular system of them. The utmost we can pretend to is, to give them a few fragments, or rather traces of an inconsiderable part of these laws. They have all long since been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce, escaped the general wreck of time.

Children of the best families sacrificed to Saturn.

1. THERE was a law of very long standing amongst the Carthaginians [y], by which they were enjoined to sacrifice to Saturn only children nobly born. This, not being complied with for a certain period, grew into disuse, the children of slaves and foreigners being substituted in the room of the others. But when Agathocles [z] reduced Carthage almost to the last extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-observance of this law. However, to attone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in the city were offered up to that deity.

Ceres and Proserpina admitted into the number of the Carthaginian deities.

2. BY another law, Ceres and Proserpina were admitted into the number of Carthaginian deities [a]. Magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests were selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service; and sacrifices, after the Greek manner, were offered up to them. This happened during the consternation the people of Carthage were thrown into by the African insurrection, and the ill success that attended them in their war with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. It was done in order to appease the anger of those goddesses, whose farther resentment they feared, because Himilco, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, had plundered their temples in the suburb of Acradina.

Greek language forbidden in Carthage.

3. ABOUT this time likewise a law was enacted at Carthage [b], by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the Greek language. It was hoped

[y] Diodor. Sic. l. xx. Plut. de superstit. & de ser. vindic. deor. Herodot. l vii. [z] Diodor. Sic. ubi sup. Pescen. Fest. apud Lactant. inst. l. i. c. 1. [a] Diod. Sic. l. xiv. [b] Just. l. xx.

hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. The law was occaſioned by a Carthaginian traitor [c], who, writing in Greek to Dionyſius, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the [d] great Hannibal himſelf underſtood this language ſo well, that he compoſed in it an hiſtory of the actions of Manlius Vulſo during the time of his proconſulſhip in Aſia [e], having been taught it by Soſilus the Lacedæmonian (L).

The centumvirate inſtituted to reſtrain the power of the Carthaginian generals.

4. It has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at Carthage [f], conſiſting of an hundred perſons taken out of the ſenate, whoſe province it was to enquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that this could any otherwiſe have been effected, than by a law paſſed for that purpoſe. The ends propoſed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago's family within proper bounds, which, by ingroſſing all the beſt employments, was become too overgrown for the ſtate; and to ſecure the republic againſt the great

[c] Idem ibid [d] Corn Nep. in vit. Hannib. [e] Idem ibid. & Plut. in Scip. [f] Juſt. l. xix.

(K) This traitor's name was Suniator, Suniates, or Suniatus, a profeſſed enemy to Hanno the Carthaginian general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not ſcruple an attempt to ſacrifice his country. He was a citizen of the firſt rank, and wrote to Dionyſius in Greek, giving him advice of the military preparations making againſt him, as well as the incapacity of Hanno for the poſt he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the puniſhment due to his crime (42).

(L) This Soſilus, with Philenius or Silenus, another Lacedæmonian, attended Hannibal in all his expeditions. That general ſpoke Greek with a tolerable fluency, and is ſaid to have written other books in this language, beſides the work here mentioned. Soſilus and Silenus undertook to write the hiſtory of their hero; but whether or no they executed that deſign, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; ſince not a fragment of either of their pieces has come to us (43).

(42) Juſtin. l. xx. Ubb. Emm. ubi ſup. apud. Gronov. p. 511.
(43) Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1734. p. 604. not. 6. Cic de divin. l. xxiv. Liv. l. xxvi. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 413.

great authority of its generals in all ſucceeding ages, who, whilſt in the field, were quite deſpotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the ſame with the centumvirate, or [g] tribunal of the hundred, which has been already deſcribed.

5. A ſort of ſumptuary law was made by the Carthaginian ſenate, to reſtrain all kinds of exceſſes at marriages. This was occaſioned by a deſign of Hanno, the principal perſon in the city, to make himſelf maſter of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open houſe for the populace that day, and to regale the ſenate in a moſt magnificent manner. All the members of this laſt were to have been taken off by poiſon at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to ſeize upon the government without oppoſition. Hanno, upon account of his great wealth and power, had ſuch an influence in the city, that the ſenate, upon the diſcovery of this plot, did not think proper to puniſh him for it; but contented themſelves with paſſing the law here mentioned [h].

Defects in the Carthaginian conſtitution.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the political ſtate of Carthage, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a few defects in that conſtitution, as Ariſtotle himſelf has pointed them out to us (M). FIRST,

[g] Idem ibid. & Ub. Emm. ubi ſup. [h] Juſtin. l. xxi.

(M) Since we follow Ariſtotle here in reciting the defects of this ſtate, it will be but juſt, by way of contraſt, to touch upon two things, which may be conſidered as excellencies in it.

1. The Carthaginians had public meals or entertainments, which ſeem to have been appointed at firſt in imitation of the Lacedæmonian phiditia, and in order to ſerve the ſame ends (44). The phiditia were one of the moſt uſeful inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which, 'tis imagined, he received from Crete, becauſe they went at firſt by the Cretan name Andria. They were intended to repreſs all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the Lacedæmonian youth, by inſpiring them with virtuous ſentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongſt them. At theſe meals young people were inſtructed by their ſeniors in the art of converſation, heard the moſt uſeful topics frequently diſcuſſed, and had always before them ſhining examples of wiſdom and virtue. But it is ſufficient juſt to have hinted this here, ſince an ample account of the inſtitution itſelf has been given in its proper place (45).

2. The

(44) Ariſtot. de repub. l. ii. c. 11. (45) Univerſ hiſt. vol. vi. p 386, 387. Vide etiam Joan. Meurſ. miſcel. Laconic. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg. Strab. l. x. Ariſt. ubi ſupra, c. 9, 10. Porphyr de abſt. l. iv. Macrob. ſat. l. vii. c. 3. & Dicæarch. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iv.

FIRST, The [i] philoſopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the ſenate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well regulated ſtates, as tending too much to popular government.

SECONDLY, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconſiſtent with the nature of a true ariſtocracy, which either originally was, or at leaſt was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the Carthaginian conſtitution.

THIRDLY, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conſpicuous birth, without riches, were not ſufficient qualifications for a man to fill the firſt poſts; for this in his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit from having any ſhare in the government, but likewiſe opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, muſt ruin any ſtate. The experience of after-ages ſhewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the Barcan faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occaſions for a conſiderable time; others after them did the like, which at laſt proved the republic's deſtruction.

FOURTHLY, He will by no means allow, that the ſame perſon ſhould aſſume to himſelf ſeveral employments; than which no practice was more common at Carthage. The reaſons he aſſigns for this are, that a man poſſeſſed of but one office, is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more ſpirit and expedition, when the different branches of buſineſs are lodged in different hands; that different employments frequently claſh with one another;

[i] Ariſtot. ubi ſupra.

2. The Carthaginians had a laudable cuſtom amongſt them, of ſending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent ſettlement for ſeveral citizens, for whom there was no room in the ſtate; provided for the neceſſities of the poor; and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which ſalutary precautions muſt not a little contribute to the preſervation of the public tranquillity.

(46) Ariſtot. ubi ſupra c. 11. ſub. fin.

another; and laſtly, that the welfare of every ſtate is highly promoted by an equal diſtribution of its places amongſt its members. All which reaſons are indiſputably juſt, eſpecially the laſt; ſince nothing more ſtrongly excites an emulation amongſt men of merit, than an impartial diſpoſal of the preferments in a ſtate amongſt them, nor more effectually prevents all thoſe inconveniences which muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of one man's monopolizing the whole adminiſtration.

FIFTHLY, He blames the Carthaginian conſtitution in general, for not having a ſufficient proviſion made in it againſt all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time have taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have afforded a ſufficient relief on ſuch an occaſion. This conſtitution, indeed, as we have already obſerved from him, was at firſt excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all inteſtine diſorders; but it was not ſo well contrived, at leaſt in his time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He therefore ſeems juſtly to conclude, that the tranquillity and repoſe of the ſubjects of Carthage were not then ſettled upon a ſolid foundation.

THE

(N) In this reſpect it ſeems to have been the ſame form of government as that introduced by Phaleas Chalcedonius, which has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legiſlator of the Carthaginians (47). When he lived, Ariſtotle (48), who mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he muſt have been much later than the firſt formation of the Carthaginian republic, for Chalcedon itſelf was built near three hundred years after Carthage. However, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for the above-mentioned conjecture, as will appear from comparing Hendreich with Ariſtotle (49). It is therefore probable, that the firſt commonwealth ſettled at Carthage, which took place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a different form from that which exiſted in Ariſtotle's time. This, in all likelihood, nearly reſembled (if it was not exactly upon the ſame model) the antient Tyrian or Hebrew republic, wherein one ſupreme magiſtrate preſided. What we have advanced in a former note (50) will ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition, and likewiſe itſelf receive additional force from it.

(47) Hendr. in Carthag. p. 329. Vid etiam Reineccii hiſt. Jul. in Carthag t. ii. p. 460 (48) Ariſt. de rep l. ii c. 7. (49) Hendr. ubi ſup. Ariſt. ubi. ſup. & c. 2. (50) Vid. not. (I)

THE Carthaginians being deſcended from the Tyrians, their religious worſhip muſt of courſe have agreed in all points at firſt with that of the Phœnicians, which has been already in ſome meaſure deſcribed [k]. In proceſs of time, by their intercourſe with the Greeks, eſpecially thoſe of Sicily, they came to take a liking to the ſuperſtition of that nation, adopted ſeveral new deities before to them unknown [l], and intermixed ſome of the Greek religious ceremonies with the Tyrian [m]. But in this they copied after their anceſtors the Phœnicians, who gradually imbibed many ſuperſtitious notions prevailing among the greateſt ſtates [n], by reaſon of their vicinity to, and correſpondence with, them; and afterwards, upon their ſubjection to thoſe ſtates, had great alterations made in the whole ſyſtem of their religion. The Carthaginians likewiſe, by reaſon of their extended commerce, muſt have been in ſome ſort acquainted with the different kinds of ſuperſtition eſtabliſhed in moſt nations, with which doubtleſs they tinctured their own; ſo that from hence, as well as from other conſiderations, it may appear, that the religion of Carthage, was a very groſs and multifarious idolatry. Religion of the Carthaginians.

THE knowledge we have of the Carthaginian manner of worſhip, as well as the objects of that worſhip, is derived from the Greek and Roman writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods [o] to thoſe of the Carthaginians. This has rendered their accounts and obſervations on this head more imperfect and leſs valuable; for though we are well aſſured, that the Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well aſſured, that each of thoſe nations had not only ſome particular modes of worſhip, but likewiſe ſome particular deities peculiar to itſelf. 'Tis impoſſible therefore to come to an exact knowledge of the Carthaginian gods from what is delivered of them by the Greek and Roman authors. All that we can do is, to conſider their different attributes, and the circumſtances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforeſaid authors. By comparing theſe with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the Canaanites and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious cuſtoms and manners of thoſe nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the Carthaginians.

DIODORUS

[k] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 340, 341. &c. [l] Diodor. Sic. l. xiv. xx. &c. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. ubi ſup. [o] Herod. Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Quint. Curt. aliiq; mult.

Saturn the principal deity at Carthage.

DIODORUS SICULUS tells us, that the Carthaginians, in a particular manner, adored Chronus [p]; who, according to Quintus Curtius [q], and an infinity of other authors, was the Saturn of the Latins. The ſacrifices offered up to him were children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, as has been above obſerved. Upon the ſignal defeat of the Carthaginian army by Agathocles, three hundred citizens voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. Diodorus farther ſays, that they had a brazen ſtatue or coloſſus of him, the hands of which were extended in act to receive, and bent downwards in ſuch a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace [r].

THE ſame author adds, that this inhuman practice [s] ſeemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the Greeks from very early antiquity, viz. that Chronus devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can ſcarce be doubted, but that the fable itſelf owes its origin to this moſt execrable ſuperſtition, eſpecially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient Greeks, who received both their religion and theology from the Egyptians and Phœnicians (O).

BUT though the Carthaginian god, to whom human victims were ſo agreeable, had the name of Chronus given him by Diodorus, yet we cannot certainly infer from hence, that he was the ſame deity; becauſe his Punic name is unknown, and

[p] Diodor. Sic. l. xx. & alibi paſſ. [q] Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. Peſcennius Feſtus apud. Lactant. divin. inſtit. i. c. 21. aliiq; mult. [r] Diodor. Sic. ubi ſup. [s] Idem ibid.

(O) Biſhop Cumberland proves from ſeveral authors, that human ſacrifices were offered to Cabiri (51), and Sanchoniatho aſſerts (52), that Chronus or Saturn ſacrificed his ſon to the manes of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which ſource the learned biſhop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many ages over a great part both of the eaſtern and weſtern world. But the fragment of Sanchoniatho, preſerved by Philo Byblius and Euſebius, notwithſtanding all the learned biſhop's endeavours, as well as thoſe of M. Fourmont, to render it intelligible, is ſo dark and intricate eſpecially in this particular, that we cannot entirely depend upon it.

(51) Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. (52) Idem ibid. & in Sanchoniath. p. 134—157.

and therefore 'tis impoſſible to determine whether it was of the ſame import with Chronus, or no. However, we ſhall endeavour to ſupply this defect, by offering ſome reaſons, which if they will not abſolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. In the firſt place, the Carthaginian cuſtom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory ſacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the Greek tradition concerning Chronus, viz. that he devoured his own children. This ſeems to have been a great inducement to Diodorus himſelf to conclude, that he and Chronus were the ſame [t].

2. Both the oblations offered to this Carthaginian deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewiſe the brazen ſtatue mentioned by Diodorus, plainly enough ſhew, that he was Moloch [u] or Milchom, the famous idol of the Ammonites, Canaanites, and neighbouring nations. The deſcription already given of this falſe divinity, in conjunction with ſcripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that Moloch or Milchom was the Chronus of Diodorus, ſeems clear from the following conſiderations (P).

Chronus

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 118, 119, &c. Lev. xviii. 21. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Pſal. cvi. 37, &c. Vid. etiam Grot. in Levit. Voſſ. de idololat. Le Clerc com. in Levit. Saurin's diſcourſe, and Calmet's diſſertation on that ſubject.

(P) Nothing can be more evident, than that Moloch, Milcom, Baal, Bel, Chronus, &c. are all words of the ſame ſignification. They denote a king or prince. Chronus, in particular, does ſo. The word קרן keren or kren properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongſt the eaſtern nations. From thence undoubtedly our Engliſh word crown is to be deduced, or at leaſt the Latin corona, if it ſhould be thought more proper to derive the Engliſh word from this. It might likewiſe, for aught we know to the contrary, antiently have ſignified a crown, ſince all the eaſtern princes were, from the earlieſt antiquity, adorned with that enſign of royalty; and Tertullian (53) tells us, that Chronus was the firſt who wore it. Eupolemus, as preſerved to us by Alexander Polyhiſtor in Euſebius, Theophilus Antiochenus, and Damaſcius, compared with ſcripture, render it inconteſtably clear, that Chronus, Moloch, and Baal, were the ſame perſon (54). We ſhall beg leave here to conſider a difficult

(53) Tertul de corona. (54) Apud. Euſeb de præp. Evang. l. ix. Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolyc. l. iii. Damaſcius in vit. Iſidor. Jer vii. 31. & xix. 5. Iſai. xxxvi. 19. & xxxvii. 12. & alibi paſſ.

CHRONUS [w] had, for a conſiderable period, even amongſt the old inhabitants of Latium, human victims offered up to him, as Moloch had in Paleſtine.

THE

[w] Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. Ovid. in faſt. Lactant. de falſ. relig. l. i. Seld. de diis Syr. ſyntag. 1. c. 6. Dan. Claſenius. in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. Scherlog. antiq. bibl. de Moloch. Geus. de victim. human. p. m. 64. Ravanell. biblioth. ſacr. Buxtorf. lex. p. m. 1068. Fag. annot in targ. Onkel. Lev. xviii. 21. B. Salom. Glaſſ. phil. ſ. p. m. 1716 Athanaſ. Kirch. in Oedip. Ægypt. l. i. ſ. 4, c. 15. p. 328. & in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 147.

a difficult paſſage of ſcripture, which is not at all foreign to our preſent ſubject (55). In the original it is; ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם צלמיכם which, being rendered exactly according to the letter, is; But ye have borne the tabernacle of your (god) Moloch, and (ye have likewiſe borne) Chiun your likeneſſes, the ſtar of your god, which ye made to yourſelves (56). St. Luke's (or rather the Septuagint) verſion of this into Greek, is: Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφὰν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Which ought to be thus rendered; Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch and Remphan the ſtar of your god, (i. e. Moloch) figures which ye made, to worſhip them. Our readers will obſerve, that this is different from the common Engliſh tranſlation, which has it; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the ſtar of your god Remphan, figures which ye made, to worſhip them.* Now ſurely no one can heſitate a moment in determining which of theſe is the moſt eligible. The firſt, in agreement with the original Hebrew, makes St. Luke to declare, that Remphan is the name of the ſtar, not of the god. The ſecond in contradiction to the Hebrew, will have him to aſſert, that Remphan or Chiun is the name of the god, not of the ſtar; which is itſelf a ſufficient reaſon for our rejection of it. Beſides, the common tranſlation inſinuates, that Moloch and Remphan, or Chiun, were different deities: whereas, according to ours, they were the ſame; ſince it makes Chiun and Remphan the names of that ſtar, which the Arabians and Egyptians appropriated to the falſe deity, called by the Ammonites, Canaanites, &c. by way of eminence, Moloch. And how conſonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be ſeen from the plan we are now upon. The ſun, moon, and ſtars were the firſt objects of falſe worſhip; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The Egyptians and Arabians adhered to the

(55) Amos. v. 26 (56) Act. vii. 43. (57) Herod. Diod. Sic. Plato, Chron. Alex. Plut. Maimonides, Hyde, Prideaux, aliq; multi.

THE Cretans [x], in antient times, ſacrificed children to Chronus, as the Canaanites and Phœnicians did to Moloch.

[x] Iſtrus in collect. ſacrific. & Dan. Clāſenius ubi ſup.

the former ſpecies of falſe worſhip longer than the Canaanites and Phœnicians. However, all thoſe nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worſhip of the ſtars and dead men. In conſequence of which they aſſigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greateſt honour they could do them. The higheſt and moſt remote of the planets is known to be Saturn, whom the old Egyptians called either Remphan, Raphan, Ramphan, Rephan, Rompha or Repha; but the Arabians, Civan or Ciwan, (from whence the Hebrew Chiun) as the Turks, Arabs, and Perſians do at this day. The Ammonites, Idumæans, and Canaanites, though they had a knowledge of this planet, and conſidered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily repreſentation; whereas the Arabians and Egyptians paid divine honours to the ſtar, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to paſs, that the former addreſſed themſelves to an image or ſtatue, and the latter to a ſtar, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the ſame object. Now the Iſraelites had learned the Egyptian idolatry during their abode in Egypt, and that of the Arabians whilſt they were in Arabia Petræa, or at leaſt its neighbourhood, where they worſhipped the falſe god at preſent under conſideration; and as at the ſame time they were upon the borders of the Canaanites, with whom doubtleſs they had ſome kind of intercourſe, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, that they were likewiſe initiated in their form of ſuperſtition. This will account for their having with them the Canaanitiſh image of Moloch, in a ſmall portable temple, or tabernacle, carried either on mens ſhoulders, or by oxen; and a ſtar painted on the inſide of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itſelf, in compliance with the Egyptian and Arabian cuſtom. Kircher tells us, that the name of Saturn amongſt the modern Coptes is Rephan; from whence Bochart infers, that the Septuagint rendered Chiun by Rephan, becauſe they made their verſion in Egypt, where this word denoted the ſame planet that Chiun did in Arabia and Phœnice (58). The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that Moloch ſignified in the old Egyptian language Mars (59). But as Moloch was a Phœnician, not an Egyptian, word; as he proves his aſſertion only from a modern Copto-Arabic vocabulary MS. purchaſed at Alexandria by Sig. Pietro

(58) Athan. Kircher in prod. Copt c. 5. p. 140 & in Oedip. Ægyptiac. tom. i. §. 4. v. 15. Boch. phal. l. i. c. 15. (59) Idem ibid.

MOLOCH[y] was the principal god of the country in which his worſhip prevailed, as appears from his name, which implies

[y] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 118.

Pietro della Valle in the year 1615, and by affirming, that the Egyptian Mars, Oſiris, Typhon, the Perſian Mithras, &c. were the ſame deity, which is a palpable abſurdity, we think little regard in this laſt point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the Syrians, called by the Septuagint and the Maſorets, Rimmon, according to the Syriac form, Remvan, to have been the Remphan of St. Luke, as well as the Rephan of the Septuagint (60). Now Saturn is the higheſt of the planets, as the name ſeems to import, and therefore might be Rimmon or Remvan. This god was moreover, without diſpute, the Moloch and Baal of the Ammonites, Canaanites, &c. the Bel of the Babylonians, the Chronus of the Greeks, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the Septuagint and St. Luke wrote. Biſhop Cumberland imagines Saturn to have been called Rephas or Rephan, becauſe he was of an healthful conſtitution, long life, large ſtature, and great ſtrength, all which the Hebrew word רפא includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther obſerves, that all his deſcendents, who reſembled him herein, were denominated Rephaim; which the Septuagint in ſome meaſure confirm, by rendering Rephaim, γίγαντες, giants, alluding to the ſuperiority of ſtrength and conſtitution they enjoyed. We muſt not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our tranſlation of the Greek paſſage in the Septuagint and St. Stephen's ſpeech, the Syriac verſion in Amos, v. 26 makes Moloch and Chiun to be the ſame; nor that Jonathan's targum expreſly calls Chiun a ſtar. Some critics have derived Chiun and Rephan or Remphan from two Oriental roots implying the ſame thing, i. e. the great principle of life and exiſtence; which is not very different from the notion of Saturn to be found in the verſes of Orpheus. Others have believed, that כיון before the time of the Maſorites was read Chivan, and that the foot of the initial letter caph being defaced, it appeared to the LXX. elders like reſh, who therefore pronounced it Rephan (62). But this is too bold a criticiſm, eſpecially as St. Luke has ſo cloſely followed the aforeſaid elders, and as Diodorus Siculus mentions a moſt opulent king of Egypt named Remphis, who flouriſhed in very early times (63). This laſt is a full proof, that Remphis or Rempha was an Egyptian proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was the

(60) Vid. ſynopſ. Criticor. in Am. v. 26. & Act. vii. 43. ut & Dan. Claſen. in theol. gent. l iii. c. 4. (61) Cumberland on Sanchoniath. rem. 2. (62) Synopſ. criticor. ubi ſup. (63) Diod. Sic. l. i.

plies ſovereignty in it, from his having ſuch particular notice taken of him in ſcripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the Ammonites. Now Chronus [z] was the chief object of adoration in Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q).

[z] Voſſius de idololat. Ovid. Macrob. Iſtr. Porphyr. Seld. Claſen. &c. ubi ſup.

the Egyptian Saturn, or at leaſt was worſhipped under the form of the planet ſo called. It likewiſe proves, that St. Luke's Rempha or Remphan is preferable to the Repha or Rephan of the LXX. as alſo, that the modern Copts have borrowed their Rephan from the latter, ſince they have not the true Egyptian name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from ſome corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whoſe original reading, we doubt not, was Rempha or Remphan. Neither is it at all improbable, that the ſame people have taken the name Moloch (a Phœnician or Hebrew word) from the ſame paſſage of this verſion, and, through ignorance, applied it to the planet Mars. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itſelf is entirely repugnant to the whole ſtream of antiquity; and that Vettius Valens Antiochenus and Julius Firmicus poſitively declare, that the Egyptian or Coptic names of the planet Mars were Artes and Pyrois (64).

(Q) A ſtrong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewiſe be drawn from the general homage paid to Saturn, as the principal of the gods in moſt countries. He ſeems to have been known to the Gauls, Scythians, Celtes, Africans, and even the moſt barbarous nations. Human ſacrifices were offered up to him where-ever his worſhip took place, tho' this did not continue long amongſt the Greeks and Romans, whoſe natural ſentiments of humanity and compaſſion ſoon became too ſtrong to permit them to tolerate ſo infernal a practice. The ſolemnities obſerved at the offering up of human victims to the Carthaginian god (whoſe name we may reaſonably ſuppoſe was either Baal or Moloch, or both) anſwered pretty nearly to thoſe obſerved by the Canaanites on the like dire occaſion, as we learn from Plutarch *. This is a further preſumption, that the Phœnician Moloch and this deity were the ſame. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of Banier (65), that the Ammonites worſhipped the ſeven planets in the idol of Moloch jointly, as well as Saturn, his proper ſtar, and the ſun ſingly.

(64) Vettius Valens Antioch. apud Seld. de diis Syr. ſyntag. 1. & Jul. Firmic. ibidem. * Plutarch. de ſuperſtit. Seld. ubi ſup. & Scalig. in epiſt. ad Caſaub (65) Vid Fourmont. ref. erit. t. i. p. 357. & Banier in mythol. l. vii. c. 6.

LASTLY, to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both Moloch and Chronus were indiſputably the great Baal, Bel [a] or Belus of the Sidonians, Babylonians, and Aſſyrians, and conſequently the ſame individual deity.

3. BAAL [b], Belus, Bal or Bel, (for he was known by all theſe names) was the great god of the Carthaginians. As it is therefore apparent from ſcripture [c], that he was delighted with human ſacrifices, and as he was the Chronus [d] of the Greeks, 'tis evident from hence, that the Carthaginian divinity Diodorus had in view muſt have been really Chronus.

4. FROM ſeveral traces to be found in the proper names of Carthage, we may diſcover, that the deity under conſideration was known there by the two appellations Baal and Moloch, as in the eaſt. Hanni-bal, Aſdru-bal, Maher-bal, &c. point out Baal or Bal; as Hi-milce, Hi-milco, Ha-milcar, Melicus [e], Malchus [f], &c. do Moloch or Milcom. Theſe therefore being different names of the ſame deity, who was the Chronus of the Greeks, it muſt be allowed, that Chronus or Saturn was not only worſhipped, but likewiſe looked upon as the principal god, at Carthage (R).

THE

[a] Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. Seld. de diis. Syr. ubi ſup. Voſſius ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 5. Vid. etiam. Lud. Viv. ad D. Auguſt. de civ. Dei l. vii. c. 9. Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152. Suid. ſub voc. Βήλ. [b] Author. ſupra laudat. & Serv. in Æn. i. Iſidor. origin l. viii. &c. [c] Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. [d] Vid. author. ſupra laudat. & Cumberland on Sanchoniath. Seld. de diis Syr. &c. Vid. & ipſum Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10, &c. [e] Sil. Italic. l. 3. [f] Gronov. theſaur. ant. Græc. tom. ii.

(R) It is believed by ſome, that Saturn or Baal was the ſun, Baaltis or Aſtarte the moon, and that theſe were the only deities of the eaſtern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithſtanding the ſun and moon were two of the moſt noted objects of falſe worſhip, and poſſibly the firſt, yet we think it undeniable, that the Orientals had other falſe gods, in very antient times. From ſcripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon GOD's people worſhipped the ſun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). Philip's treaty with the Carthaginians, a copy of which is preſerved to us by Polybius (67), renders it indiſputable that this people had other deities beſides the two luminaries above mentioned, ſome of which were planets diſtinct from them. But we ſhall endeavour to trace up this planetary worſhip to its firſt

(66) 2 Kings xxiii. 5. (67) Polyb. l. vii.

THE goddeſs Cœleſtis or Urania was held in the higheſt veneration by the Carthaginians. The prophet Jeremiah [g] calls

The goddeſs Cœleſtis worſhipped at Carthage.

[g] Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17. & alibi.

firſt ſource, or as near it as poſſible. God created the world, or this ſyſtem, in ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh (68). This was the foundation of the Antediluvian as well as the Hebrew week; and ſeems to be the reaſon that the number ſeven was ſo remarkable both amongſt the Antediluvains and the Hebrews. Vengeance ſeven-fold was denounced againſt any perſon that ſhould ſlay Cain (69); Noah was commanded to take unto him the clean beaſts by ſevens (70); the fowls of the air alſo by ſevens (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) ſeven days before it happened; the ſame patriarch ſent a dove out of the ark a ſecond time to explore ſeven days after the firſt (73), and a third time ſeven days after this; Abimelech received ſeven ewe-lambs of Abraham, as a teſtimony that a well belonged to him (74); Jacob ſerved Laban for Rachael ſeven years (75); Pharaoh in his dream ſaw ſeven fat and ſeven lean kine come out of the river, portending (76) ſo many years of plenty and famine; Elijah ſent his ſervant ſeven times towards the ſea, to diſcover the cloud that was forming itſelf for rain (77); his ſucceſſor Eliſha ordered Naaman the Syrian to waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river Jordan, in order to be cured of his leproſy (78), &c. Now 'tis obſervable, that there is a ſurpriſing analogy betwixt the days of the original week, and the ſyſtem then created. The ſix primary planets, for the moon is the ſatellite of the earth, move round the ſun, which is fixed, or at reſt, and together they are in number ſeven, this anſwers exactly to the ſix days of work or motion, and one of reſt, in all ſeven, of which the original week did conſiſt. Thus the Moſaic account of the creation is a ſymbolical deſcription of the world or ſyſtem created; and ſuch deſcriptions as theſe were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Orientals, eſpecially the Egyptians, in the firſt ages, and particularly in that wherein Moſes lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. Hence we have the greateſt reaſon to imagine, that the Antidiluvian as well as the Poſtdiluvian patriarchs, the firſt Egyptians, Chaldeans, &c. famed for their knowledge in aſtronomy and aſtrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them. Moſes likewiſe, being learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians,

(68) Gen. i. ii. &c. (69) Gen. iv. 15. (70) Gen. vii 2. (71) Gen. vii. 3. (72) Gen. vii. 4. (73) Gen. vii. 10, 12. (74) Gen. xxi. 28, 29, 30. (75) Gen. xxix. 18, 27. (76) Gen. xli. 2, 3. (77) 1 Kings xviii. 43. (78) 2 Kings v. 10, 14.

calls her Baaleth ſhemain the queen of heaven, i. e. Juno Olympia; Megaſthenes [h], in Euſebius, Beltis or queen Beltis;

[h] Megaſthenes & Abydenus apud Euſeb. in chron.

Egyptians, had undoubtedly a great ſhare of knowledge in the celeſtial ſciences (79). That the Egyptians had magicians and wiſe men, or aſtrologers, amongſt them a conſiderable, if not a long, time before Joſeph's arrival in Egypt, appears from ſcripture, ſince it was a common practice in that country then to conſult ſuch perſons (80) upon any extraordinary occaſion; and the number ſeven ſeems likewiſe to have been ſymbolical; from whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to them, even from the firſt formation of their monarchy. The Chaldees or Chaldeans, Syrians, &c. agreed with the family of Abraham or Heber in the moſt early ages, in their computation of time by weeks, or periods of ſeven days (81), as well as in ſhewing regard to the number ſeven; they were likewiſe famed for their early application to the ſtudy of the celeſtial ſciences, which is a good proof that they muſt have been acquainted with the ſeven planets, even from the beginning. According to Iamblichus and Syncellus, Pythagoras was taken priſoner by Cambyſes in Egypt, in the firſt year of the ſixty-fourth olympiad, i. e. about five hundred and twenty four years before the birth of Chriſt. Now the learned are univerſally agreed, that this philoſopher brought with him home from Egypt that antient ſyſtem of the world which bears his name (82), and is generally believed to be the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the firſt Hermes, who was almoſt as antient as the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy, and a moſt celebrated adept in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. We muſt therefore allow it probable, that theſe bodies, and the true ſyſtem of the world, were known even from the firſt origin of things. In order to ſupport farther what is here advanced, it may not be improper to obſerve, that from the moſt early antiquity the planets were imagined to bear a near relation to the days of the week, ſince the cuſtom of calling the latter by the names of the former is ſo antient, that the beginning of it cannot be diſcovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as antient as the diviſion of the day into twenty-four hours, ſince the great regard paid to the planets, from a notion of their influence over all terreſtrial bodies, was the cauſe of that diviſion, as that diviſion was of the order in which they ſucceeded one another in their government of the days of the week (83), which does

(79) Acts vii. 22. (80) Gen. xli. 8. (81) Gen. xxix. 27. (82) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 589, &c. (83) vol. iii. 468, p. note (L).

Beltis; Sanchoniatho [i], in Philo Byblius, Dione and Baaltis; Heſychius [k], Belthes. According to this laſt author, the

[i] Sanchoniath. & Philo Bybl. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. i. [k] Heſych ſub voc. Βήλθης.

does not agree with their ſituation in our ſyſtem. The caſe therefore ſeems to have been thus: There was a great analogy between the days of the firſt, or original, week, and the ſeven principal parts of the ſyſtem then created; the former ſeem to have been a ſymbolical deſcription of the latter. This occaſioned the number ſeven, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the firſt inhabitants of the world. The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with Adam, at firſt afforded many pleaſing ſpeculations to mankind; but afterwards became a ſnare to them, and inſenſibly led them on to the worſhip of theſe heavenly bodies. After this took place, the ſame, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number ſeven, out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongſt them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of ſome one of them; and, in conſequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the cuſtom of denominating the days of the week after the planets, and conſequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly ſo, with the firſt origin of idolatry. Alexander Aphrodiſienſis affirms, that the number ſeven is perfect in its own nature, becauſe God governs the earth by the ſeven planets (84); Pythagoras, according to Apuleius, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number ſacred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the ſeven planets; Apuleius judged it neceſſary, before he addreſſed himſelf to the moſt powerful god, to be immerſed ſeven times in ſalt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the Pythagorean, i. e. the moſt antient Chaldean, Egyptian, &c. ſuperſtition; Ariſtotle inſinuates, that ſeven is the number (88) of which the world, i. e. this ſyſtem, is compoſed; Photius, Macrobius (89), and others, likewiſe declare, that ſeven is a religious number. From which teſtimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced,

(84) Alexander Aphrodiſ. in Ariſtot. probl. l. ii. (85) Apul. Mileſ. 11. (86) Vid. Joan. Meurſ. Denar. Pythagor. c. 9. (87) Apul. ubi ſup. (88) Ariſtot maj. metaphyſ. c. 7. & Alex. Aphrodiſ. in loc. (89) Photius in excerpt. e Nicom. Macrob. in ſomn. Scip. l. i. c. 6. Etymolog. magn. &c. Vide etiam Procl. in Timæ. l. iii. Plutarch. ſympoſ. l. viii. c. 1. & l. ix. c. 4. Diog. Laert. in Platon. l. iii. & Joſ. Laurent. de ſiſt. & tintinnab. c. 3. apud Gronov. theſ. ant. Græc. c. viii. p. 1467.

the word was applied both to Juno and Venus; and indeed in the Phœnician theology, we ſcarce find any diſtinction betwixt theſe two deities. St. Auguſtin ſays, that Carthage was the place where Venus had eſtabliſhed her reign [l]; and Virgil informs us, that Juno preferred that ſpot to all others, even to Samos itſelf [m]. As therefore both the Greeks and Romans had, generally ſpeaking, one ſingle chief divinity to preſide over every particular city, country, and diſtrict, this double one muſt have been owing to the Phœnician or Punic word above-mentioned, which included both of the aforeſaid goddeſſes. Aſtaroth and Aſtarte were ſynonymous to Urania and Baaltis, and denoted the moon as well as Venus and Juno, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly in droughts to obtain rain [n]. The antient Greeks frequently confound

[l] D. Auguſt. in pſal. xcviii. [m] Virg. Æn. i. [n] Tertul. apolog. c 23.

produced, it is abundantly evident, that the eſteem the antient pagan world ſhewed for the number ſeven was owing originally to the planets, and that theſe were adored from very remote antiquity.

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations muſt be calculated to ſerve ſome wiſe end, we may preſume, that there was ſome final cauſe why the world, or this ſyſtem, was created in preciſely ſix days, which, in conjunction with a ſeventh, formed the firſt period of time. Now it will not be eaſy to aſſign a more rational one than we have hinted above, viz. that this was done with a deſign to point out to the firſt inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the ſyſtem then created did conſiſt; as likewiſe to remind them in a particular manner every ſeventh day, that theſe ſeven heavenly bodies were created by God, entirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be eſteemed as objects of adoration. The great propenſity of mankind in after-ages, particularly the Hebrews, God's own people, to this ſpecies of falſe worſhip, adds no ſmall weight to our hypotheſis. That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, conſiſted of ſeven days, is clear from ſcripture (90); as likewiſe, that every one of thoſe days, in the ſymbolical language of the moſt early ages ſtood for a year (91). We could purſue this point much farther, would the ſubject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full diſcuſſion of it in ſome future part of this work; and in the mean time ſhall content ourſelves with having ſuggeſted a few remarkable hints in this place.

(90) Gen. xxix. 27. (91) Ibid.

confound Juno, Venus, and Diana, or the moon; which is to be attributed to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, from whom they received their ſyſtem of religion, who ſeem in the moſt antient times to have had but one name for them all. In ſuch a perplexed point as this, we ſhall expatiate no farther, ſince it would be both fruitleſs and unneceſſary; beſides, it would carry us from our ſubject. Our readers will find as diſtinct and particular an account of the goddeſs or goddeſſes here mentioned, as they can with reaſon expect, in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory [o]. To that part therefore, we refer them (S).

Many deities went antiently by the name of Belus.

BESIDES the firſt Belus already taken notice of, there were ſeveral others of a later date in great repute amongſt the Phœnicians, particularly thoſe of Tyre, and of courſe amongſt the Carthaginians. Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, or the ſun, &c. were all of them ſo ſtyled, according to the moſt celebrated authors who have treated of this ſubject. That Jupiter was worſhipped by this people under the denomination of Belus or Baal, is notorious from Polybius, Menander Epheſius, and Dius [p]. To him they addreſſed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reaſon to believe, for the moſt part, at the head of their treaties For which reaſon ſome have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he was the Baal Berith of Phœnice [r]; but we are rather inclined to ſuppoſe, with biſhop Cumberland, that this deity was Chronus [s]. Mars, according to the chronicon Alexandrinum, compared with Homer and Heſtiæus, an antient author cited by Euſebius [t], was dignified with the title of Belus by the Perſians, Aſſyrians, and doubtleſs by the Carthaginians alſo, ſince he was a favourite divinity in their ſtate [u], eſpecially amongſt their generals. Bacchus was called Belus by the Poet Nonnus [w], and

[o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 340, &c. [p] Polyb. l. vii. & alibi paſ. Menander Epheſius & Dius apud Joſeph. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. [r] M. Banier. in mythol. vol. i. [r] Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. p. 152. [t] Homer. paſ. Heſtiæus apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. & apud Joſeph antiq. l. i. c. 6. Vid. etiam Selden. de diis. Syr. ſyntag. 2. [u] Polyb. ubi ſup. & alibi paſ. Sil. Italic. l. i. [w] Nonnus in Dionyſiac. apud Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. 2.

(S) Urania, Baaltis, Aſtarte, &c. is by ſome taken to be the Iſis (92) of the Egyptians; as Baal, Belus, &c. their Oſiris. The Carthaginian

(92) Biſhop Cumberland on Sanchoniath. & in orig. gent. ant. See alſo the firſt vol. of this hiſt. p. 549, &c. and vol. ii. p. 340, &c.

and no wonder, ſince he is often taken to be the ſame with Jupiter (T). The nation we are diſcourſing of had, in all probability, ſome knowledge of him [x]. Apollo, or the ſun, went

[x] Compare Nonnus, Seld. & Bochart. with Sir Iſacc Newton in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c.

Carthaginian Juno, according to Virgil (93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. Servius ſays (94) ſhe had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of Juno Curulis. Plutarch ſeems to give her a ſpear, ſince he calls her Juno Curitis, curis in the Sabine language ſignifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a ſmall portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in proceſſion. 'Tis certain ſuch tabernacles as theſe were in uſe amongſt the Carthaginians. As for the etymon of Aſhtaroth, Aſhtoreth, or Aſtarte, we muſt refer our readers to the Phœnician hiſtory (95). According to Scaliger (96), Juno was repreſented at Carthage ſitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a ſcepter in her left. No wonder ſhe ſhould have been ſo much revered by the Carthaginians, ſince ſhe was in a particular manner the goddeſs of the Sidonians, their anceſtors (97).

(T) In a former part of this work we obſerved, that Pezron derived Jupiter from the Celtic Jou, young, becauſe the deity ſo called was ſuppoſed to have been the youngeſt ſon of Saturn (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we diſſent from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully ſatisfied, that this name is formed of the word pater, father, in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton or Jehovah, as will moſt evidently appear from the following obſervations.

1. There can ſcarce an inſtance be found in all antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from ſo ſlight a circumſtance as that mentioned by Pezron. That Jupiter therefore, who was ſo potent a prince, or rather ſo celebrated a deity; that he who was ſo frequently ſtyled by the moſt antient writers

(93) Virg. Æn. i. (94) Serv. in Æn. i. (95) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 340, &c.. (96) Joſ. Scalig. de emend. comp. (97) Univ. hiſt ubi ſup. Vid. etiam Apul. metam. vi. Cyprian. in lib. de idol. Solin. c. 30. Tertul. apol. c. 24. Sil. Ital. l. i. Herodian. l. v. Voſſ. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 21. Auguſt. in Judic. c. 7. Voſſ. ubi ſup. c. 25, 26, &c. Franciſc. Florid. Sabin. in lect. ſubſc. l. ii. c. 7. & Herodot. l. iv. (98) Univ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 428.

went frequently either by this name simply, or by others, in which this made one part of the composition [y]. Though sometimes

[y] Selden. ubi sup.

writers the father of gods and men, should be so called, because he was his father's youngest son, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the best writers, venture to assert, that the antient Latins either took Jupiter to be a term equivalent to Baal, Deus, &c. i. e. God, Lord, &c. as Neptune was the sea Jupiter, Pluto the infernal Jupiter, &c. or by it understood the great governor of the universe himself, as the wisest of them most certainly did (100). In either of which cases it can satisfactorily be derived from no other source than the Tetragrammaton.

2. Diodorus Siculus, a very good author, where he does not too closely copy after Ctesias, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of Moses, the legislator of the Jews, Iao (1). This is a clear proof, that the God of Moses, or Jehovah, was known to the Greeks by the name Iao, which was their pronunciation, though a corrupt one, of the Tetragrammaton. Add to this pater or father, a word which both the Greeks and Latins affixed to Zeus and Jovis (2), and it becomes Iao-pater, which is evidently the Jupiter of the Latins. As therefore the Iao of Diodorus cannot be derived from the Celtic word Jou, so neither can Iao-pater, Iao-piter or Jupiter as Pezron thinks; being made up of pater and Iao, that is, of pater and the Tetragrammaton.

3. We are told by Macrobius (3), that the oracle of Apollo Clarius affirmed Iao to be the greatest of the gods, or rather the supreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from Strabo (4), who makes Mopsus, a famous soothsayer in the time of the Trojan war, to have lived within the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from Macrobius (5), that it was superior in point of antiquity to Orpheus himself, which will carry us a vast way back into the mythic period of time. Æschylus also intimates, that there was a Zeus (6), or Jupiter Clarius, which must undoubtedly have been the great God Iao above-mentioned. Since therefore Zeus and Iao are terms synonymous, as we have before proved Iao and Jupiter to be; this is a further argument, that these all must have had the same original, and consequently that Jupiter is not of Celtic extraction.

4. In

(99) Hesiod. thegon. Hom. in Iliad. pas. (100) Virg. Hor. Senec. aliiq. (1) Diod. Sic. bibliothec. hist. l. i. c. 7. (2) Homer. & Hesiod. ubi. sup. & Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 12. (3) Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap. 18. (4) Strab. l. xiii. (5) Macrob. ubi sup. (6) Æschylus in supplic.

ſometimes the people of Carthage repoſed great confidence in him, yet we find their anceſtors, the Tyrians, in a caſe of

4. In a fragment of Philo Byblius taken from Sanchoniatho, and handed down to us by Euſebius (7), mention is made of the God Ievo, and of his prieſt Jerombalus, which can have no manner of relation to the Celtic Iou, becauſe Sanchoniatho was a Phœnician. Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria, Euſebius, and Epiphanius, alſo evince, that the Tetragrammaton of Jehovah was written in Greek Iaou or Iau (8). Druſius moreover remarks from Porphyry, that Ievo of Sanchoniatho was Iao or Jehovah (9). From all which authors it appears, that the Greeks, in all probability, received this great name from the Phœnicians. As therefore the Phœnician Ievo, the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter, were all the ſame with Iao, that is, the Tetragrammaton, it can by no means be admitted, that the name Jupiter is to be deduced from the Celtic.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that Thurſday, or the Day of Jove, is called in the remains of the Celtic language Diz-Jov. (10). Be it ſo; yet this will not come up to the point. For Diz-Jov is ſo very near the Latin Dies Jovis, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. And why may not this be the caſe? If the Romans made it a maxim to propagate their language where-ever they came, and even tinctured with it the languages of moſt countries they obliged to ſubmit to their arms, why ſhould it appear incredible, that ſeveral, nay many, Roman terms ſhould have been tranſplanted into the old Britiſh and Armorican tongues, ſince the Romans were maſters of the countries where they were uſed for ſeveral centuries, and ſome of their emperors were either born, reſided, or died in theſe parts of their dominions? This is by no means improbable; eſpecially as the word Jou in Diz-Jou bears not the leaſt reſemblance to the name of that day in the Hibernian dialect of the Celtic (11), which was unknown to the Romans. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even ſuppoſing the oppoſite opinion had been ſupported by no reaſons at all; but as the reverſe is true, as moreover we find not the leaſt intimation of any divinity going by the name Jou in any of thoſe authors who have treated of the Druidical religion, which prevailed amongſt the Celtes, it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

5. According

(7) Sanchoniatho apud. Euſeb. de præp. evang, l i. (8) Iren. l. i Epiphan. hæreſ. 26. Euſeb. de præp. evang. l iv. Clem. Alexandr. ſtrom 5. (9) Druſius in lib. de Tetragram. Vid. & Theodoret. quæſt. 15. in Exod (10) Pezron ant nat. Celt. c. 12. (11) Lhuydin primar. Britan. & Hibern. ling. harmonci, p. 54.

of extremity, were dubious of him; for being apprehenſive, that he intended to forſake them, and go over to Alexander, then

5. According to Plato, the Greek name Zeus imported properly the ſame thing that Jehovah did, i. e. the Being of Beings, the principal of life and exiſtence (12). This is a farther proof, nay a moſt ſtrong preſumption, that theſe two names were originally applied to the ſame being.

6. Gellius affirms, that the antient Latin name of Jupiter was Jovis (13), which, ſuppoſing it to be a Latin termination, as it really is, comes very near the Tetragrammaton. This will appear to be exactly true from what follows.

7. The old Etruſcans (14), who were the deſcendents of the moſt antient Pelaſgi, Phœnicians, and Lydians (15), called Jupiter Juve or Jove. All the earlieſt literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the right-hand to the left, after the Oriental manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing conſidered, we look upon this as a deciſive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only ſo, but are fully perſuaded, that the true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton is hereby diſcovered. The Maſoretical pronunciation indeed differs ſomething from it; but undoubtedly the Etruſcan Juve or Jove is many centuries older than the very being of the Maſorets. Beſides, as the Phœnician U anſwered to the Hebrew O, and the Maſoretical ſcheva is a vowel of a moſt rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that Juve or Jove, and Jehovah, are the ſame.

8. Seneca aſſures us, that the Etruſcan Juve or Jove was the cauſe of cauſes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in ſhort, the Deity himſelf (17); and that the Etruſcans themſelves conſidered him in all theſe views. After this, what can be offered further in ſupport of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But notwithſtanding Jupiter was the ſame with the Etruſcan Juve or Jehovah, and even at firſt, as the word (18) itſelf implies, the name of the ſupreme God in moſt nations; yet we pretend

(12) Conf. Hieron. Column. & G. J. Voſſi. not. in Enn. p. 289. ed. Heſſelii. Amſt. 1707, cum Plat. in Cratylo. (13) Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 12. (14) Vid. ſuite de l'extrait de l'hiſtoire diplomatique de M. Maffei, in bibliotheque Italique, tom. troiſiem art. 1. à Geneve, 1728. (15) Tab. Eugubin. 5. l. 5. & alib. Vid. & tab. Eugubin. 6. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. tom. i. (16) Vid. moniment. & inſcript. Etruſc. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. & P. Bonarotæ additament. ed. Florent. 1726. (17) Senec. natural quæſt. l. ii. c. 45, 46. (18) Shuckford's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. b. ix.

then vigorously pushing on the siege of their city, they fastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules [z], Neptune

[z] Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 3.

pretend not to deny that there was a king of Crete, who being, by reason of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the most illustrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This notion and what we have advanced are by no means incompatible. But still we must insist, that it ought to be considered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are entirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all persons who have made any researches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the Hebrews in those rites which were originally of divine institution, but likewise gave several appellations to their fictitious deities, which the Hebrews, and even they themselves, whilst they remained in the true religion, appropriated to the true God. Of this El, Baal, Adonai, and even Jehovah itself, are pregnant instances. One of their false gods the Greeks called Zeus, and the Latins Jupiter, whose worship was established at Carthage by Dido herself, as Justin relates (19); for which end she carried one of his priests with her from Cyprus to Africa. Under what form the Carthaginians exhibited Saturn and Jupiter to public adoration, is no-where said; but the manner in which Baal was represented in the east, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the Sabines Mamers, was the god of war, and, according to Vossius (21), of Oriental extraction. Sir Isaac Newton says mavors (22) or ma-fors was a Phrygian word, signifying valiant. It appears from Silius, that the Carthaginians (23) addressed their oaths to Mars as well as to Jupiter. Hannibal sacrificed to this god with great solemnity, before he set out upon the Italian expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly reverenced by the Carthaginian generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in Africa, and, without question, known in Carthage; but as he was more famous in Libya, we shall defer what we have to say of him, till we come to the history of that country.

Bochart seems to think, that Apollo was originally an African deity (25). He takes him to have been the Phut of Moses, known among the Greeks by the name Pythius. The Carthaginians, when they took the city of Gela in Sicily, found a statue of Apollo of an extraordinary size (26), which they sent to their mother city Tyre;

(19) Justin. l. xviii. (20) Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 343, not (E). (21) Vossius in theol. gent. (22) Sir Isaac Newton. chronol. p. 23. (23) Sil. Italic. l. i. (24) Idem ibid. (25) Boch. Phal. l. i. c. 2. (26) Univ. hist. vol. ii. 390.

Neptune was likewiſe one of the Dii majorum gentium, or gods of the firſt claſs, of the Carthaginians [a]. It cannot well

[a] Polyb. l. vii. Diod. Sic. l. xiii.

Tyre; and this was the ſtatue which the Tyrians faſtened with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, when they were under an apprehenſion, that he was going over to Alexander, then beſieging their city. Beſides this, there was another at Carthage of an immenſe value, taken by Scipio at the concluſion of the laſt ſiege; and, as Plutarch (27) intimates, ſent to Rome. The temple of Apollo, as deſcribed by Appian, was the richeſt and moſt ſuperb edifice at Carthage, of which we have given an account above. It was placed in the forum. Valerius Maximus relates, that the hand of one who came to ſtrip him of his golden garments was found amongſt the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an inſtance of his reſenting ſacrilege in a high manner (28). If we conſider him as the ſun, he was the Oſiris of the Egyptians, and the Mithras of the Perſians (29), and conſequently the great god of all the eaſt. The Apollo Libycus (30) will be fully conſidered in a proper place.

Neptune ſome take to have been Japhet, the king of the iſles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity aſſigned him, but likewiſe from his name. He preſided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32), and, in order to render him propitious, the Carthaginians threw victims into the ſea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance during Hannibal's ſiege of Agrigentum (33), when a number of prieſts were in this manner offered. The antients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horſes; and from the rock out of which the firſt horſe is ſuppoſed to have ſprung, he had the denomination of Scyphius given him (34) ſcyph in Punic ſignifying a rock or ſtone. Bochart makes his name Poſidon to be a Punic term, importing broad or expanded (35). His name Neptune ſhall be accounted for, when we come to viſit Libya; for, according to Herodotus, he was originally a Libyan (36).

Our readers will not be ſurpriſed, that we have paſſed over in ſilence the Carthaginian images or repreſentations of theſe four laſt deities, ſince we are entirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were figured at Carthage. Poſſibly in the main the Carthaginians,

(27) Plutarch. in Flamin. (28) Val. Max. (29) Strab. Suid. Heſych. Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 549 & vol. v. p. 45. (30) Vid. Lucium. Ampelium apud Bochart, ubi ſup. (31) Boch. Phal. l. i. c. 1. (32) Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 6. (33) Idem l. xiii. c. 12. (34) Pind. ſcholiaſt in Pyth. od. 4. (35) Bochart. ubi ſupra. (36) Herodot in Euterp.

well be doubted, but that he was the Baal of Sidon, called Thalaſſius, or the Sea Baal, taken notice of in a former part of this hiſtory *.

Baal, at firſt a name of the true God.

THE word Baal, in itſelf an appellative, at firſt ſerved to denote the true God, amongſt thoſe who adhered to the true religion; though afterwards, when it became common amongſt the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their reſpective idols, he rejected it [b]. The falſe god to whom they firſt appropriated it, was Chronus or Saturn, as intimated above. In proceſs of time it became a title, or mark of diſtinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the Baal-Peor, Baal-Zebub, Baal-Moloch, &c. of the Syrians and Phœnicians [c]. The term imported god or lord amongſt the Orientals, as zeus did amongſt the Greeks [d]. The plural Baalim in ſcripture ſignifies gods, lords, maſters, ſovereigns, &c. correſpondent to the ſenſe of Bel in the Chaldee tongue. According to Servius [e], who is followed by Voſſius herein, Bal in the Punic language had two ſignifications; it either ſpecified Saturn, or was equivalent to the Latin deus, or god. Xenophon [f] inſinuates, that, in the earlieſt times, every head of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in all countries was called Chronus or Saturn; every firſt-born ſon or daughter of ſuch families Jupiter or Juno; and the moſt valiant of their offſpring Hercules. Theodoret ſeems to apply this to the Phœnicians in particular [g]; adding, that ſuch noble perſonages were deified, on account of ſome ſignal ſervice they did to their country. As we have made Baal, and Zeus or Jupiter, words of the ſame import in different languages, we may ſay of the former what Varro in Tertullian ſays of the latter, viz. that the number of thoſe ſo ſtyled amounted to three hundred. Notwithſtanding which, ſome will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the Phœnicians, and conſequently of the Carthaginians, or, what is the ſame thing, that all the other

* Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 342 [b] Seld. de diis Syr. c. 1. ſub init. & Hoſ. ii. 16, 17. [c] Seld ubi ſupra. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Serv. in Æn. 1. Voſſ. theol gent. l. ii. c. 4. [f] Xenoph. in æquiv. [g] Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l. iii.

Carthaginians might agree with the Greeks and Romans in this particular; and if ſo, no piece ſo proper can be recommended to the peruſal of the curious, as that of Albricus upon this ſubject (37).

(37) Albric de deor. imag. Baſ. 1570.

other deities were reſolvable into thoſe two, viz. Baal [h] and Aſhtoreth, or Belus and Aſtarte.

BAALSAMEN, or, as the Hebrews would have written it, Baal-ſhemaim, i. e. the lord of heaven, ſeems to have been the ſun, as Beliſama, or the queen of heaven, abovementioned, the moon. According to St. Auſtin, he had religious honours paid him by the Carthaginians [i]. It is probable they had no repreſentation of him at all, becauſe they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory. Damaſcius calls him El, Bolathes, &c. and makes him to have been the ſame with Saturn [k]. The ſun worſhipped at Carthage.

THE Carthaginians introduced Ceres and Proſerpina as Greek deities, when ill ſucceſs attended their arms in the war with Dionyſius of Syracuſe. This Diodorus tells us [l]. But Virgil aſſerts, that Dido herſelf ſacrificed to Ceres [m]. The poet here, we think, ought to give way to the hiſtorian; for it is much more probable, that the Carthaginians ſhould receive a Greek or Roman deity from the Greeks or Romans, than from the Phœnicians. The ſtatues of theſe two goddeſſes ſtood in the temple of Dido, who was likewiſe deified by thoſe idolaters, together with her ſiſter Anna. We find on the reverſes of ſeveral Carthaginian coins an ear or ears of corn, either in alluſion to the goddeſs Ceres, or as a ſymbol of the fruitfulneſs of the country. As likewiſe Ceres and Proſerpina.

As the Carthaginians were a people who ſupported themſelves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they neglected the worſhip of the god of genius, induſtry, and traffic. Mercury the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the Carthaginians paid divine honours to him under the name of Aſumes or Aioumes [n] (U). And Mercury.

[h] Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. 2. c. 2. p. 145. Shuckford in his connect. b. v. [i] Auguſt. in Jud. quæſt. 16. [k] Damaſc. in vit. Iſidor. [l] Diod. Sic. l xiv. c. 7. [m] Virg. Æn. 4. ver. 58. [n] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xxv. c. 5. & Bochart. ex auctario. Dioſcorid. Chan. l. ii. c. 15.

(U) Mercury was the miniſter of the gods, and preſided over the roads or highways, as well as traffic and commerce (38). The old Etruſcans named him Camillus, Camillus, or Cadmilus, i. e. a ſervant or miniſter of the gods (39); and the Carthaginians, Aſumes or Haſſumea, which imports a ſervant (40). Bo-

(38) Voſſ. Theol. gent. l. ii. c. 32, (39) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12, 33. & alib.

Divine honours paid alſo there to Hercules.

NOTHING is more celebrated in antient hiſtory than the Tyrian Hercules, whoſe worſhip was brought to Carthage by Dido, and diffuſed itſelf afterwards over all the coaſts of Africa, and as far as Gades or Cadiz, where he had a magnificent temple. The reaſon of his name Melcartus has been already aſſigned [o]. The Tyrians and Carthaginians ſuppoſed him to preſide over gold, ſilver, and all ſorts of treaſures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the iſland of Thaſus [p], where a Phœnician colony being planted diſcovered ſome gold mines. The Thaſians adored him with the ſame ſolemnity as the people of Tyre, and had a brazen ſtatue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly repreſented him both at Tyre and Carthage [q]. The Pelaſgi [r], originally Phœnicians, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had [s], on account of a great ſcarcity of grain they once laboured under. The Carthaginians for a conſiderable time never failed ſending to Tyre the firſt fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage [t]. Public diverſions were inſtituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years [u]. At Carthage, no doubt, the ſame cuſtom prevailed, as likewiſe that of offering [w] annually

[o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii p. 347. not (P). [p] Vide Wolfang. Lazium. in Græc. ant. l. i. c. 2. [q] Idem ibid. & Burchard Niderſt. Melita vetus & nov. l ii. c. 6. [r] Strab. Herodot. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Epiphan. Boch. Salmaſ. Grot. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 605. not. (D). [s] Dion. Halicarn. l. i. [t] Polyb. in excerpt. legat. [u] Macab & Theodoret. lib. ſemeſt. ſerm. iii. c. 2. [w] Plin. l xxxvi. c. 6.

(40). Bochart thinks he was Canaan, becauſe that word properly denotes a merchant, and in ſome reſpect anſwers to the name Mercury (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by obſerving, that, in conformity to Mercury's office, Noah predicted, that Canaan ſhould ſerve his brethren (42). His pileus and caduceus being winged, ſeem to allude to the ſails of ſhips, and remotely to the long voyages the Phœnicians made, and the fartheſt parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewiſe his government of the highways above-mentioned. Bochart and Voſſius ſet this in a very clear light (43).

(40) Idem ibid. l. ii. c. 15. (41) Boch. Phal. l. i. (42) Gen. ix. 25, 26. Vide etiam. Var. Plut. in num. Feſt. & vet. auth. apud. Phavorin. &c. (43) Voſſ. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. Vide Iſai. xviii.

annually human victims up to him. Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest of them seems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules (W).

IOLAUS comes next to Hercules, as being either related to him, or one that introduced some of his relations into the Iolaus.

(W) We cannot help being of opinion, that the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules was the same with the Egyptian. It appears from Philostratus (44), that the Egyptian Hercules, as well as the Theban, i. e. the Phœnician, were worshipped in the same temple at Gadira or Gades; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of Pygmalion king of Tyre (a Phœnician) bearing smaragdine fruit, of wonderous workmanship, was kept in this temple. Bishop Cumberland proves (45), that the Phœnician Hercules was a Phœnician king in Egypt; that he found out the purple dye, which is of Phœnician extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the Streights, to which he gave the Phœnician name Gadira. Lastly, Sir Isaac Newton makes it evident (46), that the Hercules called Melcartus, who was king of Carteia, had the temple of Gades consecrated to him, as Philostratus intimates the Egyptian Hercules had (47): and that this Hercules was a Phœnician. From whence it may rationally be supposed, that the Phœnician Hercules and that of Egypt were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the east; undoubtedly ערקל vercol or ercol, signifying swift and sinewy, or strong, was the original. This Hercules was likewise upon the coast of Africa, and, according to Orosius, built Capsa there (48). Bishop Cumberland imagines him to have been called Assis or Aziz, i. e. the strong, as well as Ercol or Hercules (49). Africanus and Eusebius give him the name of Archles (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the Phœnicians, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traversed the then known world; but the relations given us of his atchievements are so interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

(44) Philost. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. v. c. 1. p. 211. (45) Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p, 159, 160. in orig. p 113, 114, &c. Vide Palaphatum Egyptium apud chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euseb. in chronic. p. 352. (46) Newton's chronol p. 111, 112, 113, 114, &c. (47) Philostrat. ubi supra. (48) Oros. l. v. c. 15. Flor. l. iii. c. 1. Sallust. in Jugurth. (49) Cumberland. in orig. p. 113. & Maneth. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. (50) African. & Euseb. in chronic. Herodot. in Euterp. &c. (51) Newton's chronol. p. 111.

iſland of Sardinia [x]. The natives of that iſland, at his arrival, were Tyrrhenians or Etruſcans [y]. Thoſe people inhabiting the mountainous parts of Sardinia, received from him the appellation of Iolaenſes; and even the moſt fruitful provinces had the name of campi Iolei, the Iolean or Iolaan fields [z]. Hercules and Iolaus, according to Voſſius [a], had jointly divine honours paid them here, either becauſe he was Hercules's near relation, or aſſiſted him in deſtroying the Hydra, which he did by drying up the gore with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from ſprouting out in its room. Ovid [b] pretends, that, at the interceſſion of Hercules, Hebe reſtored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the Carthaginians had this iſland in poſſeſſion a conſiderable time, it is ſuppoſed they borrowed him from the Sardi; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to underſtand by Polybius [c]. The rites and ceremonies obſerved at his public worſhip are fully deſcribed by Voſſius out of Pauſanias [d].

Dea Syria.

HENDREICH intimates, that the Dea Syria, or Syrian goddeſs, was a deity of the Carthaginians [e]; but who ſhe was, authors are not agreed. By the deſcription of her temple already given [f], and the ſtatue in it, ſhe muſt either have been Juno, or a group of all the goddeſſes; which laſt opinion ſeems moſt probable. The curious may find further ſatisfaction on this head, by conſulting Tertullian and Lipſius, as well as the firſt volume of this hiſtory [g].

Æſculapius.

THE people of Carthage likewiſe addreſſed themſelves to Æſculapius, whom Servius calls Pœnigena, becauſe he ſuppoſed his mother to have been a Carthaginian [h]. The place more particularly ſacred to him was Byrſa, or rather the top or that fortreſs, famous for his ſpacious temple there ſituated [i]. We have already obſerved, that Aſdrubal's wife, at the final deſtruction of Carthage, burnt this edifice, together with herſelf, her family, and nine hundred Roman deſerters. Conſiderable quantities of vervain, an herb ſacred to him, were preſerved in this place. The beſt authors take him to have been originally a Meſſenian, or an Egyptian; yet, according to Voſſius, the Carthaginians received him immediately from the

[x] Strab. l. v. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Diod. Sic. & Strab. ubi ſupra. [a] Voſſ. theol. gent. l. i. c. 40. [b] Ovid. met. ix. [c] Polyb. l. vii. [d] Voſſ. ubi ſupra. [e] Hendr. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 4. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 289, 290, &c. [g] Tertul. apol. c. 24. Lipſ. elect. l. ii. c. 21. epiſt. quæſt. l. ii. c. 22. & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. [h] Serv. in Æn. 7. [i] Appian. in Libyc.

the Tyrians, to whom either the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians [k] communicated him. Alexander took Tyre in the firſt year of the hundred and twelfth olympiad; and Carthage was finally deſtroyed by Scipio in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worſhip of Æſculapius paſſed from the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians to the Tyrians, and from them to the Carthaginians. Toſorthrus, or Seſorthrus, a king of Memphis, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of Manetho, for his great ſkill in the art of phyſic, is generally allowed to have been the firſt Æſculapius. He preceded many ages the Meſſenian [l].

Herebus. HEREBUS, another Carthaginian deity mentioned by Silius and Polybius, ſeems to have been Pluto, or Dis. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and repreſented under an human ſhape, with long looſe hair. Voſſius and Hendreich both take notice of him [m].

Triton. TRITON, the ſea god, had a place amongſt the deities of Carthage, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt Philip the ſon of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians [n]. Some authors have told us, that he was ſo called from Τριτὼ a Greek word, ſignifying a wave [o]. It appears from Virgil, that the province of Triton and Cymothoë was to releaſe or heave off veſſels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologiſts make the nymph Cymothoë to have been the daughter of Nereus and Doris; but Triton the ſon of Neptune and Amphitrite [p].

Mopſus. MOPSUS, a famous augur or ſoothſayer, after his death, became a ſort of oracle [q] at Carthage. The memory of this deified ſage has been tranſmitted down to poſterity by Luctatius Placidus and Apuleius [r]. Strabo takes notice of one Mopſus the ſon of Manto the daughter [s] of Tireſias. But, according to Voſſius, this was the ſon of Ampycus an Argonaut, mentioned by Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus [t]. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence reſponſes were given, as from ſo many oracles.

[k] Voſſ. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 32. [l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 581. [m] Sil. Ital. l. i. Polyb. l. vii. Voſſ. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 60. & Hendr. ubi ſup. [n] Polyb. l. vii. [o] Hend. ubi ſupra. [p] Virg. Æn. 1. ver. 148. [q] Apul. de deo. Socrat & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [r] Luct. Plac. in Stat. Thebaid. iii. Apul. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Senec. in Med. chor. & Cæl Rhodigin. l. xxix. c. 15. lect. ant. [s] Strab. l. xiii. [t] Voſſ. theol. gent. l. i. c. 32. Valer. Flac. & Apollon. in Argonaut.

Rivers, meads, waters, &c. gods.

RIVERS, meads, waters, &c. or rather the ſuppoſed genii of all theſe inanimate parts of the creation, were [u] eſteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewiſe prevailed amongſt the Greeks, Romans, and moſt other nations, from very antient times. No one has handled this ſubject better than Voſſius [w], whoſe writings our learned readers will peruſe with great pleaſure. Some maintain, that the worſhip of the elements was prior to all others in the pagan world; but we muſt beg leave to diſſent from their opinion.

As likewiſe fire.

SCALIGER [x] the elder acquaints us, that the old Africans paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewiſe the cuſtom at Carthage. This ſentiment he ſeems to have taken from Leo Africanus [y], an author whom we ſhall have occaſion to conſult hereafter.

As alſo the air and winds.

WITH this [z] the air and winds alſo ſhared divine honours, which was probably derived from the Aſſyrians. The air to this nation appeared to be ſuperior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction [a]; for which reaſon it was honoured with adoration. We read in Sanchoniatho [b], that Uſous conſecrated two rude ſtones or pillars to fire and wind; to which we may add, that the worſhip of the air and winds was not unknown to the Greeks and Perſians [c].

Anna Perenna worſhipped at Carthage.

THE Carthaginians ſometimes ſwore by the Manes of Dido, as Silius relates [d]. Anna her ſiſter paſſed for a goddeſs, under the name of Anna Perenna [e], according to ſome. It is imagined, tho' with no great appearance of truth, that ſhe fled with Æneas, and was drowned by Lavinia in the river Numicus [f]; from whence ſhe was called Nympha Numicia. It is certain the Romans, as well as the Carthaginians [g], paid her divine honours. Ceres and Proſerpina were ranked with Dido [h], as being all in the ſame temple. Ceres was either cœleſtis, i. e. the moon [i], or ſubcœleſtis, i. e. the fruitful earth. She anſwered to the Egyptian Iſis. Theſe two laſt are amply treated of by various authors [k].

THE

[u] Sil. Ital. l. i. Voſſ. ubi ſupra, c. 67. [w] Voſſ. ibid. p. 67, 74. [x] Jul Cæſ. Scalig. exercit. 258. [y] Joan. Leo. African. de priſc. Afr. fid. & relig. l. i. [z] Jul. Firmic. profan. relig: lib. [a] Hendr. ubi ſupra. [b] Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb. præp. evang. l. i. [c] Hendr. ubi ſupra. [d] Sil. Ital. l. i. [e] Hendr. ubi ſupra [f] Ovid. faſt. l. iii. Sil. Ital. l. viii. Voſſ. theol gent. l. i. c. 12. & inſtit. orat. l. i. c. 6. ſect. 8. Vide etiam Volater. l. xxiii. [g] Ovid. ubi ſupra. [h] Sil. Ital. l. i. [i] Voſſ. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 59. [k] Lipſius de cruc. l. i. c. 5. Pompon. Sabin. in Æn. 4. Varro apud Voſſ. ubi ſup. P. Nannius. in miſc. l. vii. c. 10. aliique multi.

THE honour that Dido herſelf received from the people of Carthage after her death, ſhe, according to Ovid [l], had in her life-time conferred upon her huſband Sichæus [m]. And Sichæus during Dido's life time.

TELLUS, or the Earth, was worſhipped by the Carthaginians, as appears from the treaty of peace with Philip, mentioned by Polybius. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourſe to Voſſius [n]. And Tellus.

"HAMILCAR [o], ſays Herodotus, by his father's ſide a "Carthaginian, but by his mother's a Syracuſan, was, by "reaſon of his virtue and ſuperior abilities, elected king of "the Carthaginians. The ſame day that the battle of Sa- "lamis was fought, being defeated by Gelon and (his father- "in-law) Theron near Himera, he vaniſhed, and could never "after be found, tho' Gelon cauſed the ſtricteſt ſearch to be "made for him. The Carthaginians, who have his image "in high veneration, ſay, that during the engagement be- "tween the barbarians and the Greeks, which continued "from morning till evening without intermiſſion, Hamilcar "ſtaid in the camp ſacrificing, and throwing entire victims "upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops put to the "rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and, being conſumed, "was never more ſeen. Whether he diſappeared in the "manner as related by the Phœnicians, or as the Carthagi- "nians aſſert, it is certain, that they offer ſacrifices to him, "and have erected monuments to his memory in all the ci- "ties they have founded, tho' the moſt memorable are in "Carthage." So far Herodotus. It is not unlikely that the Carthaginians adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; nay, we are aſſured by Silius, that, notwithſtanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen at laſt, Hannibal was adored in his life-time [p]. Theſe deities ſeem to have been of the ſame kind with the dii indigetes of the Latins. As likewiſe Hamilcar.

THE Carthaginians alſo ranked among the gods the two Philæni. Theſe brothers, having been ſent by their countrymen to accommodate ſome differences with the Cyreneans, and, in conjunction with the commiſſaries appointed by that people, to ſettle the limits of their reſpective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The Cyreneans, incenſed at this, would not cede the tract demanded, unleſs the Philæni would ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive in the place which they had pitched upon And the Philæni.

[l] Ovid, heroid. 7. [m] Polyb. l. vii. [n] Voſſ. ubi ſup. c. 9, 51, &c. [o] Herodot. l. ii. [p] Sil. Ital. l. xvii. & Barthius in adverſ. p. 801.

upon for their boundary. To this they inſtantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected there to their memory; which ſerved as a land-mark or limit to the Carthaginian territories on the ſide of Cyrenaica for many ſucceeding ages. Salluſt, Mela, and Valerius Maximus, give all the particulars of this ſtory [q].

Abaddires and Eucaddires Carthaginian divinities.

St. Austin tells us, that ſome of the Carthaginian divinities had the name of Abaddires [r], and their prieſts that of Eucaddires. The claſs in all probability, was derived from the ſtone which Jacob anointed with oil, after it had ſerved him for a pillow the night he had his viſion; for in the morning he called the name of the place where he lay Bethel. Now, it is no wonder this ſhould have been eſteemed as ſacred, ſince God himſelf ſays he was "the God of Bethel, "the place where Jacob anointed the pillar [s]". From Bethel came the Bætylus of Damaſcius, which we find called Abaddir by Priſcian [t]. This Abaddir is the Phœnician Aban-Dir, i. e. the ſpherical ſtone, exactly anſwering to the deſcription of the Bætylus [u] given us by Damaſcius, and others. The caſe ſeems to have been this: The Canaanites of the neighbourhood firſt worſhipped the individual ſtone itſelf, upon which Jacob had poured oil; afterwards they conſecrated others of that form, and worſhipped them; which falſe worſhip was perpetuated even to the time of St. Auſtin [w]. Abaddir may likewiſe be underſtood to mean Ab-Addir, i. e. the magnificent father, a title given to the true God himſelf; but afterwards applied to thoſe, who by nature were no gods [x]. That Addir was an epithet joined to the names of falſe gods in the eaſt, may in ſome meaſure, appear from Addir-Dag, the magnificent fiſh, i. e. Adergatis, Atergatis, &c. [y]. Abaddires therefore was an appellation belonging to ſome Punic deities, as Eucaddires, i. e. Enucaddires, perſons initiated in the ſacred myſteries of the Addires

[q] Salluſt. Jugurth. c. 79. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6. Vide Polyb. l iii. Strab. l. iii. Plin. l v. c. 4. Solin. c. 20. & Cellar. geog. ant. l. iv. c. 3. [r] Auguſt. epiſt. Max. Madaur. 44. [s] Gen. xxxi. 13. [t] Priſcian. grammat. Heſych. in voc. Damaſc apud Phot. p. 1047, 1062, 1063, &c. [u] Damaſc. ubi. ſup. & Bochart. Chan. l ii. c. 2. [w] Auguſt. ubi. ſup. [x] Pſal. viii. 1, 9. & lxxvi. 5. & xciii. 4. Iſai. xxxiii. 21. 1 Sam. iv. 8. Druſ. in loc. Vide Bochart. ubi ſupra. [y] Idem. ibid.

dires or Abaddires [z], was a term appropriated to their prieſts (X).

Portable temples in uſe amongſt the Carthaginians.

We muſt not omit, that the Carthaginians carried about with them ſome ſmall images repreſenting certain gods, in covered chariots. Euſtathius [a] calls theſe ναὸς ξευγηφορεμένους, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a ſort of oracles, and their reſponſes were underſtood by the motions impreſſed upon the vehicle. This was likewiſe an Egyptian and Libyan cuſtom. The antient Germans alſo had ſomething like it, as we learn from Tacitus [b]. Philo Byblius relates, that Agrotes [c], or at leaſt his image, was carried about in proceſſion in this manner. The tabernacle of Moloch above mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

The Genius of Carthage.

It is remarkable, that, in the treaty of Philip ſo often cited, mention is made of the Dæmon or Genius of Carthage [d]. Who

[z] Idem ibid [a] Euſtath in Iliad. A. Serv. ad. Æn. vi. [b] Tacit. de fid mor. & pop. Germ. [c] Phil. Bybl. apud Euſeb. de præp evang. l. i. [d] Polyb. l. vii.

(X) The Bætyli were ſtones that were believed to be animated, and were conſulted by ſome fanatics as oracles. Theſe ſtones were round, and of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them might be carried about by their votaries, either by hanging at the neck, or in ſome other way (52).

Iſidorus tells us, they were of different ſorts; and that ſome of them were conſecrated to Saturn, others to Jupiter, others to the Sun, &c. (53).

Their origin was very antient, if any credit may be given to Sanchoniatho, who makes Ouranus the inventor of them. Bochart proves, that Philo Byblius has wrongly tranſlated Sanchoniatho's words animated ſtones; and that it ought to have been anointed ſtones (54).

The antient Greeks and Latins, who have taken any notice of the Bœtyli, hardly afford any other notion of them, but as the ſtone which Saturn ſwallowed in the place of Jupiter (55). The ſcholiaſt upon Heſiod relates, upon the authority of Agathocles, a Babyloniſh author, that Rhea had taken that ſtone from the iſland of Proconeſa; and Stephanus adds, that Saturn ſwallowed it upon mount Thaumaſius. M. Falconet has publiſhed a diſſertation upon this ſubject, which, together with what M. Fourmont has offered, will, according to the abbe Banier, abundantly ſatisfy the curious (56).

(52) Banier in mythol. l. i. c. 1. (53) Damaſc. in vit. Iſidor. apud Photium. (54) Sanchoniath. apud. Euſeb. præp. evang. l. i. Chan. l. ii. c. 2. Banier ubi ſup. (55) Idem ibid. (56) Idem ibid.

Who this might be, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only in general obſerve, that the pagan world looked upon theſe Dæmons as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who had, in a great meaſure, the adminiſtration of the world committed to them. Hence it is no wonder they ſhould have received religious honours; for when once mankind were poſſeſſed with the opinion, that they were the miniſters of the gods, and truſted with the diſpenſation of their favours, as well as the infliction of their puniſhment, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that they would be deſirous of making their addreſſes to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of theſe inferior deities, when we come to the Arabic hiſtory.

The Cabiri adored there.

So full an account has already been given of the Cabiri, that there is neither room nor occaſion to be prolix here. To what has been already ſaid we ſhall, however, add, that the Pelaſgi introduced the worſhip of theſe gods into Samothrace, Greece, and all other countries where they ſeated themſelves; that men and all animals, without diſtinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate ſacrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at firſt no proper names, but were worſhipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word Cabiri either ſignified certain anonymous divinities, or their prieſts, known by the name Corybantes; that from an antient inſcription mentioned by Aſtorius, it is manifeſt the Cabiri were likewiſe called Dioſcuri; that the Phœnicians firſt paid them divine honours, afterwards the Egyptians, who built them a magnificent temple at Memphis in the earlieſt ages, which continued to the time of Achilles Tatius; that the Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Cypriots, Phrygians, Etruſcans, Latins, Carthaginians, and almoſt all the antient pagans, had the moſt profound reverence for the Cabiric or Samothracian myſteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into theſe myſteries could not fail of being happy, both here and hereafter; that, according to Sanchoniatho, the Dii Cabiri were eight in number, being the ſons of Sydik; that the inhabitants of Samothrace, ſacrificed dogs to Hecate in the cave Zerinthus, ſacred to the Cabiri; that the Pelaſgi, Samothraciars, &c. celebrated the Cabiric myſteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the principal motive with the antients not to tranſmit them down in writing to poſterity. Biſhop Cumberland, the abbé Banier, and Aſtorius, have, in a manner, exhauſted this ſubject. A catalogue of the authors who have ſupplied them

them with materials, our readers [e] will find here inſerted, to whom they may have recourſe at their leiſure (Y).

THE Anaces, Anactes, or Dioſcuri, are by ſome thought to have been the ſame with the Cabiri, by others different from

And the Anaces or Anactes.

[e] Cumberland in appénd. de Cabir. Herodot. in Euterp. Dionyſ. Halicar. l. i. Lucian. de dea Syr. Pauſan. in Bœotic. Heliac. & alib. Achilles Tatius apud Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. Sanchoniath apud Euſeb ubi ſupra. Damaſc. apud Phot. Pherecyd. Syr. Nonnus, & Herodot. paſſ. Aceſilaus Arg. apud Strabon. l. x. Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & alib paſſ. Tertul. de ſpect. Orpheus. in Hym. Curet Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. ii. c. 4. Horn. hiſt. Phil. l. ii. c 4. Schol. vet. in Apollon. Arg. l i. Dionyſiod. apud. eund. Strab. l. x. & alib Diod. Sic. l. v. & alib. Plut. in Alexandr. & alib. Suid. &c. Macrob. Plat Dion. Chryſoſt. Procl. Clem. Alexand. Lycophr. Stephan. Heſych. Cic. Lactant. Arnob Firmic. Meurſ. aliiq; paſſ. Vide Joan. Aſtol. diſſert. de Cabir. Banier. in mythol. l. vii. c. 8, &c.

(Y) Reland, who has favoured the learned world with a diſſertation upon the Cabiri, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that Ceres was the earth which received them; Pluto and Proſerpina the infernal regions where they came to dwell; and Camillus or Mercury the god who conducted them thither (57).

The myſterious names Axieros, Axiokerſa, Axiokerſos, and Caſmilos, Bochart has happily interpreted, and proved, that, in the Phœnician language, they denote Ceres, Proſerpina, Pluto, and Mercury. Princes, and perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful myſteries of theſe great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. Voſſius thinks, that we are to underſtand by the name Cabiri only the miniſters of the gods, as the Curetes and Dactyli of Crete, and the Corybantes of Phrygia; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius aſſerts, that, in the celebration of thoſe myſteries, they ſlew one of the initiated, and is followed therein by Firmicus; but this ſeems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that ſuch a practice was authorized by cuſtom (59).

The prieſts of the Cabiri, according to Heſychius were called Coes, a word manifeſtly derived from the Hebrew cohen, i. e. a prieſt; a further proof this, that the old obſolete language uſed by the prieſts in their ceremonies, was the Hebrew or Phœnian (60).

(57) Reland. in differ. miſcel. (58) Boch, Chan. l. i. c 12. Diodor. Sicul l v Apollon. Arg. Plut. in Alexand. Suid. &c. (59) Arnob. l. v. Jul. Firmic. de cor. prof. rel. (60) Heſych. in voce Κόης.

from them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly deſcended from the Anakims of Moſes. It can ſcarce be queſtioned but Inachus himſelf was of this race, as his name plainly imports [f]. Some believe, that the word Anactes was a title given to thoſe princes of Inachus's line, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of that family, ſo eminent in ſcripture for its gigantic ſtature [g]; and we own ourſelves inclinable to fall in with this ſentiment. Pauſanias, Pliny, Philoſtratus, and Julius Pollux, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that [h] in antient times were not wanting inſtances of perſons of a monſtrous ſize of body. However, many of theſe relations, particularly thoſe of Phlegon, Abydenus, Solinus and others [i], muſt be allowed to be fabulous (Z).

To

[f] Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. & Banier. ubi ſupra. [g] Voſſ. Bochart. & Banier. ubi ſup. [h] Pauſan. in At. Plin. l. vii. c. 16. Philoſt. Heroic. Jul. Pol. in Onomaſt. [i] Phleg. Tral. de mir. c. 14. Abyden. & Eupolem. apud Euſeb. Solin. Beros. Plut. &c.

(Z) Voſſius is of opinion, that the name of the gods Anactes was originally from Phœnice; but he thinks it had been brought into the weſt by Cadmus, or by the Canaanites, whom Joſhua, by his conqueſts, had obliged to quit Phœnice, and who had retired into Greece. He farther thinks, that the Spartans, who called themſelves allies of Iſrael, as we learn from Joſephus, were a colony of the Canaanites, who were moſtly deſcended from Abraham by Hagar and Keturah; and this is the reaſon why the moſt famous of the Greek Anactes were Caſtor and Pollux, natives of Sparta, the Lacedæmonians having given them that name to honour the memory of Anek's deſcendents, of whom they had heard ſo many wonderful ſtories. We ſhall only add, that it was a common thing with the Greeks to call thoſe perſons the ſons of the Earth, who were ſo antient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reaſon they called Anax or Anak the ſon of the Earth, as we have obſerved above from Pauſanias.

Pauſanias inſinuates, that the Dioſcuri were to be diſtinguiſhed from the Cabiri; but that the Anactes, were the ſame with them (61). His words are to this effect: "With regard to the Anactes, men are divided in their ſentiments about "them; ſome will have them to be the ſame with the Dioſcuri; "others with the Curetes; but the moſt intelligent perſons take "them to be the Cabiri." Suidas intimates, that the word was applied

(61) Pauſan in Phocic.

And Pataici or Patæci.

To what has been obſerved of the Pataici, or Patæci, in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, we ſhall only ſubjoin, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, of the Cabiri, and of the Egyptian Vulcan, had a great reſemblance to one another; that therefore, ſince Vulcan was eſteemed the moſt antient of the gods, the Patæci muſt have been of great antiquity; that in after-ages, the Penates had the ſame reſpect paid them by the Romans, as theſe received from their votaries the Phœnicians and Carthaginians; and laſtly, that the word, according to Scaliger, is to be deduced from the Hebrew patach, he engraved, or, as Bochart will have it, from batach, he confided in; either of which etymologies very well quadrates with the uſe the Phœnicians, and after them the Greeks, made of the gods Patæci [k].

The Palici.

As the Palici were Sicilian deities [l], of eaſtern extraction, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they owed their origin in Sicily to the Carthaginians, who got a footing in that iſland in very antient times, and therefore may juſtly be looked upon as ſome of its moſt antient inhabitants. This we ſay, is probable; but as there is not the expreſs teſtimony of any good author to ſupport it, we ſhall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to ſay of the gods of the Carthaginians.

The cuſtom of ſacrificing men remained in Africa till the time of Tiberius.

THE barbarous cuſtom of offering up human ſacrifices did not expire with the city of Carthage, but continued amongſt the Africans, even till the time of Tiberius. That prince, tho' none of the moſt humane and compaſſionate, was ſo ſhocked at the unnatural practice of offering up children to Saturn, that in his proconſulſhip, according to Tertullian [m], he ordered the prieſts concerned in that horrid impiety

[k] Æſchylus, Callias. Polemon, & Xenagoras apud Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c 19. Sil. Italic. Diodor Sic. l. ii Ovid. metam. l. v. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28. [l] Bochart. ubi ſupra. [m] Tertul. apolog. c. 9.

applied both to kings and gods (62). Pindar, Cicero, and Tzetzes all take particular notice of them (63).

The account publiſhed by Sir Hans Sloane in the philoſophical tranſactions, of the foſſil teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this ſubject, is very well worth the peruſal of our curious readers (64).

(62) Suid. in voc Ἄρκαδες. (63) Cic. de nat deor. l iii. Pind. Pyth. ii epod ult. Tzetzes in Lycophron. (64) Philoſophical. tranſact. numb. 403, 404.

piety to be hanged, and committed the care of the execution to the African militia. This practice had been retained, with little or no intermiſſion, from the foundation of the city; for notwithſtanding the Carthaginians, to avoid drawing upon themſelves the indignation of Darius Hyſtaſpis [n], might, for a few years, ſuſpend it, or at leaſt pretend ſo to do, yet it is certain, that, in his ſucceſſor Xerxes's time, they had reſumed it. This appears from hiſtory; for Gelon, after he had vanquiſhed them in the reign of that prince, concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one article, that no more human ſacrifices ſhould be offered to Saturn [o]; nay, to ſuch a pitch of frenzy, or rather ſavage barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally the moſt ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions, made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames, without ſo much as a groan [p]. They even, by kiſſes and embraces, huſhed the cries of their children, before they were caſt into the flaming ſtatue of Saturn above-mentioned, imagining the efficacy of the ſacrifice would have been entirely loſt, if any thing that might have been interpreted as a mark of the leaſt reluctancy or regret had been ſhewn [q]. They uſed a drum or a tabret, among other inſtruments, to drown the ſhrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims [r]. Some authors believe, that the Phœnicians, from whom the Carthaginians derived this deteſtable cuſtom, contented themſelves with making their children paſs through the fire, without burning them; but Selden and others evince this to be a miſtake [s]. Plutarch tells us, that the mothers were, in ſome meaſure, obliged to ſtand by as unconcerned ſpectators; ſince a groan or tear falling from them would have been puniſhed by a fine, and ſtill the child muſt have been ſacrificed [t]. In times of peſtilence, or other public calamities, the Carthaginians endeavoured to appeaſe their offended gods by vaſt numbers of ſuch oblations; of which we have given an inſtance or two above [u] (A).

From

[n] Juſt. l. xix. [o] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Plut. de ſerv. vind. deor. [p] Plut. de ſuperſt. [q] Idem ibid. & Tertul. in apol. [r] Plut. ubi ſup. [s] Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. i Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii p. 120, note. [t] Plut. ubi ſup. [u] Vide etiam Diodor. Sic. l. xx.

(A) Thoſe perſons who are not diſpoſed to give over-much credit to the fragments of Sanchoniatho's hiſtory ſtill extant, think human ſacrifices can be traced up no higher than Abraham.

The

The Carthaginians extremely addicted to superstition.

FROM many authors it appears, that the Carthaginians were extremely addicted to superstition. They had, however, in general, some good notions: they addressed themselves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprize by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not slack in making proper returns [w] to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at Carthage, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the Carthaginian dominions. One famous temple, sacred to Baal or Balis, in a city of that name on the borders of Cyrenaica, we find taken notice of by Stephanus [x], who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reason to believe, that El, Il, Bel, Bal, Baal, Belus, Balis, Helius, &c. were different names of the same pagan divinity.

Carthaginian women prostitute themselves for gain in the temple of Astarte.

WE have already described the manner in which the Babylonian women prostituted themselves [y] to strangers at the temple of Mylitta, as likewise the same custom prevailing amongst the Phœnicians [z], whose women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of Astarte at Byblus. We have now to add, that the same thing, in all respects, was practised at Carthage; excepting that the money got by this infamous commerce amongst the Babylonians and Phœnicians was presented to Mylitta or Astarte, i. e. Venus, whereas the Carthaginian women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use [a]. This indeed savoured something more

[w] Liv. l. xxi. xxiii &c. [x] Stephan. περὶ ἐθνικῶν. [y] Univ. hist. vol iv. p. 327, & seq. [z] Vol. ii. p. 352. [a] Vide Valer. Max. l. ii. & Hendr. ubi supra.

The Canaanites and Phœnicians (65); in whose country that patriarch attempted to offer up his son Isaac, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the Jews in many particulars, and derived many of their institutions from those of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before observed. It is probable therefore, that they might reason with themselves after this manner: "If God was so highly pleased with Abraham's "bare intention of offering up his son Isaac, that he showered "down blessings upon his posterity in a most extraordinary man-"ner, what marks of the divine favour may not those persons "expect

(65) Vide Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. Hyde de relig. vet. Pers. aliosq; scriptor. quamplurim.

more of the common harlot than the other; but all these nations were arrived at such an height of infatuation and impiety, on account of their gross idolatry, and variety of pollutions attending it, that it is hard to say which of them was the worst (B).

Some traces of Succoth Benoth to be found in Sicca Venerea.

A VERY learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the Succoth Benoth [b], mentioned in scripture, may be found in Sicca Venerea, the name of a city in Numidia, not far from the borders of Africa Propria. The name itself bears a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been transported from Phœnice. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where [c] women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies. The author of the itinerary sometimes

[b] Selden. de diis Syr. syntag. ii. c. 6. [c] Val. Max. l. ii. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 327.

" expect, who actually do sacrifice their children?" Thus the highest instance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blind understandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the suggestions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cause of one of the most enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedness that could be committed.

(B) Canaan's posterity were a most profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the most unnatural, kinds of lust, as the scripture gives us good reason to apprehend. Now, it is worthy admiration, that Noah cursed Canaan only of Ham's sons (66), on account of Ham's breach of modesty in exposing his father's nakedness, which was both unchaste and unnatural. This is a strong intimation, that Canaan only was an accomplice of his father Ham in this wickedness, which was an evident token of a most dissolute and vitious turn of mind. This vile disposition exerted itself in his posterity, and vastly contributed towards drawing down those heavy divine judgments, which, in process of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, Canaan's descendents were subject to the posterity of Shem, i. e. the Jews; and that this very judgment was, in a great measure, occasioned by the effects of that vile disposition inherent in them, which so eminently displayed itself in Ham, and, as is probable, in Canaan also, and which immediately drew upon them all the curse of their great ancestor Noah. So true is that observation of the psalmist, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments* (67).

(66) Gen. ix. 22, 25, 26, 27. (67) Psal. cxix. 137.

times calls it ſimply Sicca, and Solinus Venerea. Sicca ſignifies a tabernacle, as well as Succa; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the Punic tongue. Procopius, Victor Uticenſis, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this opinion almoſt inconteſtable [d].

IF any points of conſequence relating to the worſhip of the people at preſent under conſideration ſhould have hitherto eſcaped us, they will be occaſionally touched upon hereafter, as they offer themſelves in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Punic tongue at firſt the ſame with the Phœnician.

THE Hebrew and Phœnician languages were in a manner the ſame, as has been obſerved in ſeveral places of this hiſtory [e], and is apparent, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the concurrent teſtimony of learned men, who, generally ſpeaking, agree in this particular. The Pœni or Carthaginians therefore having been originally Phœnicians, 'tis undeniable, that their language muſt at firſt have been the Phœnician. However Scaliger [f] believes, that the Punic, (he muſt mean that of after-ages) in ſome reſpects, deviated from the Hebrew and Phœnician, which, conſidering how diſtant the Carthaginians were from their mother-country, Phœnice, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they ſhould have retained ſo much, nay, in a manner the whole, of their original tongue; for that they did ſo, after what has been advanced by Scaliger, Petit, Bochart, and others, will ſcarce admit of a diſpute.

This fully proved by Scaliger, Selden, Petit, and Bochart.

OUR great Selden, next to Scaliger [g], ſeems to have been the firſt who endeavoured in earneſt to ſettle this point; which, from the authority of St. Jerom, St. Auſtin, and many other writers, he likewiſe ſeems to have done effectually. He has moreover given us a ſpecimen of an interpretation of the remains of the Punic language to be found in Plautus [h]. Petit and Bochart have been much more copious on this head [i]; but what they have advanced has not met with univerſal applauſe, which the laſt of theſe ſeems to have been beforehand apprehenſive of [k]; in ſhort, there is room enough left for any learned man to exerciſe his wit and talents on this ſubject.

[d] Procop. Vict. Uticenſ. Athanaſ. &c apud Seld, ubi ſup. Vid. & Cellar. geogr. ant l. iv. c. 5. [e] Univ. hiſt. vol i. p. 377, & vol. iii. p. 444. Vid. & Seld. de diis Syr. prolegom. c. 2 [f] Scalig. ad Ubert. p. 362. [g] Seld. ubi ſup. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Sam. Petit. & Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 6. [k] Bochart. ubi ſup.

Agreed in ſubſtance with the Hebrew.

BOCHART has produced a vaſt collection [l] of Punic words from different authors, and traced them all up to the Hebrew or Phœnician: all which will ſerve as ſo many proofs, that the Carthaginian language agreed in the main with theſe; that, notwithſtanding the ſmall variations from them diſcernable in it, it ever continued to be the ſame in ſubſtance with them.

Hebrew, Phœnician and Punic proper names nearly the ſame.

FROM what has been offered in the firſt ſection of the hiſtory we are now upon, it appears [m], that the word Carthago or Cartaco itſelf was of Hebrew or Phœnician extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following ſhort catalogue of Hebrew or Phœnician and Punic proper names, by demonſtrating the harmony betwixt theſe languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the ſentiment which we, in common with ſo many others, have eſpouſed.

HEBREW or PHOENICIAN.	PUNIC.
Zachæus	Sichæus.
Michæus.	Machæus.
Amalec.	Amilco, or Himilco.
Melchior.	Amilcar.
Jeſche, or Jeſſe.	Giſgo, or Geſco.
Hinnon, or Hanun, or Hanon.	Hanno.
Hanabaal, or Baal-Hanan.	Hanibal.
Ezra, or Ezdras-Baal.	Aſdrubal.
Barac.	Barca.
Elizabeth.	Eliſa.
Milca.	Imilce.
Magog.	Mago.
Meſſiah.	Meſſe.
Adoni.	Doni.

SOME

[l] Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. paſſim.

[m] See before, ſect. 1.

SOME of these names we have been supplied with by Reineccius [n]; but the following we remember not to have seen compared by any author whatsoever.

HEBREW or PHOENICIAN.	PUNIC.
Anna, or Hannah.	Anna.
Jachin, or Jecon-Jah.	Jachon.
Adar, or Ader-Baal.	Adherbal.
Baal.	Bal.
Mathan, or Matham-Baal.	Muthumbal.
Mehir, or Mehir-Baal.	Maherbal,
Saph, Saphai, Sapham, Saphan, or Saphon.	Sappho.

WE have chosen to compare the Punic proper names in this place with the Hebrew or Phœnician, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as Bochart does; since in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities.

Punic tongue tinged with the Chaldee or Syriac.

THE Punic tongue had likewise a tincture of the Chaldee and Syriac, as we learn from Priscian and St. Austin [o]. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. Austin, or even that in which he lived; and as the Chaldee and Syriac languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the Hebrew, nay, almost the same with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

[n] Reinecc. hist Jul. in rep. Carth. vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Helm. 1505. [o] Priscian. l. v. p. 123. August. super. Joan. tract. [illegible] tom. iv

The same with the old Egyptian, according to Salmasius.

ACCORDING to Salmasius [p] there have been some persons who have believed, that the Punic language and the old Egyptian were the same; but as neither arguments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis, we shall make no scruple to reject it.

Some remains of it to be found in the present Maltese language.

M. MAIUS, professor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the Ludovician university of Giessen [q], published a small piece in the year 1718, wherein he proves, that the present language of the Maltese contains a great deal of the old Punic in it. The materials of which this tract consists, he was supplied with by one father James Stanislaus John Baptist Ribier de Gattis, a missionary Jesuit, and native of Malta, who very well understood the language (C) of the Maltese, having resided many years amongst them. This piece is very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time, subject to the Carthaginians; and that the Punic tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewise a large collection of Maltese words more remote from the Arabic than from the Phœnician, Chaldee, or Syriac. We cannot pretend to transcribe the whole treatise, though it is but a short one; but as the Maltese names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from those of other living languages, except the Arabic; as they come nearer the terms expressing those numbers in the Phœnician or Chaldee, than any other tongue; and consequently furnish us with a strong argument, that the Maltese tongue has much of the old Punic in it; and at the same time improve our idea of this last; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleasure than by inserting them.

MALTESE

[p] Salmasius in Tertul. de Pal. [q] Joannes Henricus Maius. in specim. ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitens. superst. Marpurg. 1718.

(C) One of the authors of this history was very well acquainted with this Father Ribier, or, as he called himself, Riviere, at Oxford, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed to this person by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to M Maius, and added some others; viz that he had carefully examined most of the Oriental words in the Maltese tongue, and found they approached much nearer the Hebrew and Chaldee than the Arabic; that the natives had a sort of tradition, that they were descended from the Carthaginians, &c. He was a very good Orientalist, and had his education, as he related, in the Jesuits college at Ingoldstat in Bavaria. Some small MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the person above-mentioned.

Maltese.	Chaldee.		English,	
Huchet.	חד	Heb. אחת	One.	1.
Tnei.	תריתרי	Heb. שני	Two.	2.
Tlieta.	תלתא		Three.	3.
Herbha.	ארבעא		Four.	4.
Chamsa.	המשא		Five.	5.
Sitta.	שתא		Six.	6.
Seba.	שבעא		Seven.	7.
Tmiena.	תמניא		Eight.	8.
Disha.	תשעא		Nine.	9.
Hashra.	עסרא		Ten.	10.
Chaddas.	חד עסר		Eleven.	11.
Tnàs.	תרי עסר		Twelve.	12.
Tlittàs.	תלתא עסר		Thirteen.	13.
Herbahtàs, or Erbatàs.	ארבעא עסר		Fourteen.	14.
Chmisstàs.	חמשא עסר		Fifteen.	15.
Sittàs.	שתא עסר		Sixteen.	16.
Sebatàs.	שבעא עסר		Seventeen.	17.
Tmientàs.	תמני עסר		Eighteen.	18.
Dschiatàs.	תשעא עסר		Nineteen.	19.
Hashrin.	עסרין		Twenty.	20.
Tlietin.	תלתין		Thirty.	30.
Erbhin.	ארבעין		Forty.	40.
Chainsin.	חמשין		Fifty.	50.
Sittin.	ששין		Sixty.	60.
Sebihin.	שבעין		Seventy.	70.
Tmienin.	תמנין		Eighty.	80.
Dischin.	תשעין		Ninety.	90.
Mia.	מאה		An hundred.	100.
Elf.	אלפא	Heb. אלף	A thousand.	1000.
Elfein.	תריו אלפין		Two thousand.	2000.
Tlietelef.	תלתא אלפין		Three thousand.	3000.
Erbatelef.	ארבעא אלפין		Four thousand.	4000.

1. Our readers will at first sight discover, that the Maltese words in general here are almost the same with the Chaldee; which seems to be a confirmation of what Priscian and St. Austin assert[r], viz. that about their time the Punic language, notwithstanding it agreed in the main with the Hebrew, was tinged with the Chaldee.

2. It ought to be observed, that, tnei, two, borrows ת tau from the Chaldee, and נ from the Hebrew; that huehet, one, and elf, a thousand, are the Hebrew אחת and אלף; that the numerals from ten

[r] Priscian, & D. August. ubi sup.

ten to twenty end in as, like the Greek μονὰς δυὰς τριὰς τετρὰς &c. and that the reſt are Punic or Phœnician (D).

3. From the numerals ending in "in" from twenty to an hundred, and thoſe ending in "a" from two to eleven, 'tis evident, that the language of Malta even ſtill follows the Chaldee and Syriac form; and that the Punic did ſo in St. Auſtin's time, and much higher, is plain from ſeveral Punic words that might be produced, though 'tis probable, that in very early times it nearly reſembled the Hebrew or Phœnician.

4. In ſupport of what has been advanced by Maius, it may be further conſidered, that Joannes Quintinius Heduus, an author who lived in Malta about the middle of the ſixteenth century, was of the ſame opinion, affirming that the iſland of Malta was formerly ſubject to the Carthaginians; that the African, i. e. Punic, tongue was ſpoken there in his time; that there were then extant ſome pillars in the iſland, that had Punic inſcriptions upon them; and that the Punic words to be found in Plautus, Avicenna, &c. were perfectly underſtood by the Malteſe [s]; which he urges as an argument, that the old Punic tongue was not even then much corrupted. All which is confirmed by Fazellus [t] in his curious hiſtory of Sicily; and this gives a great ſanction to the other's authority.

5. According to father Ribier de Gattis [u], the Malteſe have the following proverb amongſt them at this day: Il ſtus iffitiech peſt; tnei attieh, li iehdoc inkella, i. e. "The "plague wants a piece of money; give it two, if it will "withdraw itſelf from you." Now this very proverb was a Punic one in St. Auſtin's days, as he himſelf aſſures us. This greatly contributes to evince what M. Maius had in view.

From the whole we may conclude, that Poſtellus, Schindler, and Druſius, have not that foundation for maintaining the Arabic and Punic tongues to have been the ſame, as Selden, Scaliger, Bochart, Reineuius, and others, have for ſuppoſing

[s] Joannes Quintinius Heduus in epiſt. ad Soph. [t] Tho. Fazel. de reb. Sic pri. decad. ſub init. in theſaur. ant. & hiſt Sic. vol. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1723. [u] P. Staniſl. Jac. Joan. Bapt. Ribier de Gattis apud Joan. Henr. Maium, ubi ſup.

(D) And ſo are thoſe that end in as, which is evidently the firſt ſyllable of עשר aſar, the Hebrew numerals; if ſo, the numbers from ten to twenty are nearer to the Hebrew than the Chaldee. Perhaps the Greek words here mentioned ending in as, derive that termination from the ſame original.

ſuppoſing that the Hebrew, Chaldee, Phœnician, and Punic, were always moſt nearly related, and even originally the ſame (E).

THE Punic letters, as well as language, at firſt muſt certainly have been the Phœnician, for the reaſon above aſſigned; and though they were conſiderably altered by length of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great ſimilitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inſpection into the characters upon the moſt elegant Phœnician and Punic coins. The character, however, upon the Punic coins is various, many of thoſe found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters entirely rude and barbarous, whilſt the better ſort

Punic letters originally the ſame with the Phœnician.

(E) In Arnobius's time the Punic language (4) was ſtill ſpoken in that part of the country bordering upon the Garamantes; but more northerly the Latin tongue was uſed; beſides theſe, in the Mediterranean parts, no leſs than twenty-languages, or rather dialects, prevailed Bochart thinks (5), that the ſix laſt verſes of the unknown language in Plautus were Libyan, becauſe they were entirely different from the other. 'Tis certain the Carthaginians ſpoke both Punic and Libyan; for which reaſon they were called Migdilybes, Bilingues, and Biſulcilingues (6).

Laſtanoſa (7), a curious Spaniſh author, affirms many of thoſe coins, that Aldrete and others took to be Carthaginian, to have been old Spaniſh medals. He aſſerts further, that the character on theſe coins is different from the Carthaginian This he in ſome meaſure proves by obſerving, that the characters on the pieces dug up about Cadiz and in Andaluſia, with which parts the Carthaginians had a more immediate communication, were very different from thoſe found on others diſcovered in places not ſo well known to that people 'Tis certain one of the Spaniſh medals given us by Aldret (8), as well as the greateſt part of thoſe collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no reſemblance to the Punic. This author's work was printed at Hueſca in 1645, and contains a handſome collection of Spaniſh medals, which we may poſſibly have occaſion to conſider more fully when we come to the hiſtory of Spain. Aldrete and others believe many Punic pieces had Libyan letters upon them; which may poſſibly be true; but that it really is ſo, we muſt not preſume to aſſert.

(4) Arnob. in Pſal. civ. (5) Bochart. l. ii. c. 6. (6) Plaut. in Pœn. Virg. Æn. 1. Sil Italic. l. ii. 16. (7) Don Vincencio Juan de Laſtanoſa en Muſeo de las Medallas deſconocidas Eſpanolas, p. 15, 16. This piece was dedicated to Don Bern. Fernandez de Velaſco, conſtable of Caſtile, and is now extremely ſcarce, tho' very curious. (8) Bern. Aldret. varias antiguedad de Eſpana, l. ii. c. 1. en Ambr. 1614.

ſort exhibit a character reſembling the Phœnician, and even the Aſſyrian or Hebrew letters. Two queſtions here ariſe, which we ſhall beg leave to conſider.

FIRST, whether the Samaritan character, which is by many perſons believed, be the ſame with the antient Phœnician? And

SECONDLY, whether the Samaritan or the Aſſyrian, commonly called the ſquare letters, were the antient character of the Hebrews?

Samaritan character different from that on the Phœnician coins.

As to the firſt, in order to determine the point couched in it, we muſt diligently compare the letters of the Samaritan Pentateuch with thoſe of the legends found upon the Samaritan and Phœnician coins. This has been done with the utmoſt accuracy by Reland and Loeſcher [w]; from whom it appears, that there is a very conſiderable diſcrepancy betwixt them; almoſt, if not entirely, as conſiderable as that betwixt the old Aſſyrian, or Hebrew alphabet, and the character found on theſe coins. This is rendered evident beyond diſpute by the two learned men aforeſaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and juſt delineation of all the principal Samaritan and Phœnician coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the antient Phœnician character was different from the preſent Samaritan.

Moſt of the learned imagine the Samaritan letters to have been prior to the Aſſyrian.

WITH regard to the ſecond queſtion, it muſt be owned, that the greateſt part of the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it muſt likewiſe be owned, that no number of great names can give a ſanction to error, and that this point has not been conſidered thoroughly till of late. The main argument all along inſiſted upon in defence of this opinion has been taken from the legends found upon ſome coins, ſaid to have been dug up in Judæa; wherein are diſcovered theſe words, Jeruſalem the holy, and the ſhekel of Iſrael. The letters of theſe legends are aſſerted to be the Samaritan; and ſince neither the Samaritans, by reaſon of their known averſion to the Jews, nor the ten tribes after their ſeparation from the other two, becauſe from that period they had nothing to do at Jeruſalem, could poſſibly have ſtruck theſe pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they muſt have belonged to the Jews before the captivity, or even to the Iſraelites, before the ſeparation of the

Chief argument in favour of this taken from ſome coins with Samaritan letters upon them.

[w] Adrian Reland. de vet. Hebræor. num. diſſert. paſſ. & Val. Ern. Loeſcher de cauſis ling. Hebr. p. 201, 202. ed Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706.

the ten tribes [x]; and consequently, that the Samaritan letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the Hebrew character in the most early times, and that in which the sacred books of the old testament were originally written.

THIS is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of the question; and which the learned Dr. Prideaux [y] has not scrupled to pronounce unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, when we have maturely weighed the following considerations:

1. M. Ottius, who applied himself closely to the study of those coins, intimates, that those which are genuine [z], if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any of them. How then can we be assured, that those mentioned by bishop Walton and Dr. Prideaux are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman's days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be assured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed antiquity of those coins? But, (F). This examined.

2. ADMITTING them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This clearly appears from Reland and Loescher [a] above-mentioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, 'tis evident from them, that these letters resemble the old Assyrian or Hebrew almost as much as they do the Samaritan [b].

SUP-

[x] Walton. in prolegom. 3. Prideaux in connect. l. v. [y] Prideaux ubi sup. [z] Jo. Bapt. Ottii. epist. apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. differt. 3. [a] Adr. Reland. & Val. Ern. Loescher, ubi sup. [b] Idem ibid.

(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one of the Samaritan coins is genuine, at least not one of them is indisputably so. Reland and Ottius as good as confess it; and from what Spanheim has declared on this head, we may find, that he was in a very great doubt about it (9).

(9) Jo. Bapt. Ottius apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. differt. 3. Adr. Reland. ubi sup. differt. 9. Ez. Spanhem. ubi sup.

3. SUPPOSING the character on theſe ſhekels had been the Samaritan, yet nothing could have been from thence collected in favour of ſo remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now univerſally received amongſt the learned, and the dates on the pieces themſelves clearly evince it, that the oldeſt of theſe coins, with legends upon them, do not precede the ſettlement of the high-prieſthood in the Aſmonean family, which happened not much above an hundred and fifty years before the chriſtian æra, and ſome of them are much later [c]. This ſingle obſervation, which is ſupported by the ſtrongeſt proofs, ſeems to render all concluſions, drawn from the ſuppoſed high antiquity of theſe coins, perfectly chimerical.

THE main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all perſons of penetration and impartiality. The principal of them are the following:

Arguments in favour of the contrary opinion.

1. THERE cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than that which ſubſiſted between the Jews and Chaldæans or Babylonians, eſpecially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. 'Tis morally impoſſible therefore, that they ſhould have forſaken their own character, after their return from Babylon, to adopt that of the others.

2. THE Phœnicians received their alphabet from the [d] Aſſyrians; of courſe, therefore, the Aſſyrian letters muſt have been prior to the Phœnician. If, therefore, the Aſſyrian and Phœnician alphabets were different, the ſquare or Chaldee letters are prior to the Phœnician; if the ſame, as we are inclined to believe, the ſquare or Chaldee letters are the true old Hebrew character, and the original letters of the eaſt.

3. FROM a diligent compariſon of the Phœnician, Samaritan, Syriac, old Arabic or Cuphic, &c. with the antient Aſſyrian or Hebrew letters, it will appear that all the others were derived from the Aſſyrian. The ducts of theſe letters are plain, eaſy, and ſimple, ſuch as 'tis natural to ſuppoſe the firſt letters were; the letters on the Phœnician coins are the next to theſe in plainneſs, eaſe, and ſimplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and laſtly, the Samaritan letters are the others, with ſome additional ſtrokes and lines intermixed, which,

[c] Idem ibid. Ez. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. num. ant diſſert. 2. & Conringius de num. Hebræor. [d] Plin. l. vii. c. 56.

which, at first sight, carry with them the air of novelty in respect of the Assyrian. This has been set in so strong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleasure to our learned readers to consult them [e].

4. The Septuagint version is of higher antiquity than any of those coins, which are supposed to have the Samaritan character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this version have frequently differed from the Hebrew, by their mistaking one similar Assyrian letter for another [f]. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual Hebrew copy they translated was written, not in the Samaritan, but the Assyrian character; and consequently, that the Hebrew text of the old testament was written in that character, before any of those shekels brought to prove the antiquity of the Samaritan letters were in being.

5. The Samaritan Pentateuch itself differs in several places from the Hebrew. Many of these differences arise [g] from a confusion of similar letters, not Samaritan, but Assyrian; as namely, the ב with the כ, the ד with the ר, the ו with the י, the ח with the ה, the א with the ע, &c. This must be owned to be the strongest proof imaginable, that the Samaritan was posterior to, and even taken from, the Pentateuch written in the Assyrian character; and of course bids fair to put an end to this famous dispute (G).

We

[e] Spanhem. & Loesch. ubi sup. Schultens in institut. ad fund. ling. Hebr. p. 20. & alib. [f] Engelbert. Engels. Marcod. Juliacems. in præfat. ad Val. Schind. pentaglot, Hanov. 1612. [g] Val. Ern. Loescher, p. 217, 218. Steph. Morin, de ling. prim. exercit. 2. c. 7. p. 199. Sq. Jo. Got. Carpzovius in crit. sacr vet. test. Lipsiæ, 1728. p. 229, 230, 231.

(G) The learned baron Spanheim, Dr. Allix. Conringius, and others, have entirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the Samaritan letters, from several topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the most effectually done by the famous Dr. Carpzou of Leipsick, in his defence of the Hebrew text of the old testament against Mr. Whiston. In relation to the last argument here offered, no further satisfaction can be either given or required by the most curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father

(10) Allixius apud Spanhem. ubi sup. Conring. de num. Hebræor. pass Jo. Get. Carpzov. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Hottinge. Villalpand Cellar hist. Samarit. aliosq; plurimos.

We cannot recollect, that any perſon has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the Punic coins, notwithſtanding the letters on many of them ſeem to be nearly related, partly to the Hebrew, partly to the Syriac, and partly to the Phœnician.

An attempt to explain the legends on two Siculo-Punic coins.

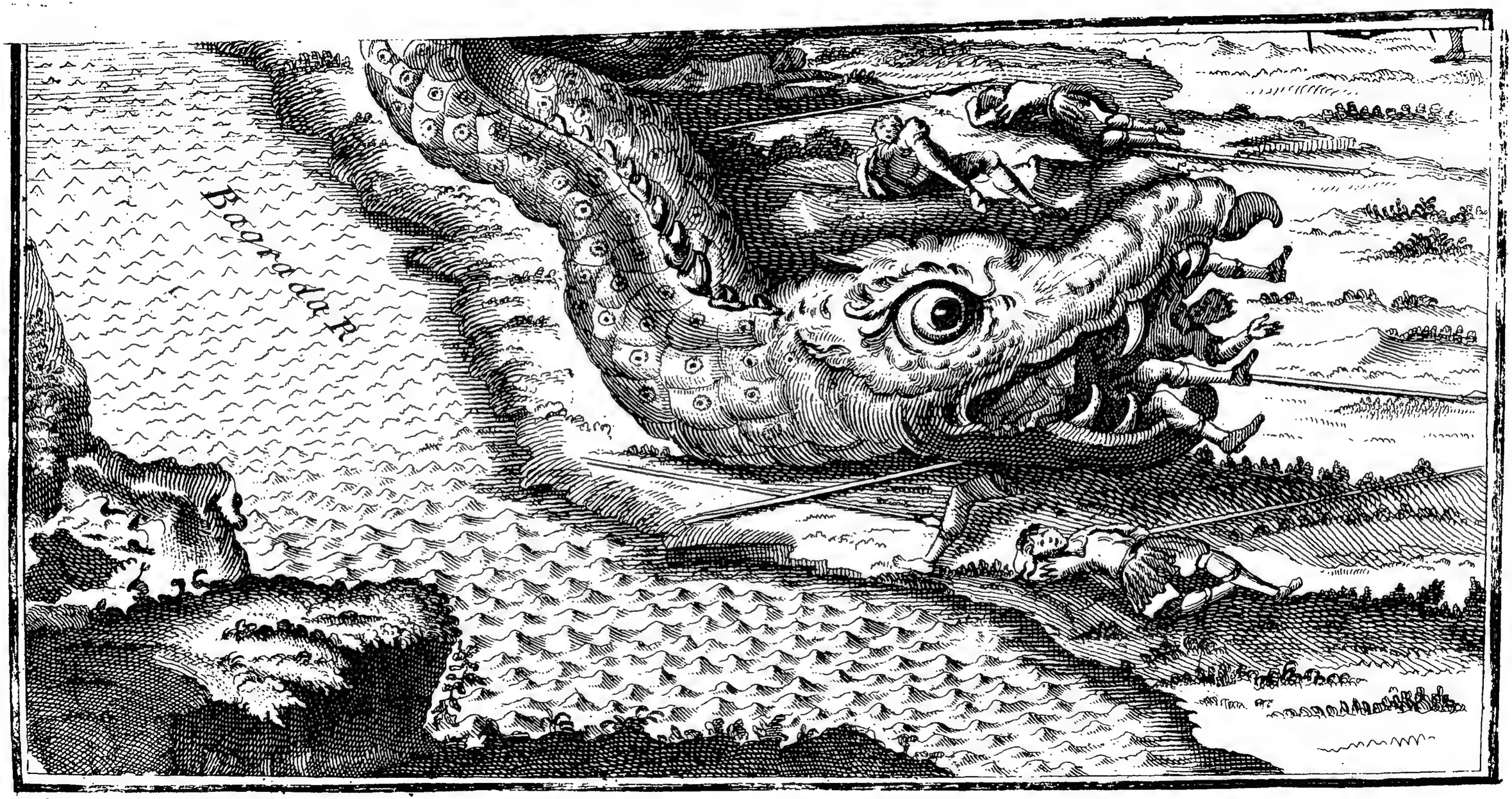
However, in order to excite others, who have more leiſure and greater abilities, to ſome attempts of this kind, we ſhall here endeavour at an explication of thoſe upon two Siculo-Punic medals; hoping that our readers will conſider the ſubject as it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all favourable allowances for whatever miſtakes may be diſcovered in our conjectures.

I. The firſt which is here exhibited is taken from Paruta, who ranks it amongſt the coins belonging to the city of Panormus, now known by the name of Palermo [h]. Upon the reverſe is a horſe in full ſpeed, with theſe two Punic letters  , which we think ought to be read hhet or hhit, and in our opinion, ſtands for hhittim or hhitte, i. e. of the Carthaginians. That the two letters are hheth and tau [i], appears from Spanheim, Reland, Loeſcher, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, eſpecially Greek cities, are frequently found upon the reverſes of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. Panormus therefore being the metropolis of the Carthaginian part of Sicily, and in the neighbourhood of the Greeks, if not itſelf filled with them, 'tis no wonder the Carthaginians there ſhould in this reſpect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may ſerve to confirm this is, that we find ſeveral Greek coins of the Panormitans [k], done in the manner above-

[h] Parut. apud theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol. viii. tab. 14. num. 140. [i] Reland. & Loeſh. ubi ſup. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. num. diſſ. 2. [k] Vid. Parut. ubi ſup.

Father Sonciet indeed intimates, that the Samaritan character was reſtored by Simon. But firſt, this is a direct begging of the queſtion; for it ought to be proved, that it was antiently in uſe as to ſacred matters amongſt the Hebrews, before it ſhould be aſſerted, that it was reſtored by Simon. And ſecondly, ſuppoſing this fact, which there is great reaſon to preſume it is not, that the old teſtament was ordered to be written in the Samaritan character, either by Simon, or any other of the Aſmonean family, is an aſſertion utterly deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or authority, either Jewiſh or chriſtian, to ſupport it (11).

(11) E. Souciet recueil de diſſertat. critiq. ſur les endroit. & ſur de matier qui ont rapporta l'ecriture.



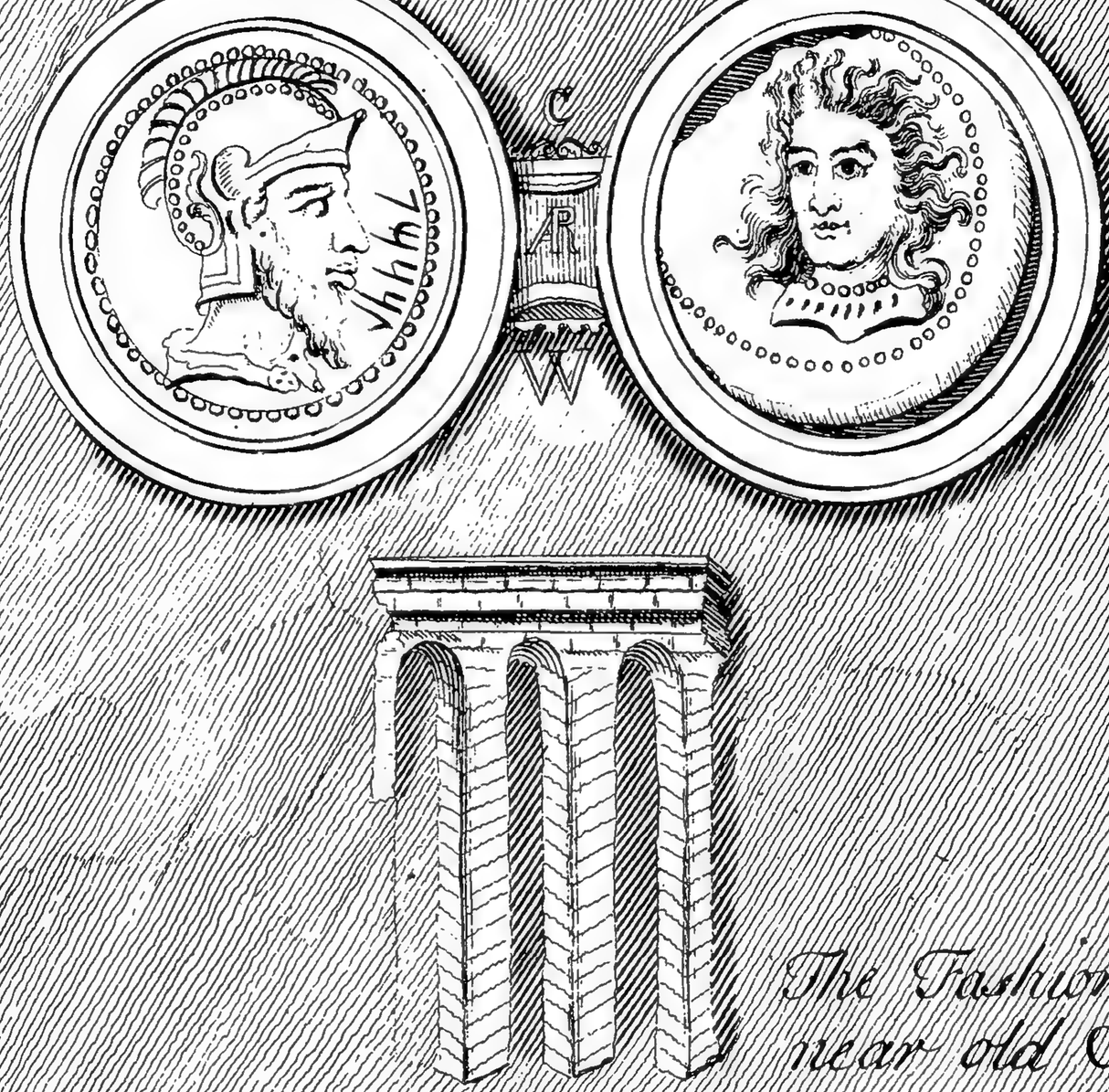
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I

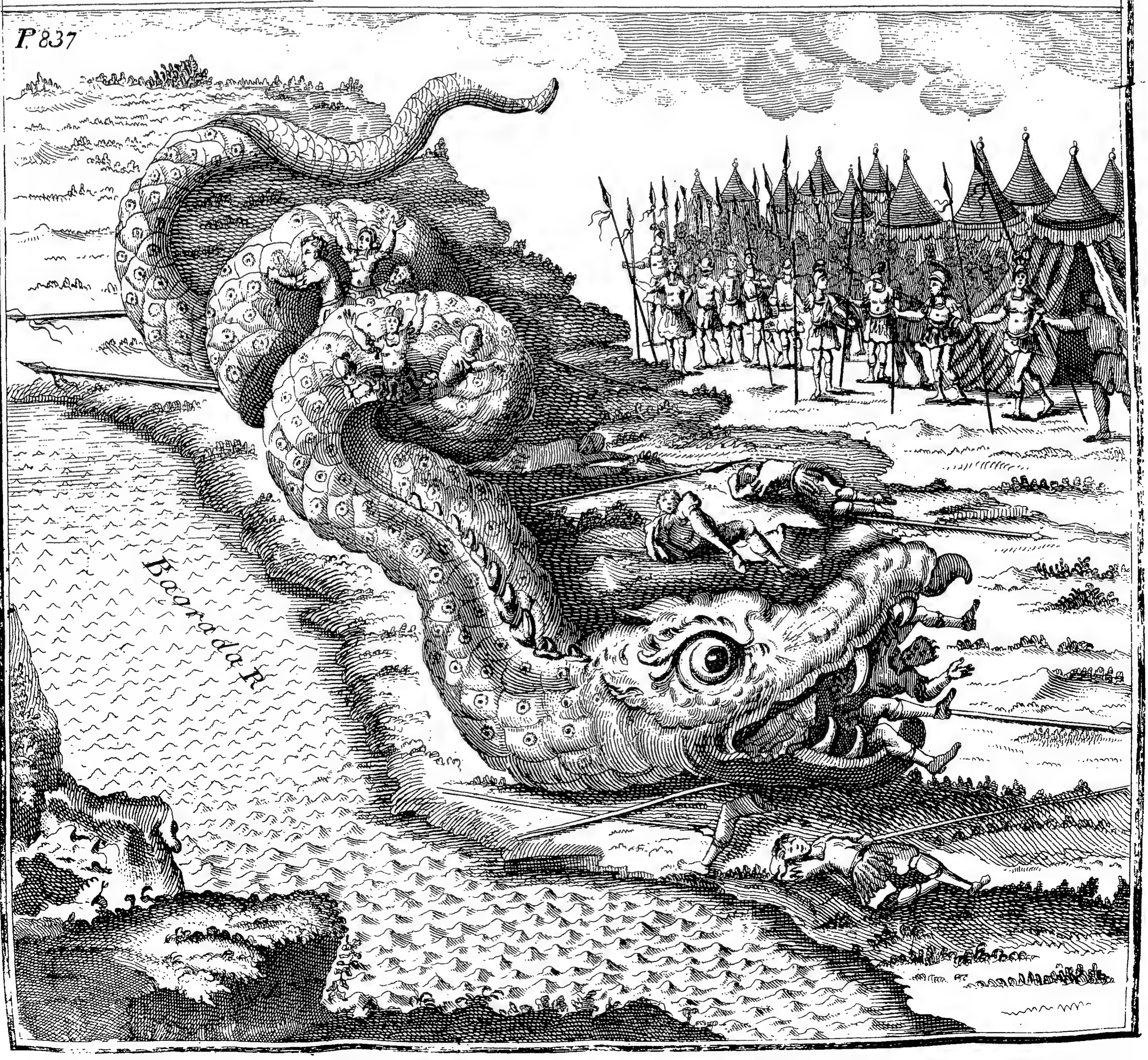


II



The Fashion of the Aqueduct near old Carthage

P. 837



A Boar of a Prodigious Bigness

above-mentioned, of as high antiquity as theſe; and there are even inſtances of Sicilian coins [l] with both the Greek and Punic characters upon them. That the Carthaginians ſhould be called Hhittin or Hhitte, i. e. Hittites, we are not to think ſtrange; ſince Anak [m] and his family, from whom Carthage was called Chaedre-Anach or Chaedre-Anak, were Hittites, and conſequently that people were the moſt eminent of the Phœnicians, from whom the Carthaginians deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word ΣΥΡΑ for ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ is frequently found on the medals of the Syracuſans [n], not to mention many other inſtances which might eaſily be produced. For a farther illuſtration of this point, ſee the following note (H).

II. The

[l] Parut. apud ſcript. Sic. vol. vii. tab. 13. num. 123, 124. tab. 14. num. 136, 137. [m] Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. [n] Parut. ubi ſup. vol. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1723. tab. 33. num. 2. tab. 38. num. 12.

(H) The Hittites (12) were the primary nation of Canaan, and ſeem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not entirely reduced till the time of Solomon, being intermixed with the Iſraelites, and living in the neighbourhood of the Sidonians and Tyrians Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them ſettled in Africa after their expulſion by Joſhua, but likewiſe, that even ſome of their deſcendents might attend Dido into the ſame country They were ſo formidable to their neighbours, that from them the word חתת hittah ſeems to have ſignified fear, and a ſudden conſternation (31). That this Punic word is to be read and interpreted in the manner we propoſe, will farther appear from hence, that the letter  is found upon the reverſes of ſeveral other Panormitan (14) coins, which evidently allude to the ſtate of Carthage, and muſt have been ſtruck when the Carthaginians were maſters of that place (15). 'Tis alſo worthy obſervation, that the Greek mark or abbreviation on the reverſes of theſe medals, peculiar to the Panormitans, conſidered as Greeks, was  ,  or  , i. e. ΠΑΝΡ for (16) ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ. We may therefore reaſonably

(12) Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 181, 183, 196, 209, & 214. (13) Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. ſub init. (14) Parut. ubi ſup. tab. 14 num. 134. & tab. 17 num. 166. &c. (15) This appears from the ſymbols upon them, and from their being found near this metropolis of the Carthaginians in Sicily. (16) Vide num. Panorm. apud Parut. ubi ſup. paſ.

II. The ſecond coin we are ſupplyed with by Haym, who, following other antiquaries, ſuppoſes the hero there repreſented to be Hannibal. The Punic legend is 𐤀𐤇𐤕𐤋, every one of which letters we ſhall endeavour to decipher [o].

The firſt 𐤀 is evidently the ſame with the old Oriental aleph given us by Loeſcher, as well as the Syriac olaph. It likewiſe in figure approaches near the Phœnician aleph or alpha, (𐤀) as found on coins, wanting only the tranſverſe line at the top, which by length of time, might eaſily have grown into diſuſe amongſt the Carthaginians. We may therefore eſteem it as equivalent to A [p].

The ſecond 𐤇 is apparently the Phœnician 𐤇, which letter we ſee upon ſeveral Phœnician coins in Spanheim. The Etruſcan 𐤇 likewiſe comes near it. We may thereafſert 𐤇𐤇 to be NN [q].

The

[o] Haym. in teſor. Britan. [p] Loeſch. p. 224. Et Ezech. Spanhem, de uſ. & præſt. numiſm. diſſert. 2. [q] Spanhem. ubi ſup. & Phil. Bonarot. in additament, op. Dempſt. Florent. 1726.

ſonably imagine, that the Carthaginians had likewiſe an abbreviation in their own language and character, viz. 𐤇𐤇 or 𐤕𐤇𐤇, i. e. hhit for hhittin, or emphatically hhitte. That theſe letters were an abbreviation, is ſo apparent, that Havercamp (17) pronouuces them the mark of Panormus; though he abſurdly confounds them with the Greek Ψ, whereas they are entirely different from it, and indiſputably the Phœnician hheth and tau. It muſt be owned indeed Havercamp will not allow theſe coins to be Punic (18); but the Carthaginian horſe on ours, as well as the palm-tree and horſe on the others, together with the authority of the learned Inveges (19), and the Punic characters on them all, not only refute what he has ſaid, but obviate every thing elſe that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a Punic abbreviation, in imitation of the Greek manner, is alſo probable, becauſe every thing on this medal is either Greek workmanſhip, or an imitation of it. Other Panormitan coins have on their reverſes ΠΑ (20), which greatly ſtrengthens what has been advanced. If we ſuppoſe hheth here to be of the ſame organ with koph, as it ſometimes is, being by ſome pronounced cheth, then this abbreviation may be chat or chart, i. e. of the Carthaginians. Perhaps this conjecture will pleaſe ſome of our readers better than the other.

(17) Sigebert. Havercamp. comment. in Parut. num Panormitan. p. 61, 62. (18) Idem ibid. (19) Auguſt. Inveg. Carth. Sic. p. 323. & alib. (20) Parut. ubi ſup. tab 10. num. 99, 100, &c.

THE third letter is the Phœnician jud ( ) inverted ( ).

The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the Phœnician is formed the Greek r or Σ. The Punic is therefore of the same power with I.

THE last letter is a more rude and simple kind of beth; for it differs only from the Phœnician ( ) and Hebrew ( ) beth in this [s], that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the Hebrew, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the Phœnician beth defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the Phœnician alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to beth, we may conclude, that they were the same; and therefore we must look upon as B.

THUS we find, that expressed in Latin letters is ANNIB, in conformity to the sentiments of Haym [t] and other antiquaries. And we can assure our readers, that the Punic characters here do not differ so much from the Phœnician, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same Phœnician letters found on different medals do from one another [u].

IT has been observed above, that the suffetes of Carthage were called kings by the Greeks; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power; that Hannibal was, some time, the supreme magistrate of Carthage; that he acted in that city, in a manner without controul; and, in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be surprised, that he should have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and without the additional proof of this medal, should not have scrupled to have affirmed it (I).

Hannibal's effigies on a Carthaginian coin.

As

[r] Spanhem. ubi sup. Montfauc. in dissert. de vet. Græc. & Lat. lit. ad fin. Palæogr. Græc. Par. 1708. [s] Loesch. Spanh. & Montfauc ubi sup. [t] Haym del tesor. Britan. p. 143. [u] Vid. Adrian. Reland. Val Loescher. ubi sup aliosq; plurim.

(I) Havercamp asserts, that the Carthaginians struck medals inhonour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this is

Liberal arts and sciences, at a low ebb in Carthage.

As to the progress of the liberal arts and sciences amongst the Carthaginians, and the degree of perfection they arrived at in them, we have not much to say. If Carthage could ever have boasted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now lost; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave themselves up so entirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military skill some of their generals were most eminently famous for, though even in this they seem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian; but philosophy, we have reason to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongst them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themselves chiefly to trade and navigation, as also to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in security their immense wealth and possessions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we must for a moment suspend, in order to give our readers a short sketch of some of their principal customs.

Customs of the Carthaginians.

They suffered no private injury, offered by any person whatsoever to another, to go unpunished. This maxim of equity they received from their first ancestors, and were very strict on all occasions in the observance of it[w].

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but some person convicted of a capital crime, for which he was soon to suffer. They thought the messengers of such tragical events ought soon to die, or at least never more to appear before the persons to whom they brought the melancholy advice[x].

If any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the destruction of their fleet by Agathocles; after the loss of their army under Himilco's conduct in Sicily by the plague, and upon other such dismal occasions, as we are informed by various authors[y].

They used dog's flesh for food till the time of Darius Hystaspis; but upon that prince's conceiving some disgust at this

[w] Hendr. ubi supra. in cap. de leg. & consuetud. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. Vide & Diodor. Sic. Liv. Oros. l. iv. c. 6, &c.

is likewise allowed by that learned Sicilian antiquary Inveges (21).

(21) Inveg & Havercamp. ubi sup p. 84.

this practice, they left it off, at least for a certain period of time [z].

THE soldiers were prohibited, under the severest punishment, whilst in the field, to taste wine; a laudable instance this of their temperance and sobriety [a].

EVERY soldier, at least every officer, wore a number of rings answering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtless was intended to excite a noble spirit of emulation amongst them, inspire them with a thirst after military glory, and consequently lead them on to the greatest atchievements [b].

THEIR generals, tho' perfectly innocent, upon any disaster, were frequently put to death. This probably was designed to oblige them to make use of all their skill, address, and vigilance; tho' after all, it was a most barbarous and imprudent custom. This wild maxim prevails amongst the Turks, who are justly looked upon as barbarians for it, at this day [c].

THE populace and the senators had distinct baths appointed them. This in general we are told by Valerius Maximus; but what gave occasion to this, he says not, nor gives us any further particulars concerning it [d].

It was usual with many of them to have statues or busts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in some measure, see and converse with them when absent. This appears from Silius, in his account of Dido after Æneas's departure from her [e].

DIGNITY and power in this state could not screen any great offender from condign punishment. Of which Machæus, Hanno, Bomilcar, and others, that we shall meet with in the course of this history, are pregnant instances [f].

THEIR anniversary festivals were observed with great solemnity, particularly the day on which the Tyrians, under the conduct of Dido, began to lay the foundations of Carthage. This, according to Silius, seems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the destruction of the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence [g].

THERE were no public inns amongst them. They entertained strangers as friends in their own private houses.

[z] Just. hist. l. xix. [a] Plat. de legib. & Hendr. ubi supra. [b] Liv. Hendr. ubi supra. Aristot. Barth. adverf. l. iv. c. 22. [c] Vide Liv. Diodor. Sic. Sil Italic. &c. [d] Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 5. [e] Sil Ital. [f] Vide Liv. Diodor. Sic. Just. Oros. &c. [g] Sil. Ital. & Hendr. ubi sup.

This was likewiſe a cuſtom amongſt other nations, particularly the Greeks and Romans. Hence it came to paſs, that the ſame word frequently ſignified friendſhip and hoſpitality. The manner of receiving gueſts or ſtrangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of theſe was given to the gueſt, and upon his producing it to the maſter of the houſe, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was tranſmitted down to poſterity, and kept in the family as a mark of friendſhip with the perſon or his family to whom it related [h]. Hence thoſe who violated the laws of hoſpitality were ſaid teſſeram hoſpitalem frangere. The deity preſiding over theſe laws was invoked by the name of Jupiter Xenius, as the god of friendſhip was called Jupiter Philius, and that of ſociety or good-fellowſhip Jupiter Hetærius.

It was a cuſtom with the Carthaginians to conſult their augurs and vates upon all emergencies, and before any enterprize of importance was undertaken. Thus Hamilcar, at the ſiege of Syracuſe, conſulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he ſhould ſup in that city; and, to wave all other inſtances, Pygmalion, upon his intention to purſue his ſiſter Dido, was aſſured by the inſpired college of vates, that he ſhould feel the reſentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obſtruct the great deſign ſhe was gone upon; nay, according to St. Auſtin, theſe vates were in great repute about theſe parts long after the deſtruction of Carthage, ſince one of them, named Albicerius, was very famous there in his time for the reſponſes he gave [i].

The magiſtrates, during the exerciſe of their power, [k] were obliged to abſtain from wine, though that this inſtitution was obſerved always to the expiration of the commonwealth, we cannot poſitively affirm.

The Phœnicians are ſaid to have repreſented their gods as carrying large bags or ſacks full of money; becauſe gold amongſt them was the emblem of power, and ſymbol of dominion. Perhaps the Carthaginians repreſented theirs in the ſame manner, which, together with the vaſt quantities of treaſure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety

[h] Plaut. Penul. act. v. ſc. 1 Budæus in Pandect. Taubman. ad Plaut. loc. citat. Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Hippol. Joan. Hartung. in deſcr. locor. memor. c. 8. l. 39. Sil. Ital. l. xvii. [i] Virg. Æn. 4. Sil. Ital. de bell. Pun. l. i. Diodor. Sic. Juſt. l. xviii. Auguſt. l. i. cont. academ. [k] Alex. ab Alex.

variety of the moſt precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ſhips, might occaſion that inſatiable avarice they were ſo famous for.

SEVERAL other cuſtoms might here be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and diſpoſition of the Carthaginians in general, we ſhall compriſe them all in the following ſhort character of that people. Character of the Carthaginians.

THEIR minds were entirely ſet upon amaſſing wealth, being mean-ſpirited, groveling and ſordid to an incredible degree [l]. In order to this, they ſtuck at no low, not to ſay infamous, arts. This muſt be underſtood of the Carthaginian in the later periods, and towards the decline of their ſtate; for it is not to be queſtioned, but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earlieſt ages, and that, even to the laſt, they had many generous and heroic ſouls amongſt them, The ardor and public ſpirit the women themſelves ſhewed juſt before the laſt ſiege of Carthage, as well as during that ſiege *, ſufficiently prove this. In ſhort, we find ſuch a contraſt of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almoſt impoſſible to determine which of them were predominant. It muſt only be obſerved, that the nearer we approach the deſtruction of their city, the worſe we find them. However, as the characters we have of the Carthaginians come handed down to us chiefly from the Romans, their implacable enemies, we muſt not pay too great a regard to them. The Romans took care to deſtroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, ſhews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongſt thoſe where barbariſm prevailed, but almoſt every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true hiſtory.

POLYBIUS [m] makes it his complaint, that both Philinus and Fabius Pictor, the Carthaginian and Roman hiſtorians, were ſo partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the Carthaginian affairs. Of their perfidiouſneſs and black ingratitude, hiſtory ſupplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to Plutarch [n], they were of a moroſe, ſaturnine and ſavage diſpoſition (K), utterly averſe to every

[l] Polyb. l. i. Diod Sic. l. ii App. in Lybic. Vide etiam Frontin & Veget. * Appian. ubi ſup. [m] Polyb l. i. [n] Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. c. 5.

(K) The great Hannibal was an exception to this general character of the Carthaginians given by Plutarch. Though that renowned

thing that had but the leaſt appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically oppoſite to the genius of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. Some of them were likewiſe acted by an intolerable ſpirit of arrogance, and moſt vitious ambition, by which they were prompted to deſire divine honours. Of this Hanno affords us a flagrant inſtance *, who, as we are told by Ælian, taught birds to ſay, Hanno is a god; though this did not anſwer his end, ſince, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

COMMERCE

* Ælian. var hiſt. l. xiv. c. 30.

renowned general was, for many years, ſo much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muſes. Some of his repartees, that have been tranſmitted down to us, plainly ſhew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the moſt polite education that could be beſtowed at that time, and in ſuch a republic as Carthage. Tho' ſeveral ſmart turns, that have been attributed to him by the antients, might be produced, yet we ſhall content ourſelves here with one out of Macrobius (22): Antiochus, valuing himſelf upon the rich armour and ſplendid accoutrements of his troops, aſked Hannibal at a review, Whether he thought they were ſufficient for the Romans, meaning to cope with them? Hannibal, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance they made, replied, That the Romans were indeed very avaricious; but that however, he thought, theſe were abundantly ſufficient for them, i. e. that the plunder accruing to the Romans from them was enough to ſatisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper rebuke to Antiochus for his prepoſterous notion of military bravery, and at the ſame time a ſpecimen of brilliant and flowing wit in Hannibal.

(L) The Carthaginians were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their conſtitution itſelf had a natural tendency, as Ariſtotle (23) has rightly obſerved. Their chiefs frequently made uſe of this with good ſucceſs, when all other expedients failed them. The Barchine faction ſupported themſelves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them purſued the ſame method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In conſequence of this mean diſpoſition, in proſperity they were elevated to a pitch inconſiſtent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adverſity as much depreſſed. Of this we ſhall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

At

(22) Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. p. 225. Vid. etiam. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Hannib. Liv. l. xxxv. Plut in vit. Flamin. & in Pyrrho p. 687. (23) Ariſtot. de repub. ubi ſupra. (24) Vide Liv. Polyb. Juſt. Corn. Nep. Plut. Oroſ. plurimoſque alios hiſtoric paſſ.

Commerce, the army, and the marine, chiefly regarded at Carthage.

COMMERCE, the army, and the marine, were the principal, if not ſole, objects of publick attention at Carthage. Theſe ſo entirely engroſſed the minds of all people there, that they had no inclination to purſue, nor indeed any great taſte for, the liberal arts and ſciences. However, they muſt have known ſomething at leaſt of the rudiments of aſtronomy, ſince, without this, they could not have been tolerably verſed in the art of navigation. Beſides, the Edomites and Phœnicians were famous for being the greateſt adepts, with the Egyptians, in the celeſtial ſciences, of all other nations. The Carthaginians therefore, their deſcendents could not have been void of a competent knowledge herein. That they had ſome notion likewiſe of ſculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to aſcertain, is plain from the Dii Patæci they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewiſe from the pictures with which their ſhips of war, and other veſſels, were adorned. As a ſea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to ſupply the neceſſities or luxury of other nations with, it is alſo probable, that they were very well acquainted with the

At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fiſh; another remarkable cuſtom that deſerves mentioning.

The Carthaginians paid the greateſt deference to their nobility, who held a moſt diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt them. Some perſons were reputed nobles, or at leaſt upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for Ariſtotle intimates, that wealth had a vaſt influence at Carthage, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high poſts of the ſtate, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of diſtinction due to them for their ſuperior virtue and merit. And laſtly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble anceſtors. Theſe were the proper nobility; of whoſe families in order to render this hiſtory the more complete, we ſhall beg leave to preſent our readers with the following genealogical table, though it muſt be owned to be a very imperfect one:

1. The family of MACHÆUS.

Machæus.

|

Carthalo.

2. The

inferior mechanical arts. The Sidonians and Tyrians were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical skill

2. The Family of MAGO I.

Mago.

Asdrubal. | Hamilcar.

Hannibal. Asdrubal. Sappho. | Hamilco. Hanno. Gisco.

An anonymous son. | Hamilcar.

Hanno. | Gisco.

Hamilco. | Hannibal.

Gisco. | Hanno.

Hamilcar. Gisco. | Hanno.

Hannibal, surnamed the Senior. | Hanno.

Hannibal.

3. The family of MAGO II.

Mago II.

Mago.

4. The family of BOMILCAR the tyrant.

Brothers

Hamilcar. An anonymous one.

Bomilcar.

5. The family of HANNO.

Hanno.

Asdrubal.

6. The

skill in very early ages, as we learn from ſcripture; conſequently the Carthaginians, one branch of their poſterity, muſt have been ſo likewiſe. But the ſuperb temples, magnificent

6. The family of HAMILCAR.

Hamilcar.

Hannibal. Hanno.

7. The family of HIMILCO.

Himilco.

Maherbal.

8. The family of GISCO.

Giſco.

Hamilcar. Aſdrubal.

Hanno. Sophonisba, the wife of king Syphax.

9. The family of BOMILCAR, the king or ſufes.

Bomilcar.

Hanno.

Hanno the Great.

10. The

nificent palaces, rich furniture in their houſes, great variety of

10. The BARCHINE or BARCAN family.

Barca, the brother of Dido foundreſs of Carthage.

Nineteen generations.

Hannibal

Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, or Barca.

Hannibal the Great.	Imilce.	Aſdrubal.	Mago.	Hanno.
		A daughter, the wife of Naravaſus.	A daughter the wife of Aſdrubal.	
	Hamilcar.		Sichæus.	

11. The family of Hamilcar II.

Hamilcar.

¶ Himilco, ſurnamed Phamæas.
¶ Giſco.
¶ Aſdrubal, the laſt king or ſufes of Carthage.

For a more particular account of theſe families, our readers may conſult Reineccius, Ubbo Emmius, and Chriſtopher Hendreich, ſo often quoted, at their leiſure (24).

(24) Ariſtot. de rep. ubi ſupr. Chriſt. Hendr. Ubb. Emm. Reinec. in hiſt. Jul. vol. ii. Lucius Ampelius lib. memor. p. 191. edit. Cantab. 1680. Juſtin. l. xix. Liv. Diod. Sic. Polyb. &c.

of arms, &c. in Carthage, put this point beyond diſpute (M).

Few perſons of learning amongſt the Carthaginians.

AFTER what has been ſaid, our readers will not expect to meet with many perſons of erudition amongſt the Carthaginians, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The Romans, as has been juſt obſerved, made great havock both amongſt their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepenſe. However, the names of ſome of their writers have been tranſmitted down to poſterity, the principal of which are the following:

Carthaginian writers Hannibal.

HANNIBAL, the moſt renowned general Carthage ever produced, was well verſed in the Greek language. According to Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, he wrote ſeveral pieces in it, particularly the hiſtory of Manlius Vulſo's proconſulſhip in Aſia [p].

Mago.

MAGO, another celebrated general of the Carthaginians, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military atchievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon huſbandry, which the Roman ſenate had in ſuch eſteem, that, after the taking of Carthage, when they preſented the African princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered theſe books to be tranſlated into Latin, though Cato had before written copiouſly on that ſubject. The libraries abovementioned are a further proof, that learning was not entirely baniſhed Carthage [q].

Philinus.

PHILINUS, though a Sicilian, being born at Agrigentum, is eſteemed by Polybius as a Carthaginian hiſtorian. He wrote a hiſtory of the wars betwixt the Romans and the ſtate of Carthage; but diſguiſed facts ſo palpably in favour of the latter,

[p] Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Plut. in Scip. [q] Cic. l. i. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

(M) So famous was Carthage for its artificers, that any ſingular invention or exquiſite piece of workmanſhip ſeems to have been called, even by the Romans, their implacable enemies, Punic. Thus the Punic beds or couches, the Punic windows, the Punic wine-preſſes, the Punic lanterns, &c. were of all others eſteemed the moſt neat and elegant for their workmanſhip by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the Carthaginians had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewiſe excelled all other nations, their original anceſtors excepted, in every thing of that kind (25).

(25) Valer. Max. Cato de re ruſt. Ovid. el. vi. Plaut. Aulul.

latter, that, were his performance ſtill extant, it would not be held in any great repute, eſpecially after the ſtigma Polybius has fixed upon it. Fabius Pictor, though in the main a good hiſtorian, yet, in moſt points relating to the Carthaginians, was guilty of as great partiality on the Roman ſide. This we learn from Polybius, who, in order to arrive at truth, has ſteered the middle courſe betwixt them both [r].

Himilco. HIMILCO, a ſea officer, was ſent by the ſenate of Carthage to diſcover the weſtern ſhores and ports of Europe. This he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his diſcoveries, which were inſerted in the Punic annals. Feſtus Avienus [s] has entirely followed this author in his deſcription of the weſtern coaſts of the world; and intimates, that he ſaw the original journal itſelf in the annals aforeſaid. Nay, from Feſtus it appears, that the Carthaginians were acquainted with the Britannic iſlands, which he calls Oeſtrymnides.

Hanno. HANNO, another Carthaginian general, by order of the ſenate, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet [t] round Africa. He entered the ocean by the ſtreights of Gibraltar, made many important diſcoveries, and had continued his navigation, if proviſions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his voyage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of a Greek verſion of which, is ſtill remaining. He is ſaid to have hung up in Juno's temple ſome ſkins of ſeveral ſavage women, whom he ordered to be ſlead. Iſaac Voſſius, in oppoſition to his father, ſuppoſes him to have been older then either Homer or Heſiod; but the great Mr. Dodwell ſolidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If Pliny is to be credited, Hanno and Himilco above-mentioned were contemporaries. It is certain there were two Carthaginian generals of theſe names in the time of Agathocles. Whilſt Himilco ſteered towards the weſt, in order to diſcover new countries, Hanno took his courſe from Gades or Cadiz to the fartheſt parts of Arabia. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that the piece going now under the name of Hanno's periplus, is not his, but was written by a Sicilian Greek. However, it cannot be denied, that he penned a relation of his voyage, ſince this is often quoted by the antients. This moſt learned gentleman has, with the greateſt appearance of truth, fixed his time ſomewhere betwixt

[r] Polyb. l. i. [s] Feſtus Avienus in or. marit. p. 290. Vide & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 35, 39, &c. [t] Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. v. c. 1. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iii. p. 83. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. p. 63. edit. Iſaaci Voſſii. Voſſ. de hiſtor. Græc. p. 514.

twixt the ninety-ſecond and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad [u].

SILENUS was an hiſtorian, who wrote of the Carthaginian affairs in the Greek language; from whence it ſhould appear, that he was a Greek. Some authors take him to have been the ſame with Philinus above-mentioned; but of this we have no ſufficient proof, and therefore we muſt look upon them as two diſtinct writers [w]. Silenus.

CLITOMACHUS, called in the Punic language Aſdrubal, was a great philoſopher. He ſucceeded the famous Carneades, whoſe diſciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic ſect. Cicero ſays, that he was a more ſenſible man, and fonder of ſtudy, than the Carthagians generally were. He compoſed ſeveral books, in one of which he drew a piece to conſole the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of the city, were reduced to ſlavery. By this it is manifeſt, that he lived after the deſtruction of that city by Scipio [x]. Clitomachus.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the Carthaginians, it will not be foreign to our ſubject to mention what Pliny tells us of Hanno, viz. that he was the firſt man who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The ſame author adds, that he was condemned, which muſt either imply in it death or baniſhment, upon account of this art; ſince his countrymen could not be perſuaded, but that he who had the power of ſoftening the fierceſt of beaſts, muſt likewiſe be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in ſuch a manner, as to become maſter of their freedom [y]. This is related to us by Pliny, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakneſs, or his extreme credulity. Some believe this perſon to have been the writer Hanno above-mentioned (N). Hanno, the firſt who tamed a lion.

AMONGST

[u] Dodwel. diſſert. de peripl. Hannon. ætat. in lim. geogr. vet. ſcript. Græc. min. tom i. edit. Oxon. 1698. Ariſtot. in lib. de admirand. audit. Juſtin. l. xxii. &c. [w] Cic. de divinat. l. i. [x] Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. Cic. in academ. quæſt. l. iv. n. 98. Tuſc. quæſt. l. iii. n. 54. [y] Plin. ubi ſup. P. Harduin. apud Bayl. voc. Hanno, vol. iii. p. 1579. not. (D). Lond. 1710.

(N) In one reſpect we may rank the celebrated Terence amongſt the writers of this country, ſince, according to Donatus, he was born at Carthage (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by Scipio at the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, as ſome

(26) Æl. Donat. P. Terent. vit.

The Carthaginians inventors of the quadriremes.

AMONGST other inventions this nation was famous for, we muſt not forget that of the quadriremes, or four-oared galleys

ſome will have it, or, as others ſay, by the Numidians, in one of their incurſions into the Carthaginian territories ſome time after that war, he became the property of Terentius Lucanus, a Roman ſenator. Terentius, being much taken with the fine diſpoſition of his ſlave, not only gave him an excellent education, but likewiſe enfranchiſed him, and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing cuſtom of thoſe times. In the conſulſhip of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Octavius Nepos, this famous dramatic poet was in his higheſt reputation (27). Tho' an African born, yet his diction is moſt pure, elegant, and polite; inſomuch, that ſome have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he received conſiderable aſſiſtance in the comedies aſcribed to him from Scipio and his friend Lælius. It is certain, that either to pleaſe theſe great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in thoſe performances, or becauſe it was true, he himſelf countenanced this notion (28). Six of thoſe comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly eſteemed at Rome, and met with prodigious applauſe when acted there. Feneſtella makes him to have been older than (29) Scipio and Lælius; but Cornelius Nepos is more to be credited, who aſſerts them all to have been contemporaries. Suetonius ſays (30), that, in his return from Greece, he loſt an hundred and eight comedies tranſlated from Menander, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not ſurvive an accident which afflicted him in a moſt ſenſible manner. However this be, he died in the conſulſhip of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years He is ſaid to have been of a middle ſtature, ſlender, and of a ſwarthy complection. He had a daughter who ſurvived him, and was married to a Roman knight.

Under this note we ſhall likewiſe beg leave to obſerve, that it is intimated by Plutarch (31), that this Hànno made uſe of lions as beaſts of burden; which is confirmed by Ovid and Silius (32). If we will believe Ælian (33), there were lions in the temple of Adonis ſo tame, that they fawned upon perſons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modeſtly retired. The ſame author tells us, that the Indians (34) had ſo tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild aſſes, and all other ſavage animals. John II. king of Portugal is reported to have had a lion always following

(27) Idem ibid. Univerſ hiſt vol. xii. p. 295, 328, 348. (28) Æl. Donat. ubi ſup. (29) Feneſtella apud Æl. Donat. ubi ſup. (30) Sueton in. vit Terent. (31) Plut. de præcep. ger. rep. (32) Ovid. triſt. iv. el. 6. Sil. Ital. l. i. (33) Ælian. de animal. l. xii. (34) Idem ibid. l. xvii.

galleys, which the antients attributed to the Carthaginians. It is moreover probable, that they were the first who made cable-ropes for large vessels of the shrub spartum, which was a sort of broom; at least, that they were the first who communicated this invention to the Romans. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the Carthaginians, which we shall now endeavour to give our readers a succinct idea of [z].

The trade and navigation of the Carthaginians.

WITH regard to trade and navigation, (for we shall consider them jointly) no nation was ever more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The Mediterranean, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eastern parts they pushed their discoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatsoever, and to the westward, in all probability, farther. Britain and the Canaries were known to them; nay, according to some, America itself; but this seems to be a conjecture without sufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on many occasions, the vast quantity of shipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almost universally acknowledged as masters of the sea, to omit many others, are most glaring proofs of the flourishing of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the best authority to support it; for, to wave many other authors of unquestionable reputation that occur, it appears from Herodotus and Thucydides, that scarce any people made so great a figure by sea as the Carthaginians, which was the natural effect not only of their genius for naval affairs, but also of the flourishing and extensive commerce they

[z] Arist. Liv. l. xxi. Polyb. l. i. Cæl. Calcagninus de re nautic. comment. c r. Xenoph. de re venator.

following him like a dog (35); and, according to Paulus Jovius, the king of France gave such a one as this to the cardinal de Medicis. What has been said of the Indians, Paulus Venetus likewise relates of the Tartars (36).

Silenus was an historian mentioned by Cicero, and, as is probable, by Nepos (37). The former of these assures us, that he wrote a history in Greek, with great care and accuracy, of Hannibal's expeditions; and that Cælius in some points followed him.

(35) Petr. Messias, l. ii. c. 3. (36) Paulus Venet. l. vii. c. 17. (37) Cic. de divinat. l. i. Voss de hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 413. Vide Bosium, & not. in Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p. 604. Lugd. Bat 1734.

they were in poſſeſſion of. The baſis of this felicity was owing to the Tyrians, from whom they brought the diſpoſition they were ſo eminent for into Africa. But in proceſs of time they eclipſed the glory of even their anceſtors themſelves; inſomuch, that Pliny derives the origin of trade, not from the Phœnicians, but the Pœni or Carthaginians. The natural fertility of its ſoil, the ſurpriſing ſkill of its artificers, together with its happy ſituation, rendered Carthage the center of traffic, the great mart, not only of the Mediterranean, but even of the moſt remote nations [a].

Their commodities,

THE commodities they ſupplied other countries with, in great abundance, ſeem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers ſorts of proviſions, and high ſauces; wax, honey, oil, the ſkins of wild beaſts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their ſtaple manufactures were utenſils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval ſtores, and the colour from them called Punic, the preparation of which ſeems to have been peculiar to them. From Egypt they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. From the coaſts of the Red-Sea, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. From Tyre and Phœnice, purple, ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, &c. From the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. In fine, they purchaſed the ſuperfluities of all nations at an eaſy price; and by knowing the neceſſities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they ſold theſe at their own rates; which brought immenſe treaſure daily to Carthage, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend ſo long with Rome for the empire of the world itſelf [b].

HAVING

[a] Feſt. Avien. ubi ſup. Poſid. & Ariſt. de mem. Claud. l. 3. Strab. Apollon. Philoſt. l. ii c. 14. l. 5. Pindar &c. Chriſt. Hendr. Carth. l ii. ſ. 1. c. 8. p. 262, 263, &c. Herodot. l. i. Thucydid. l. i. ſub. init. Plin. nat hiſt. l. vii. c. 56. Liv. Polyb. Diodor. Sic. Juſtin. Oroſ. aliiq; paſſ. [b] Chriſt. Hendr. ubi ſup. Plin. l. xxxi c. 8. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. ii. Jul. Pollux, l. vi. Iſidor. orig l xx. c. 3. A Schotti obſerv. l. iii c. 7 Hieron. Magius in miſcel. l. ii. c. 9 Hadr Jun. animadv. l. vi. c. 17. Turneb. adverſ. l. x. c. 12. Catellianus Cotta in memorab. Varro, l iv. c. 23 de LL. Tibul l. ii eleg. & ad eum Paſſeratius, l. iii. iv. Joh. Brodæus in miſcel l iv. c 24, & l. i. c. 8. Alex. Vanegas, l. ii c. 2. & Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael en eſper. de Iſr. p. 18, 19, &c. En Amſterdam en la Impreſſion de Semeul Ben Iſrael Socino, A. M. 5410.

HAVING thus given our readers a general idea of the extenſive trade this mighty republic was miſtreſs of, which was the great ſource of all her wealth and power; we muſt now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce ſeems to have been more beneficial to the Carthaginians, than that they carried on with the Perſians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians. Theſe remote nations, beſides other rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almoſt ineſtimable value, to Carthage; to which place they yearly reſorted, as is moſt likely, in caravans. Theſe gems, from the plenty of them at Carthage, were called by the antients Charchedonian or Carthaginian, as Pliny relates. From Polybius it appears probable, that the Carthaginian merchants, at the ſale of their wares, had a crier and ſecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profeſſion was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this ſtate; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needleſs to obſerve, that the moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to apply themſelves to it [c].

The moſt valuable branch of their commerce was that carried on with the Garamantes, Perſians, and Ethiopians.

WE ſhall cloſe this ſection with taking notice of a remarkable cuſtom obſerved by the Carthaginians, and the Libyans bordering on the ſea-coaſts, in their trafficking with each other, as Herodotus himſelf has related it [d].

" THE Carthaginians, ſays this hiſtorian, ſailing beyond " the ſtreights, or pillars of Hercules, traded with the Libyans " of thoſe parts in the following manner: After they had " got into ſome creek, they landed their goods; and leaving " them expoſed on ſome point of land, returned again on " board their ſhips. They then cauſed a great ſmoak to be " raiſed, at the ſight of which the Libyans immediately " came to the place where the wares had been left; and " laying down a certain quantity of gold, retired at a good " diſtance from them. Upon this the Carthaginians went " on ſhore a ſecond time; and if upon viewing the gold it " appeared to them ſufficient, they carried it off, and ſailed " without delay; if not, they left it, and continued quiet " on board for ſome time. The Libyans finding this, " made an addition to what they had before depoſited; and " if this proved inſufficient, they continued improving the " original

[c] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & Delecamp. in loc.. Petron. Fabric. Polyb. l. iii. [d] Herodot. l. iv.

" original quantity of gold till the Carthaginians were ſatiſ
" fied, and the bargain made. Neither of theſe nations of
" fered the leaſt injuſtice to the other. The Carthaginian
" did not ſo much as touch the Libyan gold till it was o
" equal value with their wares, nor the Libyans the Cartha-
" ginian merchandize, till the gold they offered as an equi-
" valent was accepted and taken away."

SECT. III.

The chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian chronology the ſame with the Phœnician.

THE Carthaginian chronology was at firſt the Phœnician, already by us conſidered, and, in all probability, ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the Carthaginians kept records in the ſame manner as their anceſtors the Tyrians did, cannot well be doubted; eſpecially, if we conſider, how cloſely they adhered to the cuſtoms and maxims of thoſe anceſtors. Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of Eratoſthenes did not abſolutely prevail amongſt the Romans even in the Auguſtan age, but thinks that Virgil might have taken ſome of his hiſtorical facts from the records of Carthage; which evidently ſuppoſes, that theſe records might have exiſted. Servius ſeems to inſinuate, that they, or at leaſt ſome part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the Carthaginians themſelves, Dido came from a town called Charta. But, however this may be, 'tis certain, from Solinus and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the deſtruction of their city, the Carthaginians muſt have had; otherwiſe the Romans could never have known how many years had elapſed from the foundation to the deſtruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is ſo apparent, that we ſhall inſiſt no further upon it [e].

THE method of computing time from the building of cities was in uſe throughout a good part of the eaſt in very early ages, though it was of a later date at Rome, particularly among the Lydians, Syrians, and Phœnicians, as it was likewiſe amongſt their deſcendents the old Etruſcans and Carthaginians. This is evident beyond contradiction from Diodorus Siculus, Cenſorinus, Scaliger, and a famous inſcription, whoſe epoch is the foundation of Interamna in Umbria,

[e] Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. Serv. in Æn. i. & Æn. iv. Solin. c. 29.

Umbria, which Gruter and Juſtus Fontaninus, in his antiquities of Horta, have given us [f].

Their year luniſolar.

THE antient year of the Phœnicians, as well as that of the other eaſtern nations, was moſt certainly luni-ſolar, i. e. it conſiſted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the ſolar year. At length the Egyptians of Thebes, according to Diodorus and Strabo, introduced the ſolar year, i. e. they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the courſe of the ſun. Now as the computation by the ſolar years did not take place even in Egypt till the time of Amenophis, (tho' the difference betwixt the ſolar and calendar years was diſcovered in the reign of Ammon the father of Seſac) i. e. about an hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the æra of Nabonaſſar; nor amongſt the Chaldæans or Babylonians till the commencement of that æra; and as Dido's departure from Tyre was at leaſt coeval with, if it did not precede, the former of theſe events, the luni-ſolar year was, without diſpute, obſerved then by the Phœnicians, and conſequently afterwards by the Carthaginians [g].

As was that of the Arabians and Damaſcens.

IN confirmation of which we muſt not omit remarking, that Simplicius, in his commentary on the firſt of Ariſtotle's phyſical acroaſis, affirms the Damaſcenes and Arabians, who were either neighbours to the poſterity of the old Phœnicians, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-ſolar year in uſe amongſt them ſo late as his time; from whence it is not a little probable, that this was always the Phœnician and Carthaginian year [h].

WE have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the Carthaginian annals having for a long ſeries of ages been deſtroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much leſs a methodical ſyſtem, of the Carthaginian chronology, all that can be done, in order to ſatisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of ſome few of the principal tranſactions in which that famous republic was concerned, including a liſt of ſeveral of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

[f] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Cenſorin. de die natal. c. 17. Scalig. de emend. temp. l. v. p. 385. Gruter cviii. 2. Juſt. Fontanin. de antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 7. p. 135, 136. ed Rom. 1723.
[g] Cenſorin. de die natal. c. 19, & 20. Cic. in Ver. Geminus, c. 6. Gen. i. 14. viii. 22. Newton's chronol. p. 71—82. Diodor. Sic. l. i. Strab. l. xvii. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. Hecataeus apud Diod. l. i.
[h] Simplic. apud Theodor. Gazam de menſibus.

The Monarchy of CARTHAGE.

	Year of CARTHAGE.	Year before CHRIST.
DIDO, the daughter of Mettinus, king of Tyre, founded Carthage. How long ſhe reigned there, hiſtory informs us not.		890 or 892

The Republic of CARTHAGE.

AFTER Dido's death, there is a chaſm in the hiſtory of Carthage for above three hundred years. Only from Juſtin we learn, that this ſtate was much agitated by inteſtine commotions during part of that period.		
The Carthaginians plant a colony in the iſland Ebuſus or Ereſus, on the coaſt of Spain, according to Diodorus.	160	730
The Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian united fleets are, according to Herodotus, after a bloody engagement, put to flight by the Phocæans, in the ſea of Sardinia.	347	543
Which action is likewiſe mentioned by Thucydides, who relates that the city of Maſſilia, at preſent Marſeilles, built by the ſaid Phocæans, was then in its infancy (A).	347	
Machæus, a famous general, gains ſome conſiderable advantages over the Africans, with whom the Carthaginians are now engaged in a war. This		

happened,

(A) That this moſt antient naval engagement happened not far from the year, in which our moſt learned archbiſhop Uſher has placed it, is, in ſome meaſure, evident from a circumſtance taken notice of by Thucydides in his firſt book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of Maſſilia, or Marſeilles, which was built by the Phocæans. Now 'tis aſſerted by Timæus Siculus, that Maſſilia was founded by the Phocæans an hundred and twenty years before the battle of Salamis, which falls in with the firſt year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and conſequently the foundation of Maſſilia preceded the action under conſideration fifty-ſeven years. It might then therefore very juſtly be ſaid, as Thucydides relates, to have been in its infancy. That Maſſilia

was

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Chriſt.
happened, as appears probable from comparing Juſtin with Oroſius, towards the concluſion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his uncle Cyaxares II. and therefore we may place it about the year.	353	537
He reduces part of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians.	354	536
A plague makes great havock at Carthage about this time, when the Carthaginians endeavour to appeaſe the gods by ſacrificing children.	355	535
After a long and ſucceſsful war in Sicily, the Carthaginian army, under the command of Machæus, thinks proper to retire from that iſland.	360	530
The ſame army afterwards invading Sardinia, is entirely defeated by the Sardi, and the greateſt part of it cut off.	360	530
The remaining part, upon their return home, are baniſhed by their countrymen, together with Machæus the general. Incenſed at this barbarous treatment, they attack Carthage, carry the city, and, after putting ten ſenators to death, ſettle the republic upon its former footing.	360	530
Machæus crucifies his ſon about the ſame time.	360	530
Some time after this the ſame general, being accuſed of a deſign to make himſelf abſolute, is puniſhed with		

death,

was built by the Phocæans about the time mentioned by Timæus is confirmed by Ariſtotle, Harpocration, Scymnus Chius, Julian, Athenæus, and other authors. Both Thucydides and Herodotus likewiſe ſeem to relate ſome events after this, as happening in the time of Cambyſes; which may be looked upon as an additional argument in defence of our learned primate's notion, which he has taken from Euſebius (1).

(1) Uſh. ad an. per Jul. 4171. Herodot. l. i. Timæus Sic. apud Marcian. in perieg. Solin. Euſeb. in chron. ad olymp. 45, 1. 59. 2. &c. Ariſtot. apud Harpocration in voc. Μασσαλία, Athen. deipnoſoph l. xiii. Juſt. l xliii. Strab. l. iv. Scymnus Chius, Ammian. Marcellin. 15, 23. Gell. noct. At. 10, 16, &c.

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
death, and succeeded by Mago in the command of the army.	367	523
An alliance formed between the Carthaginians and the Romans the year after the regifuge, in the conſulſhip of Brutus and Valerius.	382	508
Mago, after the introduction of military diſcipline amongſt the Carthaginians, dies, leaving their forces in an excellent condition. If Juſtin is to be credited, this ſeems to have happened ſome years before Darius Hyſtaſpis died; and therefore we may look upon it to fall in juſtly enough with the year.	401	489
Soon after Mago's death, his two ſons Aſdrubal and Hamilcar attempt the conqueſt of Sardinia, as likewiſe to free their country from the annual tribute impoſed upon them by the Africans.	401	489
Darius ſends embaſſadors to Carthage to demand a body of auxiliaries againſt their common enemy the Greeks, for a war with whom he was then making very great preparations.	402	488
At firſt Aſdrubal and Hamilcar ſeem to have had great ſucceſs in Sardinia, by the number of triumphs Juſtin aſſigns Aſdrubal; but, towards the concluſion of this war, Aſdrubal is mortally wounded, and the entire command of the army thereby devolves upon his brother Hamilcar.	404	486
A treaty of peace is concluded between the Africans and Carthaginians about this period, by which the annual tribute of the latter is continued.	405	485
The Sicilians implore the aſſiſtance of Leonidas, to enable them to ſhake off the Carthaginian yoke.	405	485
Not long after this Hamilcar is killed in Sicily, leaving behind him three ſons, Hamilco or Himilco, Hanno, and Giſco.	410	480
After the death of Hamilcar, and the to-		

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
tal defeat of the Carthaginian army by Gelon, a peace is made, and Giſco, the ſon of Hamilcar, baniſhed.	410	480
The Carthaginians engage at once in a war with the Moors, Numidians, and other Africans; the reſult of which is, that they are excuſed the annual tribute before exacted of them.	430	460
Some time after this period the two brothers Philæni ſacrificed themſelves for the honour, as they apprehended, of their country.		
The centumvirate inſtituted, ſomewhere in this interval, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago's family within proper bounds, and be a curb upon their generals, according to Juſtin.		
Hannibal, the ſon of Giſco, makes an expedition into Sicily, and takes and razes Selinus and Himera.	482	408
The ſame general, in conjunction with Imilcar, makes another campaign in Sicily; but dies of the plague in his camp before Agrigentum, of which diſtemper a great part of his army likewiſe periſhes.	486	404
Imilcar, Hannibal's collegue, takes Agrigentum.	486	404
He likewiſe reduces Gela.	486	404
He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with Dionyſius.	486	
Dionyſius takes Motya from the Carthaginians.	494	
Himilco retakes Motya by ſtorm, reduces Meſſana, and razes it. Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, likewiſe defeats the Sicilian fleet under Leptines. Himilco advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of Syracuſe, and plunders the temples of Ceres and Proſerpina in the ſuburb of Acradina; but the plague carrying off a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.	493	395

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
The Africans, to the number of two hundred thouſand, ſeize upon Tunis, and threaten Carthage itſelf. But famine and diviſions oblige them at laſt to diſperſe. Himilco, not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.	495	395
Mago, the Carthaginian general, is routed by Dionyſius at Abacænum.	498	492
A ſecond peace concluded between Dionyſius and the Carthaginians.	499	391
Dionyſius routs the Carthaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace enſues.	508	382
A plague breaks out in Carthage, which ſweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardi riſe up in arms, and endeavour to render themſelves independent of the Carthaginian ſtate. A particular ſpecies of madneſs ſeizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces diſmal effects there.	512	378
Dionyſius advances, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe into the Carthaginian territories. With this force he ſoon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred ſail, and carry off moſt of the beſt Syracuſan galleys laid up in that harbour.	522	368
Dionyſius II. ſucceeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.	523	367
Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thouſand arms there, and ſupplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuſe; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition againſt Dionyſius II.	354	356

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Timoleon brings ſuccours from Corinth to the Syracuſans, and lands his forces in Sicily by a ſtratagem.	546	344
He defeats Icetas at Adranum, and poſſeſſes himſelf of Syracuſe and Meſſana, according to Diodorus.	546	343
A ſecond treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.	547	343
Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimeſus.	551	339
And concludes a peace with that nation.	552	338
About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a deſign at Carthage to aſſume the ſovereignty to himſelf, by deſtroying the whole body of the ſenate. He receives but a ſlight puniſhment for the firſt attempt; but upon his having recourſe afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to ſupport himſelf in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity.	553	337
Alexander forms the ſiege of Tyre, upon which the Tyrians ſend their wives and children to Carthage, where they are kindly received.	554	336
The Carthaginians ſend Hamilcar, ſurnamed Rhodanus, as their miniſter to Alexander at his camp before Tyre; and put him to death on his return home.	559	331
The Cyreneans apply to the Carthaginians for ſuccours againſt a body of Greek mercenaries, that invaded them, but in vain.	559	331
The Carthaginians ſend ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of Soſiſtratus, and the Syracuſan exiles, againſt Agathocles.	568	322
They oblige Agathocles to reſtore the caſtle of Mylæ to the Meſſanians.	574	316
	576	314

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Hamilcar routs Agathocles at Himera, according to Diodorus Siculus.	580	310
Agathocles invades Africa, and gives a memorable defeat there to Hanno and Bomilcar, the Carthaginian generals, according to Diodorus.	581	309
Hamilcar is taken by the Syracusans, and has his head struck off, which is sent to Agathocles in Africa.	582	308
Agathocles prevails upon Ophellas, prince of the Cyrenæans, to march to his assistance, and then cuts him off by treachery.	583	307
Bomilcar crucified for forming a design to make himself tyrant of Carthage.	583	307
Agathocles receives a great defeat from the Carthaginians, and is forced to abandon Africa, which produces a peace between the two powers.	584	306
The articles of the peace signed.	585	305
A third treaty concluded between the Romans and the Carthaginians about the time of Pyrrhus's arrival in Italy.	610	280
The Carthaginians offer the Romans assistance in their war with Pyrrhus, and for that purpose send a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail under the command of Mago; tho' the Romans decline accepting it.	610	280
The Carthaginians besiege Syracuse, with an army of fifty thousand men and a fleet of an hundred sail.	612	278
Pyrrhus makes a descent in Sicily, reduces all the Carthaginian towns in that island, except Lilybæum, almost as soon as he appears before them; and loses them again with the same rapidity to the Carthaginians.	613 614	277 276
Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, sends a detachment to reinforce the Mamertine garrison of Messana, and thereby prevents Hiero from possessing himself of that place, which occasions the first Punic war.	625	265

The

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
The firſt Punic war begins.	626	264
The Romans, after a ſiege of ſeven months, take Agrigentum, and gain a victory over the Carthaginian forces, under Hanno, ſent to its relief.	628	262
The conſul C. Duilius gains a complete victory over the Carthaginians by ſea, their admiral Hannibal eſcaping with much difficulty. The other conſul Cn. Cornelius Scipio, being ſurpriſed, ſurrenders himſelf to the enemy under Boodes.	630	260
A drawn naval engagement between the Carthaginians and the Romans.	633	257
The Carthaginians receive a great blow by ſea from the Romans; above thirty of their ſhips being ſunk, and ſixty-three taken. Hanno, who had behaved ſo ill at Agrigentum, and Hamilcar are their admirals at the time of this diſaſter. Regulus alſo lands this year in Africa, reduces Adis, a ſtrong fortreſs, and many other places. He gives the Carthaginian army, command by Hanno, Boſtar, and Hamilcar, a moſt memorable defeat.	634	256
The Roman army under Regulus overthrown by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian, who, at the deſire of the Carthaginian ſenate, takes upon him the command of their forces. Regulus himſelf is taken priſoner in this action.	635	255
The Carthaginians become once more maſters of the ſea.	638	252
Lilybæum, a Punic town in Sicily, beſieged by the Romans.	640	250
The great Hannibal born.	642	248
Hamilcar behaves himſelf with great bravery for three years together in Sicily.	645	245
The Carthaginians under Hanno are routed by the Romans near the iſland Æguſa or Ægates.	648	242

Hamilcar,

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Hamilcar, having received full powers from the Carthaginian ſenate for that purpoſe, concludes a peace with the Romans. This puts a period to the firſt Punic war, after it had laſted four-and-twenty years.	649	241
After various turns of fortune, the African or Libyan war is brought to a happy concluſion by Hamilcar, though the Carthaginians were reduced to the laſt extremity through the incapacity of Hanno, and Hannibal, by his indolence, had given a great advantage to the enemy.	652	238
Hamilcar, being ſent by the Carthaginians as their general into Spain, partly by perſuaſion, ſubdues nine different nations; but expoſing himſelf too much in a battle with ſome of the moſt warlike Spaniards as yet unconquered, he is ſlain, and ſucceeded in his poſt by Aſdrubal.	661	229
Aſdrubal dies, and is ſucceeded by Hannibal. That general takes Althæa, the capital of the Olcades; conquers that nation, the Vaccæi, Carpetani, &c. The Saguntines apprize the Romans of theſe proceedings.	670	220
The Romans, by their embaſſadors, demand Hannibal for taking of Saguntum. That general, having ſettled matters in Spain, makes preparations for a war with the Romans.	671	219
This year the ſecond Punic war commences, according to Polybius. Hannibal paſſes the Alps, and defeats Scipio near the Ticinus, now called the Teſino, after taking Turin, and routing the Gauls, who diſputed the paſſage of the Rhone.	672	218
The ſame general overthrows Sempronius on the bank of the Trebia.	672	218
Hanno is defeated in Spain by Scipio,		

who

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Chriſt.
who extends his conqueſts as far as the Iberus.	672	218
C. Flaminius is overthrown by Hannibal at the lake of Thraſymene, now the Lago di Perugia, with the ſlaughter of fifteen thouſand men. He likewiſe gives a terrible repulſe to Minucius; but is checked in his progreſs by Fabius. Cn. Scipio defeats Hanno at the town of Ciſſa in Spain.	673	217
The Roman army commanded by Terentius Varro and Æmilius Paulus, is totally defeated at Cannæ upon the Aufidus in Apulia. This was the greateſt blow the Romans ever received. The Carthaginians in Spain under Aſdrubal, are overcome by the Romans.	674	216
Philip king of Macedon, by his miniſter Xenophanes, concludes a treaty with Hannibal.	675	215
Hannibal takes Tarentum.	678	212
Capua beſieged by the Romans. The two Scipios, with their armies, deſtroyed in Spain by the Carthaginians and their allies.	678	212
Hannibal, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Capua, bends his march towards Rome, and advances within five miles of that capital.	679	211
Tarentum retaken by Fabius.	681	209
Hannibal by a ſtratagem circumventing M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintius Criſpinus, cuts off Marcellus, and other Romans of diſtinction.	682	208
Edeco, Indibilis, Mandonius, &c. petty kings or reguli of Spain, join Scipio. By the acceſſion of their forces he is enabled to vanquiſh Aſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, at Bætula, and to drive him out of Spain.	682	208
Aſdrubal, coming with a powerful army into Italy to join Hannibal, is overthrown, and his army ruined.	683	207
Scipio in Spain vanquiſhes Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, Mago, and Indibilis;		draws

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
draws off Maſiniſſa from the Carthaginian intereſt; reduces all Spain; and is then recalled to Rome.	684	206
Scipio lands in Africa; beſieges Utica; burns the camps of Syphax and Aſdrubal; overthrows the Carthaginian, Numidian, and Celtiberian forces; and takes Tunis. Hannibal is obliged to quit Italy, and return to Africa.	687	203
An interview between Scipio and Hannibal. The latter of theſe is entirely defeated at the battle of Zama; which produces a peace, and terminates the ſecond Punic war.	688	202
Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at Tyre, and afterwards ſeeks an aſylum at the court of Antiochus.	689	201
Hannibal dies, according to Livy and Cornelius Nepos.	695	195
Maſiniſſa, depending on his friendſhip with Rome, makes an irruption into the province of Tyſca, and invades the Carthaginian territories.	708	182
An embaſſy is ſent from Rome, at the head of which is Cato, to diſpoſe both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them on the ſpot. But the Carthaginians reject the mediation of the Romans, tho' they had before admitted it; which occaſions the third Punic war.	731	159
A bloody war breaks out between Carthage and Maſiniſſa.	732	158
The Carthaginians, after the Romans had moſt perfidiouſly and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are commanded to abandon their city; which they not complying with, it is totally deſtroyed by Æmilianus, and levelled with the ground.	740 774 746	150 146 146

Or, according to Sir Iſaac Newton and Salmaſius, in conjunction with Solinus.

Appian tells us in round numbers, that Carthage ſtood ſeven hundred years; but Solinus, with great accuracy, determines its duration to have been ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven years, i. e. either ſo many complete years preciſely, or ſo many complete years, with part of another elapſed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if, with Sir Iſaac Newton and Salmaſius, we ſuppoſe this term to have commenced at the encœnia or dedication of the city, which they have proved, fell upon the ſixteenth year of Pygmalion's reign at Tyre, the beginning of the foundation of Carthage muſt be placed nine years higher, ſince Dido came to Africa in the ſeventh year of that prince's reign; and conſequently this happened ſeven hundred and forty-ſix years before the final deſtruction of that city by Æmilianus. Since therefore Joſephus, from Menander of Epheſus, or, according to Tatian, Menander of Pergamus, as he is corrected by Petavius, intimates, that Carthage preceded Rome an hundred and forty years, which almoſt exactly correſponds with Sir Iſaac Newton and Salmaſius; and ſince the æra of Petavius, which we have followed, does not differ from that of Solinus as ſtated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a trifle in a point of ſo remote antiquity, we may look upon theſe æras as the ſame. This is a ſtrong preſumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to aſſure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuſe which of them they pleaſe [i].

Menander Epheſius, Solinus, Salmaſius, Petavius, and Sir Iſaac Newton, agree very well in ſettling the æra of Carthage.

The chronological ſynopſis here inſerted, gives our readers the whole plan of the affairs of Carthage at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the peruſal of the following hiſtory with double advantage (B).

End of this chronological ſynopſis.

It

[i] Appian. in Libyc. Solin. c. 30. Salmaſ. in Solin. ibid. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. Joſeph. antiq. l. viii c. 2. 5. l. ix. c 14. & cont Apion. l. i. Dion Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. Solin. c. 27. Tatian. adv. Græc.

(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will entirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbiſhop Uſher; and, to ſhew our regard to the memory of ſo profound a chronologer, we ſhall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little confuſed. That moſt learned prelate fixes the foundation of Rome, with Fabius Pictor, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh, or beginning of the eighth olympiad; and yet he will have the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſeven (in which Carthage was finally deſtroyed) to have preceded the chriſtian æra an hundred and forty-ſix years. This ſeems to render him a little inconſiſtent with himſelf; for an hundred forty-ſix years, added to ſix hundred and ſeven, makes ſeven hundred and fifty-three

Authorities upon which it is founded.

It may not be improper to inform readers, that the our first part of this synopsis depends chiefly upon the authority of Justin and Orosius, compared with Diodorus Siculus, as the latter does upon that of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, in conjunction with archbishop Usher. The times of the first transactions of this state it is impossible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactness, yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In ascertaining the years of those of a later date, we have paid no regard to the sentiments of those writers who differ from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, as being in point of authority vastly inferior to them [k].

[k] Justin. Oros. Diodor. Sic. & Polyb. passim. Uss. annal. vet. test. pass. Vide etiam Glareani chronol. in Liv. per Badium Ascensium, Paris. ex officin Mich. Vascosani, 1543.

three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of Rome at the birth of Christ. But this seeming inconsistency will vanish, when we consider, that he all along follows Fabius Pictor, who places the foundation of Rome five years lower than Varro, whom Pliny, Solinus, and most of the Roman authors, follow. This observation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwise occur in some material points, from comparing archbishop Usher with the generality of the Roman chronologers, and thereby prevent confusion. The year of Rome, in which the destruction of Carthage happened, according to Fabius Pictor, must have been the six hundred and second, to which add an hundred and forty-six, and it corresponds, as well as the other, with the christian æra. This is a demonstration of the truth of archbishop Usher's computation in this particular; and nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and consequently are not repugnant either to the Varronian or Fabian accounts, tho' with archbishop Usher, we are of opinion, that the latter points out of the true epoch of Rome. It must not be forgot, that we were mistaken in the Roman history, vol. xi. p. 290, & 291. when we made archbishop Usher to prefer Varro's opinion to that of Fabius; and yet at the same time observed, that the archbishop places the birth of Christ seven hundred and forty-eight years distant from the foundation of Rome, in direct agreement with Fabius. What led us to that mistake, was a passage in him, wherein he seems to follow Varro; but, upon a second perusal of that passage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was Pliny's opinion.

(2) Jac. Uss. annal. par post. ad ann. Jul. period. 4568 p. 87. & annal. vet. test. ad ann. Jul. period. 3966. p. 87. edit. Lond, 1650, & 1654.

End of the Sixteenth Volume.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

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SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of the Carthaginians, from the foundation of their city to the firſt Punic war.

ELISA, known alſo by the name of Dido, fled from Tyre in the ſeventh year of the reign of Pygmalion king of that city. Her flight is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the cruel and inſatiable avarice of Pygmalion, who was her brother. This prince, in order to ſecure to himſelf the immenſe treaſures of his uncle Sichæus, who had married his ſiſter Dido, was the prieſt of Hercules, and, by virtue of that poſt, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, found means to deſtroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: Virgil will have it, that Pygmalion barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar; but Euſtathius and Cedrenus intimate that he diſpatched him at an hunting match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. However, as Sichæus was well acquainted with

Cauſe of Eliſa's departure from Tyre.

the fordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of Eliſa, rendered abortive the tyrant's deſign. Sichæus, appearing to his diſconſolate widow in a dream, appriſed her of his tragical exit, and adviſed her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the ſame fate. Upon this ſhe determined to make her eſcape, and carry off thoſe treaſures, which had prompted her brother to ſo inhuman an action; but, in order to this, ſhe judged it proper for ſome time to amuſe him; which ſhe did by diſſembling her reſentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of aſſembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper meaſures for ſpeedily abandoning Tyre. The principal of theſe were her brother Barca, and ſeveral ſenators, who, hating Pygmalion, and apprehending themſelves every moment in danger of being ſacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the deſign ſhe had formed the more effectually, ſhe applied to the king for veſſels to carry her, Barca, and their effects, to Chartica or Chartaca, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of reſiding there. To this Pygmalion readily agreed, as imagining, that by ſuch a ſtep he ſhould become maſter of what had ſo long been the object of his moſt ardent deſires. Eliſa, being thus ſupplied with men and ſhips, weighed anchor; and being got into the ocean at a proper diſtance from Tyre, commanded her men to throw into the ſea ſome bags filled with ſand, which, ſhe told them, contained the wealth of her huſband Sichæus, and, in a doleful tone, entreated his manes to accept of thoſe riches as an oblation, which had been the cauſe of his deſtruction. Then, addreſſing herſelf to her companions, ſhe gave them to underſtand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's reſentment, for being inſtrumental in defeating his avaricious purpoſes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her intereſt, ſhe purſued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach, before he was appriſed of her reſolution [a].

PYGMALION,

[a] Juſtin. l. xviii. Tacit. annal. xvi. Tertul. in Pal. Sil. Ital l. i. Appian. in Lib. ſub. init Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. ut & ipſe Dionyſ.

Pygmalion prevented from purſuing Eliſa.

PYGMALION, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his ſiſters ſubtlety, and being grieved, that thoſe treaſures ſhould be ſnatched from him in a moment, which he thought himſelf to be ſure of, and which he had ſo long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but he was diverted from this deſign by the entreaties of his mother, and the menaces of the inſpired college of vates, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obſtruct in any manner the grand project Eliſa was gone upon [b].

Eliſa touched firſt at Cyprus.

THE firſt place our heroine touched at was ſome port in the iſland of Cyprus, poſſibly Salamis, which was then in its infancy; ſince, according to Virgil and Servius, in conjunction with the Arundelian marbles, Teucer and Mettinus, Eliſa's father, ſeized upon Cyprus, or at leaſt a part of it, not very long before, when the former of theſe built Salamis. Here ſhe met with a prieſt of Jupiter, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; which ſhe readily accepted of. As this motion of the prieſt proceeded from an impulſe, or rather command, of the deity himſelf, ſhe looked upon it as a good omen, and ſettled the prieſthood of Jupiter in that family [c].

Cyprian women proſtitute themſelves for dowries.

IT was a prevailing cuſtom in this iſland at the time of Eliſa's arrival, for the maids to go on certain ſtated days, before marriage, to the ſea-ſide, there to look for ſtrangers that might poſſibly arrive on their coaſts, in order to proſtitute themſelves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of theſe the Tyrians ſelected a certain number, Juſtin ſays eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very ſubſervient to their deſign of planting a new colony [d]

Dionyſ. Herodian. l. v. Liv. xxxiv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Virgil. Æn i. & iv. Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. & iv. Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. Joſeph. antiq. l. viii. c. 13. cont. Apion. l. i. Solin. c. 30. & 27. edit. Salm. Vide & Salian & Torniel. in annal. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 63. & rationar. temp. par. ii. l. ii. c. 13. Tatian cont. Græc. Theophil. Antiochen. apud Autolyc. l. iii. Tertul. apol. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. Strabo, l. xvii. Plin. l. v. Ammian Marcel. Plutarch. Eutrop. Flor. Oroſ. Zonar. Reinecc. hiſt. Jul. vol. i. & ii. Hendr. de rep. Carth. l. i. ſect. i. c. 1. [b] Juſtin. l. xviii. [c] Idem. ibid. Virg. Æn. i. Serv. in loc. Apollodor. Newton's chronol. p. 65. [d] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

She lands in Africa.

FROM hence they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of Africa, and at laſt happily landed in the province called afterwards Africa Propria, not far from Utica, a Tyrian colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already deſcribed. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and giving them a moſt kind reception, adviſed them to build a city upon that ſpot, to which the fates had conducted them [e].

Cultivates a good underſtanding with the natives.

IT was Eliſa's firſt care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives, to which they were by no means, for any conſiderable time, averſe, on account of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an eſtabliſhed commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchaſed a tract of land of them, for her and her wearied Tyrians to ſettle upon. Juſtin, Appian, Virgil, Euſtathius, Themiſtius, &c. intimate, that the Phœnicians impoſed upon the Africans, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They deſired for their intended ſettlement only ſo much ground as an ox's hide would encompaſs. This requeſt the Africans at firſt laughed at; but were ſurprized, when, upon their granting it, they found Eliſa cut the hide into the ſmalleſt ſhreds, and with them ſurrounded a large extent of territory, on which ſhe built a citadel, from this incident called Byrſa. The learned, however, unanimouſly agree in exploding this fable, which ſeems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the Romans, or the vanity of the Greeks, who ridiculouſly affected to deduce every thing that ſavoured of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never ſo remote from them. Appian ſeems to inſinuate, that at firſt Eliſa met with ſome oppoſition from the natives; which may poſſibly be true, ſince it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the Tyrians poſſeſſed was, by their firſt agreement with the Africans, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after [f].

THE neighbouring people, at firſt invited by the proſpect of lucre, and with this view repairing to the Phœnici-

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[e] Idem ibid. [f] Juſtin. l. xviii. Virg. Æn. i. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. Appian. in Lib. ſub init. Themiſt. orat. xxi. p 260, 261. Serv. in Æn. i. Liv. l. xxxiv. Dionyſ. in perieg. Julin. l. xix. Sil. Ital. l. i. Vide Voſſ. th. gent. l. i. c. 32. Bochart. Chan. &c.

an ſettlement to ſell theſe foreigners the neceſſaries of life, in a ſhort time incorporated themſelves with them. Theſe inhabitants ſoon growing very numerous, Eliſa followed the advice of the Utican embaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their ſtate; and built a new city, or at leaſt much enlarged the old one, which could make no very conſiderable figure before. As the natives of the country, or Aborigines, were of the ſame ſentiments with the Uticans in this particular, and, as may reaſonably be preſumed, gave the Tyrians all neceſſary aſſiſtance, both in the building of their city, and peopling it afterwards, Carthage ſoon became a place of great fame and demanded the reſpect of all its neighbours [g].

Either builds a new city there, or enlarges an old one

We are told by Juſtin, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen firſt found an ox's head, which was indeed a ſymbol of fertility of ſoil, but at the ſame time preſaged continual toil and perpetual ſervitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another ſpot, where, in digging, they diſcovered an horſe's head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. Euſtathius adds, that the horſe's head had a palm tree, or at leaſt a branch of palm, diſcovered with it; which they conſidered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined Eliſa to fix upon that ſpot for the ſituation of her city; and in alluſion to this it was, that the Carthaginians had, in after-ages, an horſe's head, or an horſe and a palm-tree, ſo frequently upon the reverſes of their coins [h] (C).

A horſe's head found whilſt the Tyrians were digging for the foundations of Carthage.

The principal names of Carthage have already been given in the firſt ſection of the hiſtory we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the Carthaginians are ſometimes called Sidonians, and their city Tyre,

Different names of Carthage.

[g] Virg. Serv. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. [h] Virg. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. Iſidor. l. xv. c. 2. & l. ix. c. 2. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Anton. Auguſtin. dial. ant. 6. Suid. Cæl. Rhodigin. ant. lect. l. xviii. c. 38. & Boch. Chan. l. i.

(C) Some of theſe coins, particularly of the ſilver and gold ones, are of exquiſite workmanſhip, nothing at all inferior to any of the Greek or Roman. They are found in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers, in thoſe parts of Spain the Carthaginians firſt poſſeſſed, and in Sicily. Numbers of them may be ſeen in Aldrete, Paruta, Haym, and the cabinets of the curious.

by antient authors. Eusebius seems to affirm, that its most antient name was Origo; but as Carthage and its foundress are both mentioned in that passage; and as her name, Elisa (D) or Elissa, imports the same thing in Hebrew or Phænician as Virago in Latin, Bochart takes the word Ὀριγὼ or Origo to be a corruption of Ὀυιράγω or Virago; and consequently supposes it to refer not to Carthage, but to Elisa or Dido. As Servilius asserts, though falsly, Dido in Punic to have answered to Virago in Latin, and it is very possible Eusebius might have been imposed upon by this mistake, we cannot help declaring ourselves entirely of Bochart's opinion. It is likewise denominated by Stephanus Oenusa, or Oenussa; by Eustathius, Cadmea; and by Suidas, Aphrice. According to some, the name Tarshish in scripture sometimes denotes Carthage; in one passage particularly this word seems so plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the vulgate version Carthago. Theodoret and others countenance this notion [i].

Dido sought in marriage by Iarbas, a neighbouring prince.

Every thing thus conspiring with Elisa's views, and succeeding according to her desire, by the coalition of different nations, the new city, in a short time, grew wealthy and flourishing; which agreeable situation tempted Iarbas, a neighbouring prince, to endeavour at making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. In order to which he desired

[i] Virg. & Sil. Ital. pass. Sal. de bell. Jugurth. Tibul. l. iv. ver. 137. Ovid. ep. her. D. August. de unit. eccles. Ezek. xxvii. 12. Theodoret. Hieronym. Euseb. in chron Boch. in præfat. Phal. & Chan l. i.

(D) According to the author of the etymologicon magnum, Elisa or Elissa was the first name of this princess, which, as Bochart shews, may either be interpreted divina virgo, or, with the Arabic article perfixed, virago, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Phavorinus, in conjunction with the author of the etymologicon aforesaid, will have the name Dido to have been given her after her arrival in Africa, as importing the traveller, or wanderer, to which Bochart agrees. Eustathius absurdly says, Dido signifies a murderer of an husband; whereas Elisa or Elissa will admit of such an interpretation: and Servius, with as much impropriety, translates Dido virago, the undoubted signification of Elisa or Elissa Many more conjectures about these words may be seen in Bochart and Vossius, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

(3) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & l. ii. c. 24. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. Voss. idol. gent. l. i. c. 32. Serv. in Æn. Reinec. in hist. Jul. [illegible] 1, 2.

deſired, that an embaſſy of ten of the moſt noble Carthaginians might be ſent him; which having obtained, he propoſed to them a marriage with Eliſa or Dido, for that, in all probability, was the name ſhe went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in caſe of a refuſal. The embaſſadors, being afraid to deliver the meſſage, told their ſovereign with Punic ſubtlety, that Iarbas deſired ſome perſon might be ſent him, who was capable of civilizing and poliſhing himſelf and his Africans; but that there was no poſſibility of finding any of her ſubjects, who would leave his relations for the converſation of barbarians, who were as ſavage as the wildeſt beaſts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, ſhe aſked them, if they were not aſhamed to refuſe living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own deciſion of the point, and to ſet her ſubjects a good example, ſhe ought to ſacrifice herſelf to her country's welfare. Being thus enſnared, ſhe called upon her huſband Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and at laſt anſwered, that ſhe would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. In the mean time, ſhe cauſed a pile to be erected in the fartheſt part of the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time ſhe required for the execution of her deſign, killing many victims, as tho' ſhe intended to ſacrifice to, and appeaſe the manes of, her huſband before her ſecond marriage, ſhe aſcended it. Then looking all around her upon the ſpectators, ſhe told them, ſhe was going to her huſband, as they had ordered her: and immediately, with a dagger ſhe had taken with her for that purpoſe, put a period to her days [k].

Juſtin and Virgil differ in their opinion of Dido's death.

THIS is Juſtin's account of the death of that princeſs, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from Virgil's. Cedrenus and Sir Iſaac Newton favour Virgil's notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of theſe relates, that Æneas the Phrygian, after the deſtruction of Troy, came to Africa, and reſided ſometime with Dido there; but perceiving Iarbas, king of the Numidians, the Mauritanians, the Maſſyli or the Gætulians, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and reſentment. This

[k] Juſtin. ubi ſup.

This paſſage of Cedrenus, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of antient hiſtory, ſeems greatly to ſupport Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion, in relation to Æneas and Dido's being cotemporaries, and likewiſe to evince a moſt material point, viz. that Virgil and Trogus, whom Juſtin epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir Iſaac Newton advances concerning Dido's father Mettinus and Teucer's ſeizing upon Cyprus, about the time of the Trojan war, renders Virgil's chronology likewiſe more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we ſhall juſt touch upon immediately [l].

Dido's character.

How long Dido reigned at Carthage, or when ſhe came to the violent death above-mentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What ſeems to be the beſt ſupported by antient hiſtory is, that her brother Barca and ſiſter Anna attended her from Tyre to Africa; and that, by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it ſhould ſeem ſhe was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewiſe appears from the artful manner in which ſhe impoſed upon her brother Pygmalion before her departure from Tyre, when under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her huſband's death, which ſhe inſinuated, Carthage could not fail of perpetuating, ſhe had the addreſs to perſuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reſide at, Chartaca. The ſecrecy and prudence with which her grand enterprize was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which ſhe fixed even Pygmalion's men in her intereſt, above-recited, indiſputably evince the ſame thing; That ſhe was a lady of moſt attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chaſtity, is atteſted by the beſt authors [m].

Macrobius inconſiſtent with himſelf in relation to Dido's character.

MACROBIUS tells us, that Virgil's relation of Dido's amours with Æneas, and of her laying violent hands on herſelf at his departure from Africa, after he had debauched her, was univerſally eſteemed as fabulous in his age. This indeed we diſbelieve, but not upon Macrobius's authority; for that author is inconſiſtent with himſelf in reſpect to Dido's character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chaſtity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of hiſtory; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greateſt intemperance,

[l] Cedren. ubi ſupra. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66. &c
[m] Reinec. hiſt. Jul. t. 1. Sil. Italic. Juſt. ubi ſupra. Tertullian. Macrob. Auſon, &c.

perance, luxury, and profuſion at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deſerves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princeſs, but likewiſe to the Carthaginian genius, as has been above obſerved. Virgil, as a Roman, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greateſt regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the Carthaginians not permitting it; but notwithſtanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be ſomething nearer the truth than is generally ſuppoſed, and that for the reaſons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us ſeems ſomething cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to tranſcribe from the excellent Sir Iſaac Newton. "The Phœnicians, after the death of Melcartus, "ſays this incomparable author, built a temple to him in the "iſland Gades, and adorned it with the ſculptures of the "labours of Hercules, and of his hydra, and the horſes, to "whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Biſtones in "Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden "belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing ſmaragdine fruit; and by theſe conſecrated gifts of "Teucer and Pygmalion you may know, that it was built "in their days." If theſe facts, and the reaſoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that Teucer and Pygmalion were cotemporaries, and conſequently that Æneas and Dido might be ſo. Now, though we cannot pretend to aſſert, that this argument is demonſtrative, becauſe there is no abſolute neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that all theſe ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, conſidering what we have before offered from Sir Iſaac Newton, Apollodorus, Servius, and the marbles, in proof of Teucer and Mettinus's being jointly concerned in the conqueſt of Cyprus, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probability [n].

A chaſm in the hiſtory of Carthage for above three hundred years.

How long monarchical government prevailed at Carthage, or what accidents befel this ſtate in its infancy, or even what tranſactions it was concerned in for ſeveral ages at firſt, we cannot inform our readers, ſince there is a chaſm in the Carthaginian hiſtory for above three hundred years after the tragical end of Dido. In general Juſtin, and he alone, gives us to underſtand, that Carthage was much agitated by civil

[n] Macrob. ſaturn. l. v. c. 17. &. l. vii. c. 1. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. Newton's chronol. p. 112, 113, &c.

civil diſſenſions, and haraſſed with the plague during part of this period. It likewiſe appears from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, that this republic had got a ſtrong footing in Sicily and Sardinia, and made conſiderable acquiſitions elſewhere, before the date of any of thoſe tranſactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us. Thucydides and Herodotus moreover put it beyond diſpute, that it was very formidable by ſea even in the time of Cyrus and Cambyſes, and that it muſt have performed many brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of thoſe puiſſant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being poſſible for any nation endued with ſuch a genius, and poſſeſſed of ſo much power as the Carthaginians muſt have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a ſtate of inaction, either by land or ſea. A flouriſhing ſtate of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, conſidering that ambition is a darling paſſion in the minds of great men, and almoſt inſeparable from power, and that war, for the moſt part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions againſt, and incurſions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with reſpect to us, the Carthaginian hiſtorical period of time. Had the writings of Philiſtus Syracuſanus, Ephorus, Timæus Siculus, Aratus, Trogus Pompeius, the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of Diodorus Siculus, or any of the Punic hiſtorians, been now extant, we might have received ſufficient light from them in many material points relating to the firſt ages of Carthage; but all theſe have, for a long ſeries of generations, been no more. The Punic archives would alſo moſt certainly have ſet us right in all particulars of moment relating to the hiſtory we are now upon, had they been in being; but theſe the Roman virtue, generoſity, greatneſs of ſoul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny poſterity, leſt they ſhould have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cauſe of truth. We are therefore obliged, tho' with great regret, to paſs over the tranſactions of the Carthaginian ſtate during the chaſm aforeſaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the beſt manner we can from thoſe pieces and fragments of antiquity that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

Carthage very formidable by ſea in the time of Cyrus and Cambyſes.

We have juſt hinted, that the Carthaginians were very powerful by ſea in the time of Cyrus and his ſon Cambyſes,

not

not to ſay much eaſier. This appears from ſeveral conſiderations, particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruſcans and that of the Phocæans, one of the moſt formidable nations in the world by ſea in Cyrus's reign, wherein tho' the Phocæans got the victory, yet their whole fleet was either ſunk or diſabled; inſomuch, that they durſt not venture a ſecond engagement, but abandoned the iſland of Cyrnus, now Corſica, to the Carthaginians and Etruſcans. The Phocæans retired to Rhegium, and ſoon after to OEnotria, now Ponza, a ſmall iſland in the Tyrrhenian or Etruſcan ſea, over-againſt Velia in Lucania, which their anceſtors had firſt peopled; and the Carthaginians, with the Etruſcans, took quiet poſſeſſion of Cyrnus. Herodotus and Thucydides both take notice of this ſea-fight, as one of the moſt ant ient to be met with in hiſtory. The Carthaginian and Etruſcan united fleets conſiſted of an hundred and twenty ſail, the moſt active part of which, we may ſuppoſe, was the Carthaginian, ſince the Etruſcans at that time did not make ſo great a figure by ſea; and the Phocæan of ſixty. Herodotus ſeems to ſneer the Phocæans upon their victory, as being in a manner ruined by it. According to Thucydides, the Phocæans built Maſſilia, now Marſeilles, ſome time near this period °.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with the Etruſcans, defeated in a ſea-fight by the Phocæans.

TOWARDS the concluſion ofCyrus's reign,or that of his uncleCyaxares the ſecond,as we have ſtated it,the Carthaginians carried on a war with the neighbouring African princes, wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according to Juſtin, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general Machæus(E). Soon after the concluſion of this war, they ſent a great body of forces, with a powerfull fleet, to Sicily, under the command of the ſame general, who reduced a good part of that iſland to their obedience. But,notwithſtanding the happy ſituation of their affairs abroad the

° Herodot. l. i. Thucyd l. i. ſub init.

(E) This general's name, in ſome manuſcripts of Juſtin, is Maleus, in others Machæus or Macheus. Oroſius calls him Mazeus; and Grævius, Malchus. Voſſius likewiſe ſeems to prefer the laſt to the others; but offers no ſolid argument for this preference. We beg leave therefore to follow Reineccius, Ubbo Emmius, and Hendreich, who chuſe Machæus, notwithſtanding many of our late editions of Juſtin have Maleus.

They reduce a good part of the island of Sicily.

the author above-mentioned insinuates, that they were much agitated by civil dissensions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence, that then made dreadful havock at Carthage, seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appease them with human sacrifices; nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they scrupled not to offer up their children themselves on this melancholy occasion. This detestable practice, so contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulses of nature, instead of producing the desired effect, incensed the gods still more against them. In consequence of which, according to Justin's observation, their arms were attended afterwards with ill success, though they had before been so fortunate in Sicily, (which, by the way, proves their settlement in that island to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the Persian empire) for, immediately after the conclusion of the Sicilian war, transporting their forces into the island of Sardinia, they intended nothing less than making an absolute conquest of it; but the displeasure of the goods now pursuing them, they received a notable defeat here from the Sardi, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at so many disasters, instead of endeavouring to discover the true cause of them, they banished their general Machæus, with the remainder of the army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the last unhappy expedition to Sardinia, could not but highly resent such ungrateful, as well as inhuman, treatment, especially as by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the island of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. First therefore he sends to Carthage in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in case of refusal, they would do themselves justice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonstrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impression on the senate, after waiting in vain some days for an answer, they went on board their ships, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As soon as they had invested it, they appealed to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the presence of gods and men, that their design was not to hurt their fellow-citi-

Incense the gods by sacrificing children to them

Banish their general Machæus.

Who besieges Carthage.

zens,

zens, but only to demonſtrate to them what wrong ſentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loſs above-mentioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be aſcribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they beſieged it in form, and ſoon reduced it to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. The Carthaginians, involved in theſe deplorable circumſtances, began now to reflect upon their paſt folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themſelves out of their preſent difficulties, was the grand queſtion. In the mean time, Cartalo, the general's ſon, arrived in the city from Tyre, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and poſſibly have diſpoſed him to an accommodation. This Cartalo had been ſent by his countrymen to Tyre, with the tenths of an immenſe quantity of plunder taken by his father in Sicily, intended as a donation or offering to the Tyrian Hercules; and paſſing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the preſent, he refuſed complying with, under pretence, that he muſt perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an inſtance of filial duty. Machæus was far from being pleaſed with this anſwer; however, for the preſent he took care to conceal his reſentment, as not daring to do any thing that might look like the leaſt violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpoſe, he came out of the city to the camp, dreſſed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it ſhould ſeem, the prieſt of Hercules. His father, far from being ſtruck with ſuch a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: "Haſt thou the aſſurance, moſt abandoned "wretch, to appear in this rich and ſplendid habit be- "fore ſo many miſerable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed "with woe? What mean theſe enſigns of peace and felicity "at this juncture, but to inſult all of us? Was there no o- "ther place for thee to diſplay thy pride and haughtineſs in, "but this ſpot of ground, which is the ſcene of thy father's "miſery and diſgrace? How came you ſo lately to deſpiſe, "with ſuch an inſolent air, the command, I will not ſay of "your father, but of your general? And what are theſe "gorgeous robes but the fruit of my victories? Since there- "fore you have conſidered me not as a father, but an exile, "I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a "general."

And crucifies his ſon Cartalo. The city ſurrenders.

" general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high croſs to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his ſacred veſtments, in the ſight of all the citizens. Some days after, the city ſurrendered; when convening the ſenate and people, he complained of the injury and indignity offered him, and excuſed the hoſtile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but neceſſity. He, for the preſent, made no alterations in the eſtabliſhed form of government; but contented himſelf with putting to death ten of the ſenators, by whoſe advice the late violent reſolutions againſt him and the army had been taken * (F).

ALis

* Juſtin. & Oroſ. ubi ſupra.

(F) In this note we ſhall endeavour to give ſome account of crucifixion, which was a capital puniſhment uſed among the Syrians, Egyptians, Perſians, Jews, Africans, Greeks, and Romans. According to Fagius, it was not at firſt in uſe amongſt the Jews; and indeed this appears from the law of Moſes itſelf. The learned Caſaubon concurs with him herein, though Baronius and Lipſius maintain the contrary opinion. Sigonius confounds this with hanging or ſuſpenſion, as does father Calmet in many inſtances, particularly thoſe of the worſhippers of Baal-peor, and the king of Ai, who were hung up alive. The Talmudiſts refer it to ſtoning or lapidation. There were three different ſorts of croſſes erected for the execution of malefactors. The firſt was the crux decuſſata, in the form of the letter X, as St. Andrew's croſs is pictured. The ſecond the crux commiſſa, like the letter T. The third the crux immiſſa, when one piece of wood was tranſverſely faſtened to another in ſuch a manner, as to cut it at right angels at ſome diſtance from the top, ſo †. Such, according to antient medals, and the tradition of the chriſtian church in all ages, was our bleſſed Saviours's croſs. Crucifixion was the puniſhment appointed for ſlaves and the ſcum of the people, when guilty of the moſt enormous crimes; and was therefore called ſervile ſupplicium; the freemen, or perſons of diſtinction, in ſuch caſes, falling by the ax or ſword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the prætorium amongſt the Romans, and ſcourged in a moſt cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the croſs, as we find our bleſſed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were ſtripped naked, and nailed to the croſs, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were firſt tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleaſed, beginning with the right hand

or

ALL things in Carthage being thus ſet upon the antient foot, the republic enjoyed ſome repoſe. But this was not of

or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood riſing above the arms of the croſs, an inſcription was poſted, ſpecifying the crime for which the malefactors ſuffered, though ſometimes, inſtead of this the crier proclaimed it to the ſpectators attending the execution. In Judæa, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in caſe they were not dead by ſun-ſet; becauſe the Jews, by their law, were obliged to take them from the croſs at that time, which the Romans, their governors, permitted them to do. By the Roman laws, the bodies remained on the croſs, till they were entirely conſumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets; nevertheleſs the judge, or ſupreme magiſtrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor's birth-day, or ſuch like feſtivals, they were frequently taken down from the croſs, and buried without the interceſſion of friends. The Jews conſtantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them expoſed on the croſs as aforeſaid. According to ſome authors, the patibulum, or gallows, and the antient croſs, were the ſame, though Iſidorus makes them different. He calls the tranſverſe piece of wood patibulum, and the erect one ſtipes and crux. Afterwards patibulum and furca, the gallows, were the ſame, and the puniſhment on them was looked upon as much milder and leſs ignominious, than that on the croſs; for on the gallows the criminals ſoon expired, whereas on the croſs they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders ſuffered death on the croſs with their heads downwards, as St. Peter; and ſometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as St. Andrew is ſuppoſed to have been crucified. The croſſes were made of the hardeſt wood, frequently of oak, as ſome believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and high-ways, or on the top of ſome mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be ſeen by all people, and thereby a terror ſtruck into them. If the crux and patibulum were originally the ſame, crucifixion prevailed at Rome in the time of the kings. The perſons condemned to be crucified, or deſerving it, were called by the Romans cruciarii. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to ſoldiers, officers, and men of quality. This puniſhment was ſo common amongſt the Romans in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unproſperous affairs, were called croſſes, and the verb cruciare frequently denoted the infliction of all ſorts of chaſtiſements, and pains of body and mind.

Friends

of long continuance; for Machæus, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution,

Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the ſupreme magiſtrate or commanding officer, at leaſt in Judæa. When this did not happen, parties of ſoldiers were poſted near them, to prevent their being carried off. Conſtantine aboliſhed crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and perſons guilty of the moſt flagrant crimes, unworthy of ſuffering death in the ſame manner our bleſſed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its ſtead. The Jews did not permit the relations of the perſons executed to place their kinſmen in the tombs belonging to their families, till their fleſh had been firſt conſumed in the public ſepulchres; then they were allowed to remove their bones into private ſepulchres. It was perhaps for this reaſon that Joſeph of Arimathea deſired leave from Pilate to lodge the body of Jeſus in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying place appointed for criminals (6).

The Carthaginians, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, ſuffetes, and even the generals of their armies themſelves, however abſolute they might be in the field, if their enterprizes were not attended with ſucceſs. The croſſes of malefactors amongſt them ſeem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the perſon ſuffering, and the heinouſneſs of the crime for which they ſuffered. If any notorious offender of diſtinction eſcaped juſtice in his life-time, his body after death, was expoſed on a croſs, in order to deter others from committing the ſame crime, eſpecially when it merited the moſt ſevere and ignominious puniſhment. Of this Hanno, in Juſtin, not to mention others, is a pregnant inſtance (7). We muſt not omit obſerving, that the Greek word σαυρὸς, which ſignifies a croſs, is put often for a piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the Latins called palus or vallum. Our readers will find a fuller account of this puniſhment in the authors referred to in this note.

(6) Paulus Fagius ad Deut xxi. xxii. Caſaub. exerc. xvi. num. 77. Baron. in annal. Juſt. Lipſ. de cruc. Sigon. de rep. Hebræor. l. vi. c. 8. Liv. & Senec. paſſ. Lucian. Plut. Plaut. Petron. in ſatyric. paſſ. Apul. de aſin. aur. l. iii. Joſeph. l. v. c. 32. B. Gerhardi harmon. evang. hiſt. paſſ. Chriſt. c. 19. Philo in Flac. Cic. 5. in Ver. & Tuſc. quæſt. Joſeph And. Quenſtedius de ſepult. vet. c. 3. Durand. variar. l. ii. c. 15. Cerda in adverſa. Iſidor. l. i. Gretſer & Joſeph. Laurent. de torment. c. 7. Aur Vict. in Conſtant. Sozom. in hiſt. eccleſ. Vide & alios quamplurimos apud Calmet. in dict. bibl. ſub voce croix.

(7) Hendr. in repub. Carthag. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 5. & Juſtin. l. xxi. c. 24.

ſtitution, and introduce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily diſcovered, his ſcheme was defeated, and he received the puniſhment due to ſo great a crime; upon which event Juſtin makes this reflection: "He was juſtly "rewarded for the cruelty he had been guilty of both to his "ſon and his country [p]."

He endeavours to introduce arbitrary power; but his deſign being diſcovered, he receives condign puniſhment.

WE are told by Herodotus, that Cambyſes, in the ſixth year of his reign, reſolved upon an expedition againſt the Carthaginians; but that he was forced to drop his project, by reaſon the Phœnicians, without whoſe help he could not carry on that war, refuſed to aſſiſt him therein, becauſe the Carthaginians were their deſcendents. This is a plain proof, that the whole naval power of the Perſian empire at that time, without the aſſiſtance of the Tyrians, was not able to cope with the Carthaginians [q].

The Phœnicians refuſe to aſſiſt Cambyſes againſt the Carthaginians.

IN the year after the regifuge, the Carthaginians ſent embaſſadors to Rome, and concluded a treaty with the Romans. They were the firſt nation the Romans were acquainted with out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be ſeen, in Polybius's time, on the baſe of a column, in the antient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was ſo different from what was ſpoken in his time, that thoſe who were moſt converſant in the Latin tongue, could not, without much ſtudy and labour, underſtand it. As in our eleventh volume we have inſerted this treaty as tranſmitted to us by the Greek hiſtorian, it will be entirely unneceſſary to repeat it here. However, we ſhall beg leave to make four or five ſhort obſervations upon it [r].

The Carthaginians conclude their firſt treaty with the Romans.

FIRST, This treaty was ſigned twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece, and gives us to underſtand, that the whole iſland of Sardinia, and part of that of Sicily, were then ſubject to the Carthaginians.

Some obſervations upon it.

SECONDLY, It appears, that the Carthaginians were very well acquainted with the coaſts of Italy, had viſited ſeveral of the petty nations ſeated there, and even made ſome attempts upon them, before this period.

THIRDLY, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably verſed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or caſtles upon their making a deſcent

[p] Juſt. ubi. ſupra. [q] Herodot. l. iii. [r] Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.

ſcent in any country; ſince they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to erect any forts whatſoever in the country of Latium, even in caſe they at any time invaded it in an hoſtile manner.

FOURTHLY, This treaty makes it manifeſt, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the territories ſubject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was tranſacted in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the Romans. They ſeemed, even in theſe early times, to harbour in their boſoms the ſecret ſeeds of the jealouſy and diffidence, which were one day to burſt out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguiſh but the ruin of one of theſe two moſt potent republics.

FIFTHLY, The Carthaginians, according to Polybius, would not allow the Romans to ſail beyond the promontory called the Fair promontory, lying to the north of Carthage, leſt they ſhould diſcover the fruitfulneſs of the land, and the happy ſituation of the cities, and conſequently ſhould be tempted to make a ſettlement there. This, it muſt be owned, was a wiſe precaution, and ſhewed, that the Carthaginians were not only a people of foreſight, but likewiſe acquainted with the enterpriſing genius of the Romans, long before they came to blows with them.

Mago ſucceeds Machæus in all his high poſts;

THE republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the manner above related, choſe Mago to ſucceed Machæus in all the high poſts he filled. If we may judge of Mago's capacity from the good effects of his adminiſtration, he was a perſon of moſt conſummate merit and abilities. Juſtin tells us, that he was the firſt who introduced military diſcipline amongſt the Carthaginian ſoldiery; that in his time the dominions of Carthage were much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extenſive, its riches encreaſed, its military glory raiſed to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and ſtate; in ſhort, that he left his country in a moſt flouriſhing condition. His two ſons, Aſdrubal and Hamilcar, ſucceeded him in all his high employments[s].

And is ſucceeded by his two ſons, Aſdrubal and Hamilcar;

ASDRUBAL

[s] Juſtin l. xix. ſub. init.

Who command the army appointed to act againſt Sardinia.

ASDRUBAL and Hamilcar being adorned with the ſame virtues that rendered their father ſo conſpicuous, the people of Carthage thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act againſt Sardinia; which iſland, it ſeems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for ſome time carried on a war againſt the Sardi; but with what ſucceſs, is not ſaid: only we are told, that towards the cloſe of it Aſdrubal was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the entire command of the forces devolved upon his brother. The Carthaginians made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reaſon; for he had been eleven times one of the ſuffetes, and diſcharged the duties of that high function with great applauſe, and in his military capacity had triumphed no leſs than four times; nay, the enemy themſelves looked upon his death as a blow given the Carthaginians equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army [t].

The Carthaginians attempt to ſhake off the African yoke; but do not meet with ſucceſs.

SOMEWHERE near this period, the Carthaginians had a mind to ſhake off the African yoke, that is, to diſcontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war againſt them. The Africans having juſtice on their ſide, ſucceſs attended their arms; and, notwithſtanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principle article of the treaty being, that the tribute at firſt impoſed upon them, for the ground on which their city ſtood, ſhould be continued [u].

Darius Hyſtaſpis ſends an embaſſy to Carthage, inviting the people of that city to enter into an alliance with him againſt the Greeks.

ABOUT this time, Darius Hyſtaſpis, king of Perſia, ſent an embaſſy to Carthage, requiring the people of that city to abſtain from human ſacrifices, and eating dogs fleſh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and laſtly, to furniſh him with a body of auxiliary forces to ſerve in the war he was going to declare againſt Greece, for which he was then making vaſt preparations. Every thing was complied with, at leaſt in appearance, for ſome time, till all apprehenſions of feeling his reſentment were vaniſhed, except the laſt article, which the Carthaginians deſired to be excuſed from paying regard to, becauſe all their troops were then otherwiſe employed. Juſtin inſinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the Carthaginians on this occaſion; but this we can ſcarce believe, ſince it does not appear from hiſtory, that Carthage

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid.

was ever ſubject, or even tributary, to the Perſians; beſides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms Darius to have ſent embaſſadors to Carthage; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his ſubjects. That the Carthaginians, and conſequently the Phœnicians, buried their dead antiently, may be collected from hence; but this is ſo clear from ſcripture, that it ſtands in no need of any other teſtimony to ſupport it. Juſtin likewiſe here obſerves, that the Carthaginians at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which ſeems to ſuggeſt, that either the war with the Sardi and Africans above-mentioned, or ſome other, was then carried on. It is no wonder Darius ſhould apply to the people of Carthage for aſſiſtance againſt the Greeks, ſince both the Perſians and Carthaginians looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

SOME few years afterwards, the Greeks of Sicily, being extremely haraſſed by the Carthaginians, ſolicited Leonidas to ſend ſome Lacedæmonian forces to their relief [x]. From Herodotus it appears, that they could not obtain their requeſt; but that, however, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuſe, was ſo happy as to preſerve his own dominions, and even to enlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the Carthaginians invaded Sicily almoſt immediately after, it is probable they did not ſuſtain any very conſiderable loſs in that war. It cannot be inferred from Herodotus, as we formerly imagined, that the Carthaginians were driven out of Sicily by Gelon at this time; but only that the tyrant gained ſome advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and ſupported himſelf without the aſſiſtance of the Greeks, as the paſſage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in poſſeſſion of before the beginning of the war, though the Carthaginians might loſe ſome particular diſtricts, eſpecially ſince, according to Juſtin, there was no conſiderable, much leſs deciſive, action in it. The excellent character Herodotus has given us of Hamilcar, and the high encomium he has paſſed upon that general's conduct, ſeem likewiſe to determine in favour of our preſent opinion [z].

Gelon gains ſome advantages over the Carthaginians in Sicily.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Carthaginians, by reaſon of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not ſupply Darius with any ſuccours againſt the Greeks, as has been juſt obſerved;

[x] Herodot. l. vii.

[z] Herodot. l. vii. Juſtin. l. xix.

obſerved; yet it appears extremely probable from hiſtory[a], that an offenſive and defenſive league was made betwixt theſe two powers towards the cloſe of that prince's reign. At leaſt it is moſt certain, that an alliance was formed between Darius's ſucceſſor Xerxes and the ſtate of Carthage, not many years after the Perſian embaſſy above-mentioned was ſent to that city. By the treaty concluded with Xerxes, the Carthaginians were to invade Sicily with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the Greeks from thence, as well as the continent of Italy, whilſt that prince ſhould march in perſon with the whole ſtrength of the Perſian empire againſt Greece itſelf. But of this more hereafter[b].

BEFORE we enter directly upon the tranſactions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, we ſhall beg leave to give a ſhort account of the firſt footing this nation got in Spain. We are no-where told in hiſtory preciſely when this happened; nevertheleſs there is good reaſon to believe, from Diodorus Siculus and Juſtin, that it was very early, and before the times we are now ſpeaking of. The former of theſe authors aſſerts, that the great nerve of the Carthaginian power were the mines of Spain; that by them they were enabled to equip ſuch powerful fleets, and bring ſuch formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their aſſiſtance they made ſuch great conqueſts in Sicily and Africa. Hence 'tis apparent, that the firſt Carthaginian ſettlement in Spain muſt have long preceded, not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himſelf. But this is ſtill rendered more evident by Juſtin, who intimates, that this happened when the city of Gades, now Cadiz, was but of late ſtanding, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding this new city beginning to flouriſh, attacked it with all their forces; inſomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, the Cathaginians readily granted their requeſt; and furniſhing them with powerful ſuccours, not only repulſed the Spaniards, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole province in which the new city ſtood[c].

THIS happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of ſubduing the whole country, to which they were alſo ſtrongly excited by the rich mines above-mentioned. 'TIS

Greateſt part of Spain remained unſubdued till the time of Hannibal

[a] Juſtin. l. xix. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. c. 1, 2.
[c] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 2. Juſtin. l. xliv. ſub fin.

'Tis probable they could not puſh their conqueſts far at firſt, becauſe they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themſelves with great courage and reſolution. It appears from the accounts of Livy and Polybius, that the greateſt part of Spain remained unſubdued till the wars of Hamilcar, Aſdrubal, and Hannibal. Nay, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians could never have entirely reduced ſo many provinces there, as Strabo obſerves, had all the Spaniards formed but one ſtate, or mutually aſſiſted one another. But as every canton, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the leaſt correſpondence with them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

The Carthaginians plant a colony in the iſland Ebuſus, or Ereſus, now Yvica.

WE are told by Diodorus Siculus, as has been taken notice of in the chronological table, that the Carthaginians planted a colony in the iſland Ebuſus or Ereſus, now Yvica, on the coaſt of Spain, an hundred and ſixty years after the foundation of their city. The city Ereſus, the capital of the iſland, built by this colony, was ſurrounded by a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ſhips. The houſes in it were for the moſt part built in an elegant taſte, and inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as Diodorus calls them; but the moſt numerous of theſe were the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the Baleariс iſlands, at preſent known by the names of Majorca and Minorca, were likewiſe either planted or reduced by the ſame people. This can ſcarce be doubted, if we conſider, that the name itſelf is Phœnician or Punic; that Ebuſus is but ſeven hundred ſtadia, i. e. not an hundred miles, diſtant from the Baleariс iſlands; that the Carthaginians poſſeſſed theſe iſlands from ſo remote an antiquity, that their firſt arrival here is prior to every thing related of them by any hiſtorian now extant, except their peopling the iſland Ebuſus; and that, according to Vitruvius, Ebuſus was reckoned to belong to the Baleariс iſlands, which 'tis very natural to ſuppoſe. Now as we learn from Juſtin, that the firſt expedition the Carthaginians made to Spain was in order to aſſiſt the new city of Gades (A) above-mentioned; and as the Carthaginian fleet

(A) It appears from the word Gadir or Gaddir, the true Phœnician or Punic name of Cadiz, that the city received its name from the iſland on which it was ſeated, and therefore that the Tyrians

fleet ſailing from Carthage to Gades eaſily might, nay, almoſt naturally would, take Ebuſus and the other Balearic iſlands, in its way, there is pretty good reaſon to believe, that Gades was ſuccoured, and Ebuſus, with the other Balearic iſlands, planted or reduced much about the ſame time. The particular periods likewiſe, in which Juſtin and Diodorus have related theſe events to have happened, ſeem nearly to correſpond; which in ſome meaſure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their firſt deſcent in Spain about an hundred and ſixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the moſt early foreign tranſactions they were concerned in. Farther, ſince Carthage was ſo potent when Gades was in its infancy, we muſt ſuppoſe the former to have been at leaſt eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; and if ſo, Dido might have founded her city not far from the time of the Trojan war, ſince, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the deſtruction of Troy. This is an additional argument in favour of what

rians were in poſſeſſion of it ſome time before they built the city. For Gadir properly ſignifies an incloſure, or ſpot of ground ſeparated from all other tracts, as this iſland was by the ſea. It likewiſe denotes a fence or mound, as this iſland was doubtleſs conſidered by the Phœnicians, after their long and fatiguing voyages, againſt the rage and fury of the ſea. According to Strabo, the Tyrians firſt ſailed to this iſland a conſiderable time after Hercules was deified; and made ſeveral fruitleſs expeditions, at conſiderable diſtances of time, before they could ſettle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by Philoſtratus, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at leaſt, of as late a foundation as we have ſuppoſed. The author of the etymologicon indeed inſinuates it to have been built by Archaleus, the ſon of Phœnix, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this ſavours ſo much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We ſhall only at preſent farther obſerve, that Cadiz and Tarteſſus were frequently miſtaken for one another. A particular deſcription and hiſtory of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the hiſtory of Spain (1).

(1) Strab. l. iii. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. & Newton's chronol. p. 112, 113. Salluſt. in fragment. ex hiſt. l. ii. Feſtus Avienus in or. marit. Plin. Arrian. &c. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 34. Solin. Iſidor. Heſych. apud. eund. & Liv. l. xxviii.

what Sir Isaac Newton has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to Velleius's assertion, that Gades was more antient than Carthage, he is plainly refuted by Diodorus and Justin, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The Romans in his time generally followed the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, supposing it to be true: Velleius finding therefore in some good author, that Gades was absolutely affirmed to be built by the Tyrians eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war; and by the Punic records, that Carthage was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that Gades was older than Carthage. But that Eratosthenean chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the destruction of Troy near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to be laid upon it. Velleius's authority therefore, when he asserts the city of Gades to have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war, depends upon some good author, as is plain from Justin compared with Virgil, Servius, Apollodorus, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than Carthage, upon the chronology of Eratosthenes, which cannot be entirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from Justin, Diodorus, and others; in the first case therefore it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. Justin clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island of Gades had a temple there sacred to Hercules, before the city was built; so that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about or immediately after the time of the Trojan war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther consideration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to the common computation, Troy was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, 1184 years before Christ; whereas Sir Isaac Newton places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian æra[d].

ANOTHER

[d] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Vitruv. Justin. ubi. sup. Vell. Paterc. l. i. sub init. Newton's chronol. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

Soldiers from Spain one great nerve of the Carthaginian power.

ANOTHER motive to the Carthaginians to make themſelves maſters of Spain, was the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The Spaniards were valiant, eaſily diſciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With ſuch immenſe treaſure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and ſuch bodies of the beſt ſoldiers as were continually formed there for their ſervice, tis no wonder the Carthaginians ſhould make ſuch prodigious efforts, as we learn from hiſtory they did, to enſlave all their neighbours[e].

First ſettlement of the Carthaginians in Corſica.

As Diodorus Siculus has given us a deſcription of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic iſlands, Corſica, &c. in the ſame chapter, we think this authorizes us to ſpeak a word or two here concerning the firſt Carthaginian ſettlement in the iſland laſt-mentioned. Sardinia, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the Carthaginians, and had been ſo for ſome time, when the firſt treaty was concluded between them and the Romans. Corſica likewiſe, we have reaſon to imagine, was poſſeſſed by them either wholly, or in part, in very antient times. This iſland, called by the Greeks Cyrnus, by the Romans and natives Corſica, had a beautiful large harbour, according to Diodorus, named Syracuſium, together with two conſiderable cities, Calaris, or Alcria, built by the Phocæans, and Nicæa by the Etruſcans. Notwithſtanding the defeat of the Carthaginian and Etruſcan fleets by the Phocæans, in the reign of Cyrus abovementioned, the victory coſt the latter ſo dear, that they were obliged to abandon Cyrnus to the former. And we are farther informed by Herodotus, that the Cyrnians, i. e. the Corſicans, were one of thoſe nations, out of which the Carthaginians formed that vaſt army, with which they invaded Sicily in the days of Gelon. Theſe, to omit many others, that might eaſily be produced, are ſufficient proofs, that the ſtate of Carthage had a footing, at leaſt, in Corſica in very remote times[f].

Malta and Gozo antiently ſubject to Carthage.

THE ſmall iſlands of Melita and Gaulos, now Malta and Gozo or Gozzo, being conveniently ſituated for trade, and having commodious ports, were indiſputably in ſubjection likewiſe to the Carthaginians. It appears from Diodorus, that theſe iſlands were at firſt peopled either by the Carthaginians, or their anceſtors the Phœnicians[g].

WE

[e] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 2. Herodot. l. vii.

[f] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 1.

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

When the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily unknown.

WE have above observed, that part of the isle of Sicily was subject to the state of Carthage before the beginning of the Persian empire; but when the Carthaginians first carried their arms thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot take upon us to determine. M. Rollin affirms Xerxes to have been the first who prompted that people to attempt conquering the island at present under consideration, which is contrary to the faith of history; and immediately after, almost in the same breath, declares the period, in which the Carthaginians first landed there in an hostile manner, not to be exactly known. This is a plain inconsistency, but not the only one in his system of antient history. As we have already given so particular a description of Sicily, as well as those heroic atchievements and great transactions, of which it was for so many ages the theatre, we shall have occasion to refer our readers frequently to some of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preserve and continue the thread of our history, we shall find repetitions in many places unavoidable[h].

HOWEVER, in order to render these the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we shall endeavour to diversify the narration with several fresh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not so immediately relating to the histories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the historians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had escaped us.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for an expedition to Sicily.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty with Xerxes, the Carthaginians, in pursuance of their engagements, made vast preparations for a war with the Greeks of Sicily, both by sea and land. The Carthaginians at this time were the most powerful people of all the west; and while the Persians invaded Greece, they were to fall upon the Greek colonies, both in Sicily and Magna Græcia, as above, that thereby the Greeks, of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithstanding Xerxes sent them vast sums of money from Persia for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, Liguria, Corsica, &c. and raised what forces

[h] M. Rollin. in hist. antient des Carthag. p. 2. c. 1. sub init.

forces they could in Africa. All things at laſt being in readineſs, they ſet ſail from Carthage with an army of three hundred thouſand men, compoſed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thouſand ſhips of war, with three thouſand tranſports, not doubting but to make an entire conqueſt of Sicily the firſt campaign [i].

Hamilcar's horſes and chariots loſt in a ſtorm.

THE general who commanded in this expedition was Hamilcar, the ſon of Hanno, according to Herodotus, or of Mago, as Juſtin will have it, a perſon of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himſelf with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occaſions in the ſervice of his country. In his paſſage from Carthage to Sicily, his horſes and chariots, with the veſſels they were on board, periſhed in a ſtorm, which the Carthaginians doubtleſs, being extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, looked upon as ominous. However the general himſelf, upon his arrival at Panormus, now Palermo, endeavoured to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, by declaring, that ſince they were happily arrived in Sicily, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late ſtorm gave him was a fear of the Sicilians eſcaping the danger that threatened them [k].

He inveſts Himera.

AFTER he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refreſh them, and repair the damage his fleet had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm; and then marching to Himera, a city in the neighbourhood of Panormus, immediately cauſed it to be inveſted. To give ſome idea of the capacity of this general, Diodorus tells us, that, upon his ſitting down before Himera, he diſpoſed his army in two camps, the one deſtined for the land forces, the other for the ſhips and marines. He took care to ſecure his long ſhips or galleys, by drawing them on ſhore, ſurrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, oppoſite to the city, extending themſelves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the weſt ſide, he unladed the ſhips of burden of their proviſions, and ſent away what veſſels he had left to Africa and Sardinia for a further ſupply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the garriſon

[i] Diod. Sic. l. xi. c. 2. Herodot. l. vii. Ephor. apud ſchol. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad ver. ἐπὶ δ' ἔβαλλεν. [k] Diod. Sic. & Herodot. ubi ſup.

riſon in a ſally they made upon him, and thereby ſtruck a great terror into the beſieged [l].

Gelon defeats the Carthaginian foragers.

THERON, tyrant of the Agrigentines, at that time commanded in the place, who, though his garriſon was very ſtrong, being intimidated by the late diſaſter, as well as the numerous forces of the enemy, diſpatched an expreſs to Gelon at Syracuſe, with all poſſible expedition, for immediate relief. Gelon having got his troops in readineſs to march at an hour's warning, upon advice of what had befallen the Himeræans, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He firſt encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in ſuch a manner as to put it out of danger of being inſulted by the enemy. By this means he infuſed new life and vigour into the garriſon, and freed them from all apprehenſions of the Carthaginian power. He ſent his horſe in queſt of the enemy, who were diſperſed in ſmall parties all over the country, in order to forage. Theſe, meeting with the Carthaginians ſtraggling about the country, without any diſcipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thouſand priſoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action Gelon's glory was raiſed to a very high pitch, and the Himeræans inſpired with a contempt of the enemy.

Gelon finds an opportunity of ſurpriſing the Carthaginians.

TO demonſtrate to the Carthaginians the high contempt he had them in, he cauſed the gates Theron had before built to ſecure him from their approaches, to be pulled down, and built others, more eſſential to the defence of the place, in their room. In fine, Gelon being an able warrior, and excelling in ſtratagems, ſet his head to work to find out ſome method of deſtroying the Carthaginian forces without any danger to himſelf or his army, which in ſtrength was ſo much inferior to the enemy. Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occaſioned the death of Hamilcar, and the total overthrow of his army [m].

The Carthaginians entirely defeated by Gelon

A courier was brought to Gelon, having been intercepted by a party of his horſe, carrying letters from the inhabitants of Selinus, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar; whereby he underſtood, that Hamilcar was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to Neptune, and that he had appointed the Selinuntine cavalry to join

[l]. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [m]. Idem ibid.

join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. Gelon, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the Selinuntines. Upon receiving theſe orders, by favour of the night, they conveyed themſelves privately to certain poſts cloſe by the Carthaginian camp, of which they took immediate poſſeſſion; and the next morning, approaching the ſaid camp, were admitted into it about ſun-riſing, without the leaſt ſuſpicion. Hamilcar was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him without arms, according to Diodorus. But Herodotus intimates, that this general ſtaid in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morning till the duſk of the evening, without intermiſſion. Diodorus adds, that the Syracuſans, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to Hamilcar, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. Herodotus, on the contrary, gives us to underſtand, that Hamilcar was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and was entirely conſumed. Upon the firing of the ſhips, Gelon, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other camp. The Carthaginians at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. As Gelon's orders were, that no quarter ſhould be given during the heat of the engagement, no leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand men were ſlain in the battle and the purſuit. The reſt retired to an eminence, where they for ſome time defended themſelves; but at laſt, for want of water, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This was the greateſt blow the Carthaginians had ever received before that time; for they did not only loſe their general Hamilcar, who was himſelf by his mother's ſide a Syracuſan, but had their whole army in ſuch a manner cut off, or taken priſoners, that not a ſingle man of it eſcaped to Carthage, to carry thither the news of this unparallelled defeat [n].

POLY-

[n] Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

POLYÆNUS, in his account of the Carthaginian general's death, differs ſomething both from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus. According to this author, Gelon, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, ſent Pediarchus, the captain of his archers, who much reſembled him, dreſſed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer ſacrifice upon ſome altars near the ſpot of ground on which Hamilcar uſed daily to ſacrifice. Pediarchus was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large ſprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident ſign of their going to perform ſo ſolemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with ſeveral arrows, which were to let fly at the general as ſoon as he came within ſome diſtance. Hamilcar, ſuſpecting nothing of violence, came as uſual, with his attendants, to addreſs himſelf to the Gods, and was immediately ſlain. However this may be, the Carthaginians and Syracuſans, both of them ambitious of claiming ſo great a man to themſelves, gave out, that Hamilcar, upon the defeat of his troops, vaniſhed, and was never afterwards ſeen. The former, notwithſtanding his misfortune, and their immediate reſentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies ſeated themſelves [o].

The Carthaginians deify Hamilcar.

WE muſt not here omit obſerving, that Terillus, the ſon of Crinippus, invited the Carthaginians at this time into Sicily, and therefore was, in ſome reſpect, as well as Xerxes, the occaſion of this fatal war. Terillus was tyrant of Himera; but being driven from thence by Theron, the ſon of Æneſidemus, tyrant of Agrigentum, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the inſtigation of Anaxilaus, the ſon of Critineus, tyrant of Rhegium, who married his daughter Cydippe, he had recourſe to the Carthaginians being well aſſured they would not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of enlarging their dominions in the iſland of Sicily. Hamilcar, in order to ſecure his fidelity, obliged him to ſend his ſons to him for hoſtages. This account Herodotus tells us he received from the Sicilian writers of his time, who made no mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the Perſians and the Carthaginians [p].

Terillus invites the Carthaginians into Sicily.

HERODOTU

[n] Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [o] Polyæn. ſtrat. i. c. 27 ex. 2. Herodot. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid.

HERODOTUS farther informs us, that the battle of Himera was fought the ſame day with that of Salamis: but Diodorus Siculus will have the Carthaginians to have been defeated the ſame day that Leonidas, with his brave body of Spartans, periſhed at Thermopylæ. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpoſe ſeemed to "have deſtined theGreeks at the ſame time a glorious victory "in one place, and a moſt honourable death in another [q]." Battles of Himera and Salamis fought the ſame day.

THE firſt thing after the battle Gelon did was, amply to reward all thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the action, eſpecially the body of horſe to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greateſt part of the ſpoils, which were of an immenſe value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuſe and Himera; what remained, together with the captives, he diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had ſhewn. Many of the laſt, to whatever city's ſhare they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and ſo many were taken, that all Africa ſeemed to have been tranſplanted into Sicily. Some of the citizens of Agrigentum, in particular, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, had five hundred a-piece. The fugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmoſt conſternation, fled into the inland provinces of Sicily, eſpecially the territory of Agrigantum, where being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with priſoners. The greateſt part of them were put in irons, and ſet apart for the public ſervice. The work they were chiefly employed in at firſt was, cutting and hewing of ſtone; of which afterwards they built the largeſt of the temples at Agrigentum, and made thoſe conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were ſo much admired by the antients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was the overſeer of the work. The Agrigentines likewiſe, by their labour, ſunk a fiſh-pond at great expence, ſeven ſtadia in circumference and twenty cubits deep [r] (B). Gelon rewards his ſoldiers for their bravery

By

[q] Diod. Sic. & Herodot. ubi ſup. [r] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(B) This famous pond, the effect of Carthaginian labour, was ſupplied with water both from fountains and rivers, and excellently well ſtocked with fiſh of all kinds, ſerving both for

elon com-
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ioſt famous
ireek com-
anders.

By the late victory, which was complete both in itſelf and its conſequences, Gelon acquired great glory, and was juſtly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own ſubjects, as one of the moſt renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The ſtratagem by which the Carthaginian army was overthrown he himſelf contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and ſoul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not ſcrupled to prefer him to Themiſtocles, and the advantage accruing to the Greek nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of Platæa. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in hiſtory of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and ſuch a number of priſoners taken. Neither did the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of that vaſt number of ſhips of war and tranſports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ſhips or galleys, which Hamilcar had occaſionally drawn out for neceſſary ſervices, happened to be out at ſea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and conſequently eſcaped the general conflagration. Theſe ſailed directly for Carthage; but meeting with contrary winds and tempeſts, before they reached that place, they were all caſt away, a few men only being ſaved in a ſmall boat. Theſe arriving at Carthage brought the diſmal news of the entire defeat of their army, and the loſs of their fleet. The Carthaginians, little expecting to hear of ſuch a ſignal diſaſter, but on the contrary pleaſing themſelves with the imagination of reducing the whole iſland of Sicily almoſt without ſtriking a ſtroke, were moſt ſtrangely ſhocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverſes of fortune the nation we are diſcourſing of ever loſt their courage, and abandoned themſelves to deſpair, ſo in the preſent caſe they gave every thing up for loſt. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and for food and pleaſure. Great numbers of ſwans likewiſe reſted upon it, which afforded a moſt pleaſant proſpect to the eye. By the negligence of ſucceeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at laſt became wholly dry ground. The ſoil was ſo rich in Diodorus's time, that the Agrigentines planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very conſiderable revenue (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.

and degrees of people amongſt them were overwhelmed with inexpreſſible grief, deſpondency, and conſternation.

The Carthaginians apply to Gelon for a peace.

In this deplorable ſituation, the Carthaginians thought they could have recourſe to nothing but Gelon's clemency; and therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to Sicily, enjoining them to ſtrike up a peace with him upon any terms.

His moderation and humanity.

Upon the arrival of theſe embaſſadors at Syracuſe, Gelon afforded them an inſtance of great moderation and humanity. Notwithſtanding by the late victory he was become the arbiter of peace and war, and had the Carthaginians entirely at his mercy, he received theſe miniſters in a moſt affable and courteous manner. His proſperity had not in the leaſt elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation conſiſted of perſons the moſt famed of any in Carthage for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a moſt mean and abject manner. They threw themſelves at Gelon's feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he ſhould think proper to preſcribe. This plainly ſhews how void the Carthaginians then were of that true reſolution and magnanimity, which ſupported the old Romans in all adverſity, and carried them through all dangers; that reſolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almoſt univerſal empire, and even to deſtroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the hiſtory of; though it muſt be owned this heroic virtue and greatneſs of ſoul was much tarniſhed in their poſterity, to ſay no worſe, by ſome actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the Carthaginian ſtate.

The terms on which he grants them a peace.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compaſſion for the miſeries of the Carthaginians, granted them a peace upon the following eaſy conditions: Firſt, that they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they ſhould build two temples, where this treaty of peace ſhould be depoſited, and at all times be expoſed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they ſhould abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the great humanity of Gelon's temper, and is a proof, that the people of Carthage were obliged a ſecond time to aboliſh that barbarous practice for a certain period, at leaſt in appearance; for it cannot be doubted, but they

ratified this treaty, it being ſo advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of deſtruction.

THE Carthaginians, having recovered their ſpirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to ſhew their gratitude to Damareta, Gelon's wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly inſtrumental in bringing it to an happy concluſion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, ſent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name Damaretia, each of them being worth ten Attic drachmas. The Sicilians gave them the name of Pentecontalitra, from their being fifty pounds in weight [s] (C).

An inſtance of Gelon's military capacity.

WE muſt not omit one circumſtance, which may ſerve as a further inſtance of Gelon's military capacity. Upon his firſt approach to Himera, to ſuccour the beſieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the Carthaginian parties ſent to forage in different parts of the iſland. Beſides what they killed, they took ten thouſand priſoners, as above related. Theſe probably were the worſt troops in the

[s] Idem ibid. & Plut. apophth. 175. & de ſerv. vindic. deor. p. 552. Vide & ſchol. Pind. ad Pyth. od. 2. necnon Jac. Perizon. comment. in Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) Theſe pieces ſeem to have been rather medals ſtruck on occaſion of Gelon's victory over the Carthaginians, than common coins. The ſize of them ſupplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The braſs litra of Sicily was at firſt a pound weight, as the libra or As was amongſt the Romans; and ſixty ſuch litræ made a talent. According to Pollux, Damareta and the other Syracuſan ladies of diſtinction brought all their ſilver utenſils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called νόμισμα Δημαρέτειον. But Diodorus's relation is more probable; ſince, if Gelon had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have ſtamped it in the ſmalleſt ſpecies, and not in pieces of ſuch a magnitude, which ſeemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the Carthaginians, as well as the immenſe booty found in their camp (2).

(2) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Jul. Pol. p. 437, & alib. Vide & ſchol. Pind. olym. ii.

the Carthaginian army; and therefore a ſtratagem Frontinus relates Gelon to have been the author of ſeems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince, having a large number of priſoners, picked out the weakeſt of them, who were auxiliaries, moſtly tawny, and of a very deſpicable appearance; and expoſed them quite naked before his ſoldiers, that they might have the moſt contemptible notion of the enemy [t]. Something like this happened, if we miſtake not, in the late war between the Turks and the Ruſſians, when the former, to give their people at Conſtantinople the meaner opinion of the latter, led the moſt miſerable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

What uſe Gelon made of the Carthaginian ſpoils.

BESIDES the public works above-mentioned, the Carthaginian ſpoils enabled Gelon to build two noble temples, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proſerpina. A tripod of gold likewiſe, of ſixteen talents, he cauſed to be made out of them, and ſent it as a donation to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude to that deity. If an inſcription given us by the ſcholiaſt on Pindar may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one ſent thither on this occaſion in the name of Gelon and his brothers, who had all of them a great ſhare in the ſucceſſes they gave thanks for (D).

[t] Frontin. l. i. c. 11, 18.

(D) We are further aſſured by Pauſanias, that Gelon ſent ſeveral valuable preſents to the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Olympia, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, with which he was furniſhed from the booty found in the Carthaginian camp. Among the reſt there were three curious veſtments of fine Carthaginian linen, each of them repreſenting a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as ſomething particularly rare, ſince Xenophon intimates the Carthaginian flax to have been of a very fine nature. A ſtatue of Jupiter alſo, of a prodigious ſize, was ſent to the ſame place in the name of Gelon and the Syracuſans, when they were full of the moſt grateful ſentiments for the ſignal victory obtained over the Carthaginians both by ſea and land. The cell or apartment, in which theſe donations were depoſited, was of exquiſite workmanſhip, being made by thoſe celebrated artificers Pothæus, Antiphilus, and Megacles, at Gelon's order. Beſides the golden tripod above-mentioned, Gelon ſent a golden ſtatue of Victory to Delphi,

Giſco, the ſon of Hamilcar, baniſhed Carthage.

THE Carthaginians, incenſed at Hamilcar, as imputing the late diſaſter entirely to his conduct, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done the ſtate on other occaſions, reſolved, that his family ſhould feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore baniſhed his ſon Giſco, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to Selinus, where he died for want of neceſſaries. The Sicilian cities, that ſided with the Carthaginians, upon their firſt application to Gelon, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner [u].

Little ſaid of the Carthaginians for ſeventy years.

FROM this time for full ſeventy years, that is to ſay, till towards the cloſe of the ninety-ſecond, or the beginning of the ninety-third olympiad, we ſcarce find any mention of the Carthaginians, or their affairs, in the Sicilian hiſtory. The laſt blow they received in Sicily was ſo terrible, that a peace of ſome duration was abſolutely neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that, of all places in the world, Sicily would be the laſt they would, for a conſiderable period of time, chuſe for the ſcene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarqued in another war there, which, though pretty bloody and expenſive, ended with much better ſucceſs to them than the former.

The Carthaginians render themſelves independent in Africa.

HOWEVER, in ſome part of this interval, ſeveral remarkable incidents, mentioned by Juſtin, Salluſt, and Valerius Maximus, ſeem to have happened. The Carthaginians carried their arms againſt the Moors, Numidians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in

[u] Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11.

Delphi, which ſeems to have been the third offering of that metal ever brought thither. This we learn from Phanias Ereſius and Theopompus, as cited by Athenæus, who inform us, that before the days of Gyges and Crœſus, kings of Lydia, all the votive gifts ſent to Delphi conſiſted of braſs, and theſe not ſtatues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this obſervation ſeemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit it (4).

(4) Pauſan. in Eliac. poſter. l. vi. p. 379. ed. Hanov. 1613. Xenoph. de venat. p. 975. ed. Leunclavi Francof. 1594. Phan. Ereſ. & Theopomp. apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. vi.

in Africa. They likewiſe ſhook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them ſo much uneaſineſs, and rendered themſelves abſolutely independent.

THEY had warm diſputes with the people of Cyrene, a Mediterranean city, the capital of Cyrenaica, built by the Theræans under Battus, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, which aroſe from the want of a regulation of limits between the two ſtates. As the Cyreneans were very powerful, much blood was ſhed on this occaſion; but at laſt the two nations, after having almoſt exhauſted each other by a long and expenſive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner[x].

Have warm diſputes with the Cyrenеans, on account of a regulation of limits.

BEING ſo weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to ſome foreign invader, they conſented firſt to a ceſſation of arms, in order to a pacification. Afterwards it was agreed, that each city ſhould appoint two commiſſaries, who ſhould ſet out from their reſpective towns upon the ſame day, and that the ſpot they met upon ſhould be the common boundary to both ſtates. Upon this, two brothers, called Philæni, were diſpatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilſt the Cyreneans proceeded more ſlowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the lazineſs of the latter, or to ſome accident intervening, is not certain. However, the laſt is not improbable, ſince in thoſe ſandy regions, at certain ſeaſons of the year, there are as violent ſtorms and tempeſts as upon the ſea; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering that, in ſuch countries, which are open and level, aud have not ſo much as a ſhrub to break the force of the wind, ſometimes boiſterous weather muſt almoſt neceſſarily happen; and then the ſand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, noſtrils, &c. of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at leaſt, if it does not put an entire ſtop to, their journey. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philæni acted perfidiouſly, by ſetting out before the appointed time, and thereby impoſed upon the others. Be this as it will, the Cyreneans, finding themſelves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accuſed the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the ſtipulated time; inſiſted, that the convention agreed upon

But at laſt come to an accommodation.

[x] Sal. Jug. c. 79.

between their principals was broken; and declared they would ſuffer all extremities, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a baſe and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the Philæni, with much ſeeming calmneſs and moderation, deſired the Cyreneans not to talk in ſo lofty a ſtrain, but themſelves to propoſe ſome expedient whereby their differences might be terminated, promiſing at the ſame time to ſubmit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then propoſed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive there, not in the leaſt imagining they would comply with ſo hard a condition. But herein they were diſappointed; for the Carthaginian brothers without heſitation, conſented to it, laid down their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The Carthaginians ever afterwards celebrated this as a moſt brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with ſuitable inſcriptions upon them. Strabo informs us, that no traces of theſe were to be ſeen in his days, though the place ſtill retained the name of the altars of the Philæni. However 'tis not to be doubted, but the ſtate of Carthage, as long as it exiſted, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the ſide of Cyrenaica. Salluſt relates, that there was a ſandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of Carthage and Cyrene, without hill, river, or ſpot in it, whereby to aſcertain the borders of the two nations; ſo that they were obliged to have recourſe to the method aforeſaid. The love of one's country is certainly a moſt amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation ſhould carry this ſo far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very ſtrange; yet this the Carthaginians did, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, by paying ſo high a regard to the memory of the Philæni. That author, however, runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby diſcovers much of the Punic diſpoſition. In ſhort, this piece of hiſtory gives us a lively idea of the Carthaginian notion of bravery and heroiſm, as do ſeveral other incidents to be found in the courſe of this hiſtory [u].

The Philæni ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive, in order to enlarge the dominions of their ſtate.

THE

[u] Idem ibid. Strab. l. iii. Pomp. Mel. l. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.

The Egeſtines occaſion another war between the Carthaginians and Syracuſans.

THE Egeſtines, allies of the Athenians, after the concluſion of the Syracuſan war, of which they had been the principal occaſion, by inviting the Athenians into Sicily, entertained ſtrong apprehenſions of being called to an account by the Syracuſans for all the acts of hoſtility they had committed againſt them. About this time alſo the Egeſtines had ſome diſputes with the Selinuntines about a regulation of limits, which at laſt broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two ſtates; but the former dreading the reſentment of the Syracuſans, and believing they would aſſiſt their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the Egeſtines gave up all the points in diſpute, the Selinuntines, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irritating the Egeſtines, they had recourſe to the Carthaginians, imploring their protection, both againſt the Selinuntines, and their confederates the Syracuſans. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for ſome time debated at Carthage what courſe it would be proper to take. On the one hand, the Carthaginians were very deſirous to poſſeſs themſelves of Egeſta, a city which lay ſo convenient for them, and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole iſland of Sicily, the favourite project that ſtate always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuſe, which had ſo lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and was become, by ſo ſhining a victory more formidable than ever. At laſt their thirſt after empire prevailed, and through the deſire of getting the city into their hands, they promiſed the Egeſtines ſuccours.

Hannibal appointed to command in the Sicilian expedition.

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the laſt extremity, was Hannibal, the grandſon of Hamilcar, killed at the battle of Himera, and ſon of Giſco, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time inveſted with the higheſt dignity of the ſtate, being one of the ſuffetes, and a perſon of very great conſideration. As he bore a natural hatred to the Greeks, and was deſirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the diſgrace of that defeat, which he conſidered as a ſtain upon his family, he ſought, by all means poſſible, to diſtinguiſh himſelf on this occaſion for the ſervice of his country. He was indefatigable, all that ſummer and the enſuing winter, in raiſing forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and

making

making the other neceſſary preparations; inſomuch that, in the beginning of the ſpring, he had an incredible number of ſoldiers of different nations liſted under his ſtandard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the Selinuntines, he had recourſe to Punic policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the Syracuſans their allies. Being appriſed, that the Selinuntines were not ſatisfied with the tract of land ceded them by the Egeſtines in the laſt treaty of peace, but laid further claim to a great part of their territories, he deſired the Syracuſans to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion betwixt the Syracuſans and the Selinuntines, imagining, that if the latter ſhould reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwixt them would of courſe be diſſolved, and conſequently that each of them would more eaſily fall a prey to the Carthaginians. But his ſcheme proved abortive; for though the Syracuſans interpoſed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the Selinuntines and Egeſtines, yet finding theſe ineffectual, they did not think proper to make uſe of any compulſive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The Carthaginians, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embaſſadors, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Egeſtines, and ſent a ſupply of five thouſand Africans, and eight hundred Campanians, to their aſſiſtance. The latter had been hired by the Chalcidians to aſſiſt the Athenians againſt the Syracuſans; but, after their overthrow, ſailing back into Campania, ſtaid there, in hopes that ſome ſtate might ſoon ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Accordingly, the Carthaginians took them into their ſervice, bought them horſes, and placed them in garriſon at Egeſta; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themſelves maſters of. Notwithſtanding this powerful body of Carthaginian auxiliaries, the Selinuntines, being both rich and numerous, held the Egeſtines in great contempt [w].

The Selinuntines, having drawn together a ſtrong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about Egeſta, and deſpiſing the enemy, who were far inferior to them in number,

[w] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

ber, diſperſed themſelves in parties, without order or diſcipline, all over the territory of the Egeſtines, for the ſake of plunder. The Carthaginians and Campanians in garriſon, obſerving this, took the firſt opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the Egeſtines, of ſurpriſing them; which they did ſo effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities diſpatched embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from their reſpective confederates, the Selinuntines from the Syracuſans, and the Egeſtines from the Carthaginians; which being readily agreed to on both ſides, a moſt dreadful war broke out between the Egeſtines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Selinuntines and Syracuſans on the other.

The Carthaginians and Campanians ſurpriſe the Selinuntines and cut off a thouſand of them.

THE Carthaginians, before they directly engaged in this war took care to make an eſtimate of the prodigious ſums neceſſary to ſupport it, and the numerous body of forces requiſite to carry it on with vigour; and having impowered their general Hannibal to raiſe an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a ſuitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the iſland of Sicily with their whole power the beginning of the following ſpring.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for a war with the Selinuntines

HANNIBAL, at the time appointed, put his army on board ſixty long galleys, and fifteen hundred tranſports, together with an immenſe quantity of proviſions he had amaſſed for their ſubſiſtence, military engines, arms, and all other things neceſſary for a ſiege. Setting ſail with theſe as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he croſſed the African ſea, and arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory of Sicily, oppoſite to the coaſt of Africa. Before he landed his troops, he was diſcovered by a party of Selinuntine horſe, who poſted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the Selinuntines diſpatched couriers to Syracuſe for immediate relief. Hannibal in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called The well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybæum was afterwards built. Here he ſtaid a ſhort time to refreſh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

Hannibal lands his forces in Sicily.

ACCORDING

Ephorus and Timæus Siculus differ in their relations of the ſtrength of the Carthaginian army.

ACCORDING to Ephorus the hiſtorian (E), the Carthaginian army conſiſted of two hundred thouſand foot, and four

(E) Ephorus, an orator and hiſtorian, was born in the city (1) of Cumæ or Cyme in Æolia, and one of Iſocrates's (2) ſcholars. His hiſtory contained chiefly the tranſactions of his countrymen the Greeks for the ſpace of ſeven hundred and fifty years; that is, from the return of the Heraclidæ, to the twentieth year of Philip king of Macedon (3), in which year he beſieged Perinthus. Plutarch intimates (4), that he wrote a particular hiſtory of Cumæ. He was a writer of ſlow parts, according to Tully, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his ſchool-fellow Theopompus. Seneca ſays (6), he had little regard to veracity; which ſeems confirmed by moſt of the paſſages taken from him by Diodorus. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the Iberians inhabitants of the ſame city; from whence Joſephus rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the weſtern parts of the world came very late to the Greeks. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, Diodorus informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant ſtyle; tho' in the laſt article he is contradicted by Duris Samius (9) and Dion Chryſoſtomus, whoſe teſtimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand hiſtory he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Beſides the performances above-mentioned, he compoſed a treatiſe de rebus inventis, of which Strabo (11) takes notice; another de bonis & malis, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another de rebus paſſim admirabilibus (13), divided into fifteen books; another de civitatibus Thraciæ, of which Harpocration quotes (14) the fourth book. Father Harduin aſcribes to him a particular treatiſe (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the encreaſe of the Nile; but, according to M. Bayle (16), the authors alledged by him prove no ſuch thing; and indeed this he makes out very clearly. Ephorus is complimented (17) by Polybius,

(1) Strab. l. xiii. p. 428. (2) Plut. in vit. Iſocrat. p. 837. (3) Diod. Sic. l. iv. & l. xx. (4) Plut. de vit. Homer. ſub init. (5) Cic. in Brut. Quintil. l. ii. c. 9. (6) Senec. quæſt. natural. l. vii. c. 16. Vide & Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 245, &c. (7) Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. i. (8) Diod. Sic. l. v. ſub init. (9) Duris Samius in hiſt. l. i. apud Phot. bibl. 176. Dion Chryſoſt. in orat. de dicend. exercit. (10) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. (11) Strab. ubi ſupra. (12) Suid. in Ἔφορος. (13) Idem ibid. (14) Harpocrat. voce Αἶνος. (15) Harduin. in judic. auctor. Plin. (16) Bayle, in dict. hiſt. & crit. (17) Polyb. apud Strabon l. x. & alib.

four thouſand horſe, though Timæus Siculus (F) will not allow them to have been much above an hundred thouſand. Hannibal, after landing his forces, cauſed all his ſhips to be drawn

bius and Strabo; but notwithſtanding Diodorus ſeems ſo fond of him, yet, in another paſſage, that writer tells us, he related ſo many falſities (18) of Egypt, that we muſt not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (19), as well as Diodorus, ſpeaks favourably of his ſtyle. The two other hiſtorians this laſt author ranks with him, are Theopompus (20) and Calliſthenes. We find a valuable fragment of Porphyry preſerved by Euſebius, from which it appears, that Ephorus was accuſed of being a plagiary; nay, of ſtealing three thouſand lines (21), word for word, from Daimachus, Anaximenes, and Calliſthenes. Lyſimachus is ſaid to have written a piece, containing all his plagiariſms; and Alcæus, (22) a ſatyrical poet, is affirmed by Porphyry likewiſe to have expoſed them. He is ridiculed by Strabo (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A ſon, called Demophilus, ſurvived him, who, (24) being a ſcholar, was thought by ſome to have put the finiſhing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be ſeen in Voſſius (25) and M. Bayle, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) Timæus Siculus, a Greek hiſtorian of good note (26), the ſon of Andromachus, a noble Sicilian, who, according to Diodorus (27), aſſembling the fugitives of Naxus, ſettled with them on a hill called Taurus, to which ſettlement the city of Taurominium owed its origin. Timæus flouriſhed in the time of Agathocles, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Suidas and Heſychius will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of hiſtory; and Polybius accuſes him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on ſeveral occaſions (28). He was a perſon of violent paſſions, as appeared both from his ſhameful calumnies, and impious flattery, which prejudiced many writers, and ſome of theſe even too much, againſt him. Becauſe he was baniſhed by Agathocles, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death

(18) Diod. Sic. l. i. (19) Dionyſ. Halicar. de col. verb. c. 81. (20) Diod. Sic. l. iv. (21) Porphyr. de erud. audit. apud Euſeb. in præp. evang. l. x. (22) Idem ibid. (23) Strab. ubi ſupra. (24) Conf. Jonſium de ſcript. hiſt. philoſ. p. 43, 44. cum Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. vi. (25) Voſſ, de hiſt. Græc, & Bayle, ubi ſupra. (26) Athen. deipnoſoph. l. ii. & alib. (27) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 7. (28) Heſych. & Suid. in Τίμαιος.

drawn aſhore, for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracuſans, and then, being joined by the Egeſtines, marched to Selinus,

death, not only deſcribing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackeſt manner, but loading him with fabulous calumnies. He was acted ſo much by a ſpirit of revenge on this occaſion, that he contradicted himſelf in a moſt flagrant manner; for which (29) reaſon the five laſt books of his hiſtory, which treated of the actions of Agathocles, were undoubtedly very deficient in point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe Suidas, he exalted his hero Timoleon (30) to a ſuperiority above the higheſt divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deſerved a greater puniſhment than Calliſthenes, who ſuffered death for deſigning to deify Alexander, a prince infinitely more illuſtrious than Timoleon. He compoſed ſeveral pieces; one conſiſting of three books, de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibuſque; another divided into ſixty-eight books, de argumentis rhetoricæ; another intitled olympionicæ, ſeu acta chronica; two more, whoſe titles were, Ἰταλικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, conſiſting of eight books; and Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, whoſe number of books is not known. In the former of theſe two laſt works he wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, as far as it was coincident with the Roman hiſtory; and in the other he gave an account of the Sicilian tranſactions, as they were intermixed with thoſe of the Greeks. His hiſtory of Pyrrhus was a diſtinct piece, as we are informed by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus and Cicero (31). Diogenes Laertius quoted no book of his hiſtory beyond the eighteenth, though Athæneus (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that thoſe authors paid no great regard to the diviſion of his Greek, Roman, and Sicilian hiſtory, as given us by Voſſius. Notwithſtanding what has been offered by Suidas to invalidate the authority of Timæus in the five laſt books of his hiſtory, yet this author himſelf allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered ſtrictly to truth; and even according to Polybius, though he blames our hiſtorian in ſeveral reſpects, particularly for truſting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and ſoul of hiſtory. However he might be impoſed upon in what related to Africa, Corſica, and other countries that he was a ſtranger to, as Polybius intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and moſt faithful hiſtorian as to the Sicilian affairs, except when he diſcharged all the impetuous torrents

(29) Suid. ubi ſupra. (30) Idem ibid. & Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc p. 82. Vide & Antigon. ἐν θαυμασ. hiſt. i. & Parthen. erot. xxix (31) Dionyſ. Halicar l. i. c. 6. Cic. epiſt. l. v. 22. ad Luceium. (32) Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l. viii. n. 60. Athen in deipnoſoph. l. xi. p. 471. (33) Suid. ubi ſup. (34) Polyb. l. xii. (35) Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 105.

us, which city he immediately cauſed to be inveſted, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. In his way he

Hannibal lays ſiege to Selinus.

rents of his rage againſt Agathocles, which indeed could never be vindicated. In moſt of thoſe paſſages of Diodorus, wherein Timæus and Ephorus are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his ſide, of which we ſhall at preſent only give one inſtance, not having time to produce all the reſt: Ephorus informs us, that the Carthaginian army, which reduced Selinus, conſiſted of two hundred thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; but, according to Timæus, it could not well have conſiſted of above an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thouſand men. Now, it is evident from Diodorus, that upon Hannibal's marching to Himera, immediately after the reduction of Selinus, his army conſiſted but of an hundred thouſand men; for he was joined by twenty thouſand Sicani on his march, and, upon his arrival before Himera, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thouſand men. Since therefore we cannot well ſuppoſe the Carthaginians to have loſt above ten or twenty thouſand men before Selinus, becauſe the ſiege of that place was a very ſhort one, it will follow, that when Hannibal firſt inveſted Selinus, his army, in all probability, conſiſted of about an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thouſand men, nearly as Timæus related. It is certain Diodorus very well agrees with this hiſtorian; for that author tells us, Hannibal's army, upon his laying ſiege to Himera, amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled Ephorus, and depreciated Timæus, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as ſeveral others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both Diodorus and Cicero (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the laſt of which was of the Aſiatic kind. Plutarch (37) entertained different ſentiments of his ſtyle; and Longinus cenſures him for his affectation and puerility therein, as well as the eager deſire he ſhews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, Mr. Bayle has plainly proved, that the inſtances (38) produced by Longinus, in ſupport of his criticiſm, do not come up to the point, and that he deſerved cenſure in this particular, rather than Timæus. Longinus owned, that ſometimes he came up to the lofty and ſublime ſtyle, had a great ſhare of knowledge, and expreſſed himſelf very judiciouſly; but ſtill he ſeems to us to have been ſo much prejudiced againſt our hiſtorian,

on

(36) Diod. Sic. l. v. ſub init. Cic. de orat. l. ii. & in Bruto, ſub fin. (37) Plut. in Nic. Longin. περὶ ὕψ. c. 3. (38) Bayle, in dict. hiſt. & crit.

he took Emporium, a town ſeated on the river Mazara (G), by ſtorm; and having cloſely begirt Selinus with his army; which he divided into two parts, he formed the ſiege of that city. In order to puſh this on with the greater vigour, he erected ſix high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His ſlingers and darters likewiſe greatly annoyed

on account of the numerous inſtances of ill-nature viſible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too ſtrong a diſpoſition to diſcover blemiſhes in him; which made him copy after Cæcilius in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very ſame crime he condemned Timæus for. He lived to a very old age (39), ſome ſay, ninety-ſix years. According to Polybius (40), he lived a ſedentary life, which, in the opinion of that hiſtorian, muſt have diſqualified him for writing hiſtory. Plutarch informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of Xenarchus in ſeveral parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the moſt minute, and even ridiculous, circumſtances. Cicero (42) puts him on a level with Herodotus, Thucydides, Philiſtus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, and Calliſthenes. That he was ſuperior, in point of authority, to Ephorus, when he treated of the affairs of Sicily, we think pretty evident from what we have juſt advanced, which we remember not to have ſeen taken notice of by any other author.

(G) Rhodomanus, in his Latin verſion of Diodorus, calls this river Mazarus; but we chuſe rather to follow Ptolemy, Pliny, and Diodorus himſelf, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word emporium here not to be a proper, but a common, name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was Mazara; for Stephanus tells us, Mazara was a caſtle or fortreſs of the Selinuntines. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortreſſes ſeated on them, the ſame names, and that even in Sicily itſelf. To wave all other inſtances at preſent, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that Gela, a city of great note in this iſland, had a river of the ſame name running cloſe by its walls. On or near this ſpot there is a fine city, called Mazara, at this day, but no monuments of antiquity, according to Fazellus, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of Stephanus's Selinuntine caſtle, it ſeems to point out the true name of the town Hannibal took by ſtorm on his march to Selinus.

(39) Lucian. in macrobiis, p. 642. tit. 2. (40) Polyb. l. xii. (41) Plut. ubi ſupra. (42) Cic. de orat. l. ii. Vide & Clem. Alexand. ſtrom. l. i. Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 244. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. &c.

noyed the beſieged, by forcing them from many fortified poſts. The Selinuntines, little expecting ſuch a viſit from the Carthaginians, as having been the only people of Sicily who ſided with them againſt Gelon, and having long been diſuſed to ſieges, were ſtruck with great terror at the approach of ſo formidable an army, and the reſolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reaſon to expect, that the Syracuſans and their other confederates would ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours, they defended themſelves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel ſo barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardleſs of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [x].

And takes it.

In order to inſpire his troops with courage, Hannibal promiſed them the plunder of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being inceſſantly battered day and night by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was ſoon made, and the firſt who entered it were the Campanians, out of an ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves above the reſt; but they were repulſed with great loſs, as were the Africans and Spaniards, whom Hannibal ſent to ſupport them. The fight laſted from noon to night, when Hannibal ſounded the retreat. In the mean time the Selinuntines ſent expreſſes to Agrigentum, Gela, and Sycacuſe, acquainting them, that, without ſpeedy aſſiſtance, it would be impoſſible for the garriſon of Selinus to defend itſelf againſt ſo numerous an army, provided with ſuch a train of battering engines. The Agrigentines and Geleans held themſelves in readineſs to march; but, however, thought it proper to wait for the Syracuſan auxiliaries, that they might more ſucceſsfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The Syracuſans alſo, having certain advice, that Selinus was beſieged, immediately ſtruck up a peace with the Chalcideans, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them ſufficient to relieve effectually the beſieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for ſome days, till they had got together a ſtronger force. In the mean time, the Carthaginians preſſed

[x] Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud Diod. Sic. l. xiii.

ed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. Hannibal, as ſoon as it was light, renewing the aſſault, poſſeſſed himſelf of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbiſh, with the flower of his troops charged the Selinuntines with ſuch fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in diſorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in deſpair. Many fell on both ſides; but the Carthaginians were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the aſſault was daily renewed for the ſpace of nine days with great courage and reſolution, and with incredible ſlaughter on both ſides. At length the beſieged being quite tired out, the Iberians, after a ſharp diſpute, lodged themſelves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houſes filled all places with cries and lamentations. The Selinuntines, now giving up every thing for loſt, barricaded all the ſtreets and paſſages, being determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood; which occaſioned a long and bloody conteſt. The women alſo, notwithſtanding their firſt panic, ſorely galled the Carthaginians with ſhowers of tiles and ſtones thrown by them from the tops of the houſes, which kept the fate of this city for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; but the Carthaginians returning to the charge with inexpreſſible ardor, and continually pouring freſh men into the town, the poor Selinuntines were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow ſtreets, were purſued by the conquerors into the market-place, where making a ſtand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An inſtance of the Carthaginian barbarity.

SELINUS being thus taken by ſtorm, and the plunder of it given up to the ſoldiers, it is impoſſible to expreſs the miſery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exerciſed upon them by the Carthaginians, who, it muſt be owned, on ſuch melancholy occaſions as theſe, generally ſhewed themſelves to be moſt ſavage barbarians. They raged in all parts of the town without reſtraint, rifled the houſes and then ſet fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or dragging them into the ſtreets, put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword.

Nei-

Neither did their inhumanity reſt here; they carried it ſo far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, ſome of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of oſtentation, bearing the heads of the ſlain on the points of their ſwords and ſpears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, eſcaped the common deſtruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compaſſion, of the victors; for believing that theſe poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, ſet fire to the temples, and by that means conſume all the treaſure and valuable effects they expected to find in thoſe places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a ſtate of deſperation. The ravages in the city continued moſt part of the night, inſomuch, that every place was full of blood, horror, and confuſion. The ſurviving matrons had the mortification to ſee their daughters forced to be ſubſervient to the brutal luſt of the barbarians, which, with a ſenſe of the diſmal ſervitude prepared for them in Africa, made them wiſh they had not ſurvived their friends and relations. In fine, after ſixteen thouſand miſerable wretches had been cruelly maſſacred, and two thouſand ſix hundred eſcaped to Agrigentum, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thouſand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives [y].

A body of Selinuntines eſcapes to Agrigentum.

THE body of Selinuntines that retired to Agrigentum, made their eſcape by the favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow paſſes. Upon their arrival at Agrigentum, they were received with great humanity and tenderneſs; corn was diſtributed to them out of the public ſtores; and every private perſon, out of his own generous diſpoſition, liberally ſupplied them with all kinds of neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence.

The Carthaginians plunder the temples at Selinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thouſand Syracuſans arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to Selinus; but underſtanding that the city was taken, they ſent embaſſadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. Hannibal returned anſwer, that ſince the Selin-

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

untines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. This anſwer is a clear demonſtration of the Punic genius at that time, and exactly correſponds with what Diodorus has related of the Carthaginians in this particular: "Theſe barbarians" ſays that author, "exceed "all men in impiety; for whereas other nations ſpare thoſe "who fly into temples, out of a principle of religion, not "daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, leſt they "ſhould offend the deity; the Carthaginians, on the con-"trary, moderate their cruelty to theſe perſons, that they "may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples "themſelves." The Syracuſans however, not acquieſcing in this anſwer, ſent an other embaſſy, and at the head of it one Empediones, a Selinuntine, who had always been in the intereſt of the Carthaginians, and even adviſed his countrymen to open their gates to Hannibal at his firſt appearing before the town. The Carthaginian general received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored to him his eſtate, pardoned all the priſoners related to him, and even permitted the Selinuntines, who had fled to Agrigentum, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians [z].

Hannibal attacks Himera.

AFTER the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched with his army to attack Himera, which above all things he deſired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been ſlain there by Gelon, with above an hundred and fifty thouſand Carthaginians, and almoſt as many taken priſoners. Beſides, as he had already puniſhed the Selinuntines for the inſults they had offered his father Giſco in his baniſhment, he now reſolved to take vengeance of the Himereans, for being the occaſion of that baniſhment. On his march he was joined by twenty thouſand Siculi and Sicani, whom he ſent, with the main body of the army, to lay ſiege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thouſand men, encamped on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. His troops being fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, he puſhed on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigor, battering the wall with his engines in ſeveral places at once; but finding this not fully

to

[z] Idem ibid.

to anſwer his intention, he undermined it, and by ſupporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards ſet on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this a warm diſpute enſued, the Carthaginians making all poſſible efforts to enter the town; and the Himereans, having the fate of the Selinuntines always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thouſand Syracuſan auxiliaries, with ſome troops from their other allies under the command of Diocles, diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt extraordinary manner; and repulſing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, the Carthaginians, having been conſtantly repulſed in their attacks for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, were obliged for the preſent to deſiſt from all further attempts to ſtorm the town; which mortified them extremely, eſpecially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground [a].

The Himereans make a vigorous ſally upon the Carthaginians.

THE Himereans, animated by this advantage, reſolved not to be any longer cooped up in the city, as the Selinuntines had been, but to endeavour, by one ſtrenuous effort, entirely to diſlodge the enemy. Having therefore poſted detachments of their garriſon at proper diſtances on the wall, to repel any aſſault that might be given, they made a ſally on the beſiegers with their whole remaining force, conſiſting of ten thouſand men. The Carthaginians, little dreaming that the beſieged were capable of ſuch an attempt, at firſt imagined, that the confederates of the Himereans had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the Himereans for ſome time eaſily bore down all that oppoſed them; and tho' the Carthaginians afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head againſt them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the preſent juncture, throwing them into diſorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The beſieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inſpired with freſh courage at the ſight of their parents, children, and friends, who, for this purpoſe, expoſed themſelves on the ramparts, charged them with ſuch intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, purſuing them to the very hill where Hannibal was encamped. That general, ſeeing his

[a] Idem ibid.

army in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the Himereans being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole Carthaginian army, till they all died upon the spot[b].

But are repulsed.

The Carthaginians sustain a great loss in this action.

THE Carthaginian army, though victorious, was yet rudely handled, the Himerean troops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the cruel treatment they expected from the enemies, if conquered, inspired with a much greater degree of resolution. Ephorus says, the Carthaginians lost twenty thousand men in the first action, before they were pursued to Hannibal's camp; though Timæus Siculus reduces this number to six thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the Himereans and Hannibal, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginian army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of Hannibal's camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men [c].

AFTER this action, five-and-twenty galleys, which had been sent by the Siculi some time before to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, and were now returning home, appeared

[b] Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

[c] Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native Carthaginians were well armed and good troops, yet the Africans and Numidians were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the Carthaginian armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. Plutarch, in his life of Timoleon, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the Carthaginian forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable, a great part of the army besieging Himera, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of Hannibal, which covered the siege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) Plut. in Timol. Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. & l. xxv. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Hendr. l. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. c. 7.

ed off of Himera; upon which a report was ſpread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the Syracuſans, with all their forces and allies, were coming to the relief of the city. This was ſo far from diſcouraging the Carthaginians, that it put Hannibal upon a new enterprize; for imagining that the Syracuſans had ſent all their ſtrength to ſupport their confederates, he doubted not but the city muſt be left in a manner defenceleſs; and therefore, immediately embarquing with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at Motya, prepared to ſail for Syracuſe, in order to ſurpriſe that city. In the mean time, Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracuſan troops in Himera, a man of great foreſight and penetration, adviſed the captains of the Sicilian veſſels to ſail with all poſſible expedition to Syracuſe, leſt Hannibal ſhould make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more ſtrongly induced to, ſince, if in another action the beſiegers ſhould cut off the beſt of his men, he plainly perceived, that their own city muſt of courſe fall a prey to the Carthaginians. He therefore thought it adviſeable to leave Himera for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to Syracuſe on board the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon Diocles to alter his meaſures, the greateſt part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to ſend on board the galleys by night, in order to have them tranſported to Meſſana[d].

Diocles embarques part of his troops for the defence of Syracuſe.

As Diocles and his men embarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions ſlain in the ſiege uninterred. However, they carried off with them many of the Himereans, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other veſſels. Upon his departure, the Carthaginians redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand, the beſieged, believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above an hundred thouſand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and with their numbers bearing down all before them, drove the garriſon from the ramparts, and, in

[d] Idem ibid.

Which occasions the loss of Himera.

spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. The Iberians signalized themselves greatly on this occasion, being the first that forced the besieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practise on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himself put a stop to the slaughter. The houses were plundered, the temples pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. Hannibal caused the women and children, that survived the first fury of the soldiers, to be preserved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, where his grandfather Hamilcar had been defeated and killed by Gelon's cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

The Campanians think themselves ill used by the Carthaginians.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the Carthaginians had ever met with in Sicily; after which Hannibal, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, embarqued with the rest of his forces, and set sail for Africa. The Siculi, upon their dismission, went home, as did likewise the Campanians; but the latter complained bitterly of the Carthaginians, because they looked upon themselves as slighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of Selinus, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. Himera had stood, at the time it was razed by Hannibal, two hundred and forty years [e].

Hannibal at his departure from Sicily, leaves some troops to protect his confederates there.

HANNIBAL, upon his quitting Sicily, left a small body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at Carthage, loaden with the plunder he had carried off from Selinus and Himera. The whole city went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things, in so short a time, than any ever before him [f].

ANIMATED by the late success in Sicily, the Carthaginians resolved now in earnest to pursue the design which they

[e] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. [f] Idem ibid.

they had ever entertained of reducing the whole iſland. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raiſe another army, committing the whole management of the war to the ſame Hannibal. But as by reaſon of his great age he endeavoured to get himſelf excuſed from taking upon him the command in this new expedition, they joined in commiſſion with him Imilcar the ſon of Hanno, one of the ſame family. Theſe two generals being plentifully ſupplied with money, and impowered to raiſe what forces they thought neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but ſent officers with large ſums into Spain, Libya, Sardinia (I), and the Balearic iſlands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewiſe large ſuccours from the princes and ſtates with whom they were in alliance, viz. from the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. Beſides all which, they took a body of Campanians out of Italy into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and ſuch as they could entirely depend upon, eſpecially when intermixed with thoſe of other nations. When all their forces were muſtered at Carthage, the army was found to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand effective men, as Ephorus informs us; but Timæus Siculus, with more probability, ſays, that

The Carthaginians make preparations for another campaign in Sicily.

(I) Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian armies were generally made up of a great variety of barbarous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, inſomuch, that they did not underſtand one another. As the Carthaginians applied themſelves wholly to naval affairs, they employed moſt of their own hands on board their ſhips; and the moſt opulent citizens did not care to expoſe their perſons in the wars, but contented themſelves with enabling the ſtate to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewiſe have ſome political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their ſtate to be rendered more ſecure, than if their armies conſiſted wholly of Carthaginian citizens, ſince theſe could not be ſo entirely truſted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at Carthage; beſides, ſuch an army as we have mentioned could not eaſily mutiny, or revolt, ſince 'tis impoſſible ſo many different nations ſhould act in concert, or form any dangerous ſcheme againſt their principals. However, Polybius condemns this practice, and not without reaſon, ſince it not a little contributed to the decline of the Carthaginian ſtate, and once brought it to the very brink of deſtruction (2).

(2) Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. Polyb. l. i. & l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. xx. & l. v. Chriſt. Hendr. l. ii. ſect. 2. mem. 1. c. 4.

that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thousand: a force, however, sufficient, as it should seem, to ever-run Sicily in one campaign.

They people a new city in that island called by the Greeks, from its situation, Therma.

THE Carthaginians, in the interval betwixt the first beginning of their preparations and their embarquing for the Sicilian expedition, drew together, out of Carthage and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant themselves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in Sicily, which was from thence called by the Greeks Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transports, besides a numerous squadron of galleys, with the forces on board, set sail for Sicily, Hannibal sent forty galleys to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a Syracusan squadron of equal force off of Eryx, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to the Syracusans. Of the Carthaginian galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached Carthage, Hannibal sailed immediately with fifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the Carthaginians, and to secure the passage and landing of the army [g].

The Syracusans defeat the Carthaginians by sea.

Hannibal lands his troops in Sicily, and advances to Agrigentum.

UPON Hannibal's arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the Carthaginians, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in Sicily, the troops landed on the coast of Agrigentum, and marched strait to that city.

THE Syracusans, and their confederates, had sent embassadors to Carthage to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by Hannibal, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any more troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the Syracusans had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had sent to the Greeks of Italy and the Lacedæmonians to solicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the Sicilian cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of Sicily, none

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. atq; Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud eund. ibid.

none were under ſuch apprehenſions as the Agrigentines; they ſeemed fully ſatisfied, that this great ſtorm would firſt diſcharge itſelf upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things neceſſary for the ſuſtaining of a long ſiege, following therein the directions of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, an officer of great courage and experience. The Carthaginians, upon their inveſting Agrigentum, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, conſiſting of forty thouſand Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at ſome diſtance from the town; the other carried on the ſiege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulſe the ſallies of the beſieged. When they firſt ſat down before the town, they invited the Agrigentines either to join them or ſtand neuter, declaring they would be well ſatisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hoſtilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendſhip. Both propoſals being rejected, they attacked the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous reſiſtance. And this indeed was not without reaſon; for the Agrigentines had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to aſſiſt in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from Gela, under the conduct of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, who was in high eſteem at that time, on account of his country, according to Timæus Siculus. Eight hundred Campanians alſo, who had formerly ſerved under Imilcar, were taken into the ſervice of the Agrigentines, and defended the hill Athenæum, which commanded the city, and was therefore a poſt of the utmoſt conſequence. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, Imilcar and Hannibal, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made uſe of on this occaſion were of ſurpriſing force; and two towers (K) were brought againſt the city of a monſtrous

Which city he beſieges, but meets with a warm reception.

(K) Soon after the Carthaginians had inveſted a town, they raiſed a mount of equal height with the walls, if not ſuperior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the higheſt battlements and towers of ſtone, either upon the walls or within the town. Theſe moved upon wheels, and with them the beſiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place. They were very large, and capable of containing con-

ſtrous ſize. The firſt day out of theſe they made an aſſault; and after having cut off many of the beſieged, ſounded a retreat. However, the next night the Agrigentines made a ſally, burnt the engines, deſtroyed the towers raiſed againſt them, and, after having made a great ſlaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon Hannibal, intending to ſtorm the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and ſtately monuments, ſtanding round the city to be demoliſhed, and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh as high as the walls. But whilſt they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic ſeized the army, occaſioned by Theron's monument being deſtroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the ſoothſayers preſent, put a ſtop to the deſign. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a ſhort time carried off a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general Hannibal himſelf. The Carthaginian ſoothſayers above mentioned interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, ſome of the ſoldiers upon guard affirmed, that they ſaw in the night-time the ghoſts of the deceaſed. Wherefore Imilcar, in whom the whole power was now veſted, ordered ſupplications to be made, according to the practice of Carthage, and the demolition of the tombs to be entirely diſcontinued. A boy was alſo ſacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a cuſtom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongſt the Carthaginians: by his orders Neptune likewiſe was appeaſed, and ſeveral prieſts thrown into the ſea, as the moſt pleaſing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by theſe cruelties atoned for the ſacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, renewed the aſſaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbiſh cloſe to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them

Theron's monument deſtroyed by lightning, which occaſions a panic in the Carthaginian army.

conſiderable numbers of men, and ſome of the ſmaller engines of battery, whereby the beſieged were greatly annoyed. From theſe towers they made their aſſaults, and frequently ſtormed towns, or at leaſt opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. Juſtus Lipſius gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) Juſt. Lipſ. polior. l. ii. c. 3, 4, &c. Vide etiam Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Sil. Ital. l. i. & Chr. Hendr. l. ii. ſect. 2. memb. 1. c. 9.

them upon the town in ſuch a manner as reduced the beſieged to great ſtreights [h].

In the mean time, the Syracuſans taking into conſideration the deplorable condition of Agrigentum, and fearing it would undergo the ſame fate that Himera and Selinus had done, began to think in earneſt of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from Italy and Meſſana, and being joined by the Camarineans, Geleans, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. Theſe judging ſufficient for their purpoſe, they gave orders to Daphneus, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the Agrigentines, a fleet of thirty galleys, which ſailed cloſe by the ſhore, at the ſame time keeping pace with him. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the Iberians and Campanians, with forty thouſand Carthaginians, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Purſuant to his orders, the Syracuſans were attacked a few hours after they had paſſed the river, as they were advancing in good order towards Agrigentum. The diſpute was ſharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far ſuperior in number to the Syracuſans. But at length the latter carried the day, and purſued the Carthaginians to the very walls of Agrigentum. Daphneus fearing, leſt Imilcar ſhould take advantage of the confuſion his troops were thrown into by their eagerneſs in the purſuit, and thereby wreſt the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened to the Himerians on the like occaſion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the ſpot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate poſſeſſion of. The Carthaginians loſt ſix thouſand men in this action [i] (L).

The Syracuſans ſend an army to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege.

Which is attacked by the Carthaginians, but defeats them.

THE

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [i] Idem ibid.

(L) We are told by Polyænus, that Daphneus defeated the Carthaginians by the following ſtratagem: The armies being engaged, the general heard a great noiſe in the left wing, where the Italian forces were poſted; and haſtening thither, he found them almoſt defeated; upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, compoſed of Syracuſans, he told them, that the Italians had routed

The Agrigentine commanders gnilty of a a falſe ſtep, which occaſions theloſs of the place.

THE Carthaginians eſcaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it ſhould ſeem, of the Agrigentine commanders. For the beſieged, ſeeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmoſt confuſion, immediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore preſſed their officers to ſally out upon them without loſs of time, that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, deaf to theſe ſolicitations, and would not permit a man to ſtir out of the town. To what motive ſuch an unaccountable procedure was to be attributed, is hard to ſay; however, the fugitives were hereby ſaved, and arrived ſafe in their other camp. This fatal ſtep could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loſs of the city [k].

A mutiny, wherein four of theſe commanders are are ſtoned, and a fifth narrowly eſcapes.

UPON Daphneus's arrival, a great part of the garriſon, with Dexippus at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here ſhewed himſelf highly diſſatisfied, that ſo fair an opportunity had been loſt of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and deſtroying ſo many myriads of them. Hereupon great diſputes aroſe, inſomuch, that four of the Agrigentine commanders, at the inſtigation of one Menes, a Camarinean, were ſtoned by the enraged multitude, and a fifth, called Argeus, only by reaſon of his youth, eſcaped. Dexippus himſelf was highly reflected upon, and loſt much of the reputation he had before acquired, by concurring with the reſt. After the council broke up, Daphneus formed a deſign to attack Imilcar's camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he altered his reſolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtreights, that the Cam-

Imilcar in great ſtreights for want of proviſions.

[k] Idem ibid.

routed the enemy; and therefore, to render the victory complete, entreated them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cryed out, Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury. Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they ſoon put them to flight (4).

(4) Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 7.

Campanians and other mercenaries began to mutiny; and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, and in the mean time pawned to them the drinking veſſels of the Carthaginian ſoldiers. He had been informed, that the Syracuſans were then loading many ſhips with corn, to be ſent to Agrigentum, and did not in the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the Syracuſans not ſuſpecting, that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly, he diſpatched meſſengers to Panormus and Motya, where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the galleys with all poſſible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being ſpeedily equipped, the Syracuſan fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports, laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt driven on ſhore. This changed the face of affairs on both ſides; for as ſuch an unexpected relief gave the Carthaginians freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the Agrigentines, who, having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved ſo quickly as their preſent neceſſity required. Beſides, at the beginning of the ſiege, when bad ſucceſs attended the Carthaginians, they had ſquandered away their corn and other proviſions in a very profuſe manner, by which they were now reduced to the greater diſtreſs. The Campanians in the ſervice of the Agrigentines, obſerving the deſperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from Imilcar, went all over in a body to the Carthaginians. Dexippus the Lacedæmonian alſo, according to Diodorus, was ſaid to have been bribed with the ſame ſum; for he on a ſudden adviſed the Italian commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, inſinuating, that they were likely to be ſtarved there, without the leaſt proſpect of rendering any ſervice to thoſe who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advan-

But ſupplies himſelf plentifully by intercepting a Syracuſan fleet of tranſports laden with corn, and all ſorts of proviſions.

tage

tage in some other part: with which advice complying, they left the Agrigentines to shift for themselves [1] (M).

Upon which the Agrigentines resolve to leave their city to the enemy.

THE mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants despondingfor want of necessaries,a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days. It was therefore resolved, that the city should be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to some place of safety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being apprised of this resolution, were thereby thrown into the utmost consternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all seized with in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, or else expose themselves to the fury of a mercileſs enemy, were inexpressible. However, though their riches were immense, yet they esteemed life still more valuable; and therefore, as they expected no mercy from such cruel barbarians, the greatest part of them gave way to unavoidable necessity. We shall not here expatiate upon the scene of horror now before us, Diodorus Siculus having done this in a most affecting manner, but only observe, that the place appointed for these miserable wretches to retire to was Gela, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindness and humanity;

[1] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(M) Polyænus tells us, that Imilcar (whom he calls Himilco) gave private orders to his men to fly before the besieged whenever they made a sally, in order to draw them into an ambuscade. There happened to be a wood just before the town, in which he posted a detachment of his troops, with orders to set this on fire as soon as the enemy were got a considerable distance from the town. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the Agrigentines pursued the Carthaginians with great ardor for some time; but at last looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire issuing out of the city itself. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the town; but falling into the ambuscade, and being hotly pursued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken prisoners (3).

(3) Polyæn. stratagem. l. v. c. 10. ex. 4. Vid. & Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 5.

humanity, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries at the expence of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be ſeen in a former part of this hiſtory [m].

THE garriſon was no ſooner withdrawn, and the Syracuſan army retired, but Imilcar, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without ſome fear and jealouſy, and put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as had fled to the temples. Among theſe was Gellias (M), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who ſeeing that the Carthaginians, without reſpecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in them, ſet fire to the temple of Minerva, and con-

Imilcar enters the city, where he commits great cruelties.

[m] Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 222. & ſeq.

(M) The muniſicence of Gellias may be learned not only from Diodorus Siculus, but Valerius Maximus and Athenæus (1). He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of Agrigentum from periſhing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair. He had built houſes in the city and country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. In ſhort, Gillias's riches, immenſe as they were, were ſurpaſſed by his greatneſs of ſoul, his treaſures being, as it were, to uſe Valerius Maximus's phraſe, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of Agrigentum, and all the neighbouring provinces, ſhould ſo ardently pray for his health and proſperity. No greater loſs could have happened to that part of Sicily than the fatal end of ſo excellent a perſon, but the death and deſtruction of all thoſe poor wretches, who ſhould have regretted him. Athenæus, in all the preſent MSS. calls him Tellias; but Nicolaus Sturio has diſcovered this to be a fault of the tranſcribers, though it muſt have been a very antient one, ſince Euſtathius oftener than once calls him likewiſe Tellias. What Athenæus has concerning him is taken almoſt word for word out of the eleventh book of Timæus's hiſtory, and poſſibly Diodorus's may have been deduced from the ſame ſource. The great reſemblance betwixt the capital tau (T) and gamma (Γ) might poſſibly occaſion the miſtake above-mentioned; for that it is a miſtake, the printed copies and MSS. of Diodorus Siculus and Valerius Maximus ſufficiently evince.

(1) Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. i. Vide & If. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. l. i. p. 12.

consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. Gellias, according to Diodorus, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; secondly, the sacrilegious carrying off of the vast treasure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuse of his own body [n].

And pillages every part of it.

IMILCAR having pillaged every part of the city, both sacred and profane, found himself master of an immense treasure. Nothing less could be expected from the spoils of a city, which was one of the most opulent in Sicily, containing two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemies hands, the Agrigentines having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. To give our readers some idea of Agrigentum, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with

Empedocles's saying of the Agrigentines.

statues of birds and horses, famous for their elegance. Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens; "That the "Agrigentines squandered away their money so excessively "every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; "and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they "thought they should live for ever". The most valuable part of the plunder Imilcar sent to Carthage; every thing else he caused to be sold under the spear. Among other curiosities, the famous bull of Phalaris was sent to Carthage [o].

THE people of Syracuse, being prodigiously alarmed at the reduction of Agrigentum, had a decree passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. Imilcar, having gained the city, after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. The Sicilians in general, as well as the inhabitants of Syracuse were struck with terror at the Carthaginian conquests, and many of them fled to Syracuse for protection, whilst others transported themselves, with all their effects, to the continent of Italy. Those

Many of the Sicilians, being struck with terror at the Carthaginian conquests, fly to Syracuse for protection.

[n] Idem ibid. See also univ. hist. ibid. not. (X). [o] Diod Sic. ubi sup. & Cic. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.

Thoſe who took ſanctuary in Syracuſe, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints againſt the Syracuſan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemies hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in Syracuſe as at laſt gave Dionyſius an opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſovereign power. Imilcar, after laying it entirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the ſpring, left Agrigentum [P].

THE Geleans, receiving intelligence that the Carthaginians intended to open the campaign with the ſiege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themſelves, implored the protection of Syracuſe; upon which Dionyſius immediately marched to their aſſiſtance with two thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. The Geleans were ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and even ſent embaſſadors to Syracuſe to return their thanks for the important ſervices that city had done them in ſending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generaliſſimo of the Syracuſan forces, and thoſe of their allies, againſt the Carthaginians. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already ſhewn, and will further appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Syracuſans ſend Dionyſius to aſſiſt the people of Gela.

THE Carthaginian forces under the command of Imilcar, having, on the return of the ſpring, razed the city of Agrigentum, made an incurſion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off ſuch an immenſe quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. Imilcar, then marching with his whole army againſt Gela, took poſt on the banks of the river Gela, and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting, but Dionyſius would come to the relief

Imilcar marches with his army againſt Gela.

[P] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention ſome particulars relating to the Carthaginian camps. which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the Carthaginians were apprehenſive, that the enemy would attempt to raiſe the ſiege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and

relief of the beſieged with a powerful army. The Geleans, in the beginning of the ſiege, were determined to ſend away their wives and children to Syracuſe, as a place of greater ſafety; but they all, running to the altars in the forum, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but proteſted that they would undergo the ſame fate as their huſbands and parents. This reſolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themſelves in the defence of perſons ſo dear to them, and to whom they were ſo dear. They made ſeveral ſallies with good ſucceſs, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them priſoners into the town. No ſooner was a breach opened in the wall by the Carthaginian rams (O), but the and a wall, as we learn here from Diodorus. Their camps ſeem ro have been formed in a regular manner, reſembling a town, and had gates to them. The Numidian camp was always ſeparated from the Carthaginian; the reaſons of which ſeem to have been, that the Carthaginians were generally foot, but the Numidians horſe, and that the latter could not permit themſelves to be confined to the rules of military diſcipline ſo eaſily as the former. The general's tent was, for the moſt part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and ſuperb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their reſpective orders; and a ſtrong guard, Polybius intimates a thouſand horſe and as many foot, were generally poſted before it. Near this ſtood the ſacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of diſtinction, performed their devotions. The Carthaginian tents ſeem to have been raiſed in a regular manner of wood, faſcines, &c. reſembling ſo many cottages; but the Numidian were the reverſe, conſiſting only of reeds, ſtraw, ſtubble, and other ſuch-like ſlight materials (z.)

(O) The ram was a battering engine uſed in ſieges by the antients. Pliny tells us it was found out by Epeus, a Greek, at the ſiege of Troy; but this is not very probable, becauſe we find no mention made of it in Homer, who, if ſuch a wonderful machine had been then known, could not poſſibly have omitted taking notice of it. 'Tis therefore much more likely, that the Carthaginians invented it, as Vitruvius and Tertullian believe, with whom Lipſius agrees. The ram was a large beam, equal to the maſt of a ſhip,

(z) Liv. l. xxvi. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Juſt. Lipſ. l. v. dial. 2. milit. Rom. Polyb. l. i. c. 45. & l. iii. c. 71. Diod. Sic. l xx. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. Polyb. l. vi. Plutarch. in Scip. Lipſ. milit. Rom. l. v. dial. 5. & Chriſt. Hendr. Carth. l. ii. ſect. 2. memb. 1. c. 7.

the citizens repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully ſhared with them the labour and danger. The young men were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the reſt employed in working and other neceſſary ſervices. In fine, they defended themſelves with ſuch courage and reſolution, that, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held out a long time againſt a moſt formidable

And meets with a vigorous reſiſtance

a ſhip, with an head of ſolid iron, reſembling that of a ram, from whence it derived its name. This was faſtened in the middle to another beam, ſupported by a large piece of timber on each ſide, by ropes, in ſuch a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwarks by a great number of hands as far as poſſible, was then puſhed forwards with as great an impetus as they could give it, ſo that the iron head beating againſt the walls of a city with inconceivable force, eaſily ſhook them; neither was there any wall or tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As theſe blows, in ſome reſpect, reſembled the buttings of a ram, this was a further reaſon for giving the machine the name of that animal. Appian relates, that the Romans battered the walls of Carthage with two rams of an immenſe ſize, one of which was played by a body of ſix thouſand foot, and the other by a vaſt number of rowers, which may ſerve to give us ſome idea of this terrible engine. 'Tis mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel in two paſſages, and Nebuchadnezzar made uſe of it at the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Whether the Carthaginians, or their anceſtors the Tyrians, (for both ſometimes went by the ſame name) firſt diſcovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the diſcovery was made; but we take Ezekiel to be the earlieſt author in whom any mention of it is to be ſeen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full deſcription of the various kinds of this machine in Vitruvius and Lipſius, whom at their leiſure they may conſult (2).

Now we are upon this ſubject, we ſhall here, once for all, give a ſhort account of the catapulta and the baliſta, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the antient hiſtorians. The catapulta was a machine out of which the Carthaginians, and other nations, ſent vollies of darts and large arrows, made on purpoſe, upon the enemy, particularly upon thoſe parties of garriſons poſted on

(2) Tertul. de Pal. Plin. Joſeph. Vitruv. & Veget. apud Lipſium in poliorc. l. iii. dial. 1. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. Vitruv. l. x. c. 19. Ezek. iv. 1, 2. & xxi. 22. Plin l. vii. c. 56. Chriſt. Hendr. ubi ſup. p. 468—475.

army, without receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their allies [q].

Dionyſius advances to the relief of Gela.

In the mean time Dionyſius, by the junction of his mercenaries, and ſuccours from Magna Græcia with the Syracuſans, almoſt every one of whom capable of bearing arms he obliged to liſt under his ſtandard, formed an army of fifty thouſand foot, according to ſome, though Timæus Siculus makes them only thirty thouſand, and a thouſand horſe; with which, and fifty ſail of ſhips, he advanced to the relief of Gela. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the ſea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he propoſed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilſt his horſe and ſhipping ſhould intercept all proviſions coming to their camp from any part of the Carthaginian dominions; which he doubted not would greatly diſtreſs them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made the following diſpoſition of his forces: The Sicilian foot had orders

[q] Idem ibid.

on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the rams. Diodorus intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the ſiege of Motya. Some authors confound this with the baliſta, which was an engine out of which ſtones of a vaſt weight were diſcharged; for Diodorus writes, that the Carthaginians filled Lilybæum with catapults, out of which they threw ſtones; and Appian relates the ſame of the Roman catapults. But Lipſius (and he has reaſon on his ſide) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the catapulta diſcharged both ſtones and arrows. That author ſays, there were two ſorts of catapults, the majores catapultæ, and the minores; the firſt ſent forth ſhowers of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other thoſe of half that length. At the taking of new Carthage in Spain, an hundred and twenty large catapults were found there, and two hundred and eighty one of the ſmaller ſize. The Carthaginians always abounded with theſe engines: when Pyrrhus attacked Lilybæum, there was ſuch an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would ſcarce contain them; and, a little before the deſtruction of their city, they delivered up to the Romans two thouſand of them, according to Appian, or, as Strabo will have it, three thouſand. The baliſta, as juſt hinted, was an engine out of which the antients threw ſtones of a prodigious magnitude;

ders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the ſhore, attempt the camp in the weakeſt place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the ſpot where the Carthaginian engines were placed, in order to deſtroy them; the horſe he commanded to paſs the Gela, upon a ſignal given by the foot, to join them, if ſuperior to the enemy, or, if repulſed, to ſupport them; and laſtly, the ſea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as poſſible with the ſhips, when the Italian troops came up. As Imilcar had ſent a ſtrong detachment towards the ſhore, to oppoſe the enemy's landing, and defend that part of the camp which lay moſt expoſed, the Italian auxiliaries met with a great reſiſtance. However, they behaved with ſuch bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the Carthaginian camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly ſupported, they muſt have carried it, and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But Dionyſius, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himſelf able to advance with ſufficient expedition through the ſtreets of the city to their relief, the Siculi being too remote to afford them timely ſuccour, and the garriſon

And attacks the enemy's camp.

tude: this was alſo uſed at ſieges, and in many reſpects anſwered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the baliſta, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, ſeems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to Lipſius, the baliſta likewiſe was either major or minor; the major threw ſtones of three hundred and ſixty pound weight, and the minor thoſe of an hundred. Hegeſippus relates ſeveral ſurpriſing effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. Livy tells us, that the Romans found at Carthage twenty-two of the larger baliſtæ, and of the ſmaller fifty-two. Ammianus Marcellinus, as explained and illuſtrated by Lipſius, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, uſe, form, and, in ſhort, of every thing relating to theſe terrible engines, to which authors, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers (3).

(3 Juſt. Lipſ. ubi ſup. dial. 2. & 3. Vide etiam. Frid. Taubmannum in Plaut. capt. act iv. ſcen. ii. v. 16. Diod. Sic. in excerpt. l. xxii. c. 14. Appian. in Libyc. p. 46. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 47, Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. Hegeſip. l. iii. c. 12. Vid. & Joſeph. Laurentium de torment. c. 7, &c.

riſon not daring to make an effectual ſally by way of diverſion, leſt they ſhould leave the walls too naked; the Carthaginians reſuming their courage, and being relieved by a powerful ſupply of freſh troops, ſoon broke them, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, and forced the reſt into a narrow paſs within the lines. Here they muſt all have been inevitably cut off, had not a ſhower of darts, and other miſſive weapons from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The Sicilian foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of Africans with ſuch reſolution, that they put them to flight, and purſued them to their very trenches with great ſlaughter; but theſe Africans being ſoon reinforced by the Campanians, Iberians, and Carthaginians, who had routed the Italians, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the Siculi, drove them back to the town, with the loſs of ſix hundred men. The horſe finding the foot not able to withſtand the efforts of the enemy, and ſeeing theſe advance on all ſides in order to ſurround them, retired likewiſe to the city with precipitation. Dionyſius, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greateſt part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper alſo to retreat, and take ſhelter within the walls. After this unſucceſsful attempt he ſummoned a council of war, conſiſting of his particular friends, the reſult of whoſe deliberations was that, ſince the enemy was ſo much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the iſſue of a battle; and therefore, that the inhabitants ſhould be perſuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to ſave their lives. In conſequence of this, a trumpet was ſent to Imilcar, to deſire a ceſſation of arms till the next day, in order as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making their eſcape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himſelf, with the army, followed them about midnight. To amuſe the enemy, he left two thouſand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and ſet up loud ſhouts, as though the army remained ſtill in the town. At day-break, theſe took the ſame rout as their companions, and purſued their march with great celerity. By theſe ſtratagems, Dionyſius preſerved the inhabitants of Gela from all inſults, and ſecured the retreat of his army [r].

But is repulſed with great loſs.

Which obliges the inhabitants to abandon the place.

Dionyſius ſecures their retreat, and that of his army, by a ſtratagem.

IMIL-

[r] Idem ibid.

IMILCAR finding the city deſerted by the greateſt part of the citizens, the garriſon, and Syracuſan army, immediately entered it, and either put to the ſword or crucified all he met with in it. He likewiſe thoroughly plundered it in the ſame manner as Agrigentum, and then moved with his forces towards Camarina. Dionyſius had before drawn off the Camarineans with their wives and children to Syracuſe, by apriſing them of Imilcar's ſpeedy approach. Their city underwent the ſame fate with that of Gela. The manner in which it was abandoned, Diodorus Siculus deſcribes in a moſt moving manner, but this, as well as what happened to Dionyſius hereupon, may be ſeen at large in a former part of this hiſtory [s].

Imilcar plunders Gela, and then moves towards Camarina, which undergoes the ſame fate.

IMILCAR, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the caſualies of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himſelf in a condition to continue the war, ſent an herald to Syracuſe to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionyſius, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Carthaginians. The articles of it were; that the Carthaginians, beſides their antient acquiſitions in Sicily, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the countries of the Sicania the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina ſhould be permitted to reſide in their reſpective cities, which yet ſhould be diſmantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontini, Meſſanians, and all the other Sicilians, ſhould live according to their own laws, and preſerve their own liberty and independency, except the Syracuſans, who ſhould continue in ſubjection to Dionyſius. Theſe articles being ratified by both parties, Imilcar returned to Carthage, having loſt above half of his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in Africa, carrying off vaſt numbers both of the Carthaginians and their allies [t].

A peace concluded betwixt the Carthaginians and Dionyſius.

BEFORE the Carthaginian army retired from Sicily, Imilcar ſeparated the Campanians from the other troops, and left them to defend his conqueſts in that iſland. It happened ſoon after, that Dionyſius was reduced to ſuch extremities by his ſubjects the Syracuſans, that he was adviſed by his moſt intimate friends either to kill himſelf, or by one deſperate effort

Dionyſius in imminent danger of loſing the ſovereignty at Syracuſe.

[s] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p 229. & ſeq. [t] Idem ibid.

fort force his way through the enemy's camp, and eſcape to thoſe places which were ſubject to the Carthaginians. But Philiſtus (E) the hiſtorian, who, for a conſiderable time had ſupport-

(E) This Philiſtus was, according to Suidas (1), the ſon of Archonides, or, as Pauſanias calls him, Archomenidas, and ſcholar to the elegiac poet Euenus. He was particularly intimate with Dionyſius, and above any other perſon inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing that tyrant's power at Syracuſe; for which reaſon he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is ſuggeſted by ſome, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with Dionyſius's mother, tho' with his privity. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of Leptines, brother to Dionyſius, without imparting his deſign to that prince, he was baniſhed by him, and retired to Adria. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of Dionyſius the younger, thoſe who oppoſed Dion had him recalled; for they were afraid, leſt Plato, by his eloquence and philoſophy, ſhould change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) ſo learned a man as Philiſtus would be able to prevent, eſpecially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himſelf to the tyrant's diſpoſition. He anſwered their expectations; for, as ſoon as he was in favour, he oppoſed Plato, and perſuaded Dionyſius to expel Dion. Soon after, Dion made war upon Dionyſius, and beſieged him in the caſtle of Syracuſe. Philiſtus haſtened to his aſſiſtance from Iapygia, with a ſtrong ſquadron of (3) galleys, but had the misfortune to be defeated. Ephorus ſays, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by Diodorus Siculus. But Timonides, who lived with Dion from the beginning of theſe commotions, informs us, that he was taken priſoner, and put to death; with whom Timæus Siculus in the main agrees. Diodorus Siculus ſays, he was denied burial. He may juſtly be eſteemed to have been a man of merit, if we conſider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in ſome meaſure, appear from the account of him in the hiſtory of Syracuſe. Suidas (4) aſcribes to him a treatiſe concerning oratory; Ægyptiaca, or the hiſtory of Egypt, in twelve books; res Siculæ, or the Sicilian hiſtory, in eleven books; ſome orations, and one amongſt the reſt againſt Tricaranus, concerning the city of Naucratis; the hiſtory of Dionyſius the tyrant; three books about the theology of the Egyptians; and a treatiſe concerning Libya and Syria. Cicero (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His Sicilian hiſtory

(1) Suid. in Φίλιστος & Pauſan. in Eliac. l. v. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. & xvi. & Plut. in Dion. (2) Plut. ubi ſup. (3) Idem ibid. & Diod. Sic. l. xvi. (4) Suid. ubi ſup. (5) Cic. de divinat. l. i.

ſupported Dionyſius, oppoſed this advice, telling him, that he ought to reſume his courage, and either maintain himſelf on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the ſentiments of Philiſtus, reſolved to part with his life, ra-

ſtory was the work in greateſt eſteem, of which, acccording to Diodorus Siculus (6), there where two parts. The firſt conſiſted of ſeven books, including the tranſactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum. The other begins where the firſt left off, that is, at the time when Dionyſius the elder began his reign over the Syracuſans, which was the year after the taking of Agrigentum. According to Cicero (7), he took great pleaſure in imitating Thucydides; and, if Quintilian (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perſpicuity. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (9) made him too much inferior to Thucydides. However, all are agreed, that he much reſembled him in the conciſeneſs of his ſtyle. He affected this ſo much, that, if Theon (10) may be believed, he avoided digreſſions to an exceſs. Timæus abuſed him; but Ephorus extolled him up to the ſkies; for which they are both cenſured by Plutarch (11). His works, as well as thoſe of Ephorus and Timæus Siculus, are all entirely loſt. Had Philiſtus's Sicilian hiſtory, and his treatiſe concerning Libya, been extant, we ſhould undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of Carthage, the firſt formation, growth, and decay of the Carthaginian ſtate; in ſhort, of all the principal tranſactions in which it was concerned, from its earlieſt ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of thoſe pieces, but likewiſe from an hint given us by (12) Euſebius and Appian. Notwithſtanding he wrote an hiſtory during his baniſhment, he did not ſhew any reſentment againſt Dionyſius in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct Pauſanias (13) endeavours to excuſe, or at leaſt to palliate, by ſaying, that the motive to it was a deſire to be recalled to Syracuſe. Some believe Philiſtus to have been born at Naucratis, others at Syracuſe, and laſtly, others believe there were two hiſtorians of that name, one of whom was born at Naucratis, and the other at Syracuſe. It is not very material which of theſe is in the right.

(6) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. (7) Cic. de orat. l. ii. (8) Quintil. l. x. c. 1. (9) Dionyſ. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp. (10) Theon in progym. c. 4. (11) Plut. ubi ſup. (12) Euſeb. in chron. ad num. DCCCIV. Vide & animadverſ. Scaliger. in loc. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. (13) Pauſan. in Attic. p. 25. Vide & Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l. i. c. 6.

rather than the power he had acquired. In conſequence of this reſolution, he diſpatched an expreſs privately to the Cam-
But delivered from thence by the Cam panians. panians, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their aſſiſtance he ſoon extricated himſelf out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became a ſcourge both to his own ſubjects and the Carthaginians [u].

He makes preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians. HAVING diſarmed the inhabitants of Syracuſe, and by that ſtep fixed his ſovereignty there, he began to make the neceſſary preparations for renewing the war with the Carthaginians; for he had ſtruck up the late peace with Imilcar ſo ſuddenly, with no other view, than to amuſe him till he had eſtabliſhed his authority, and found himſelf in a condition to attack the Carthaginian conqueſts in Sicily with a powerful army. The motives, that ſeem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: Firſt, to prevent the future deſertion of his ſubjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the Carthaginian garriſons, as well as to recover thoſe he had loſt, ſince he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the Carthaginians would drive them from thence. And ſecondly, the great proſpect of ſucceſs he had at that particular juncture, by reaſon of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the Carthaginian territories. As he knew the Carthagians to be the moſt potent nation in the weſt, and that, if an opportunity offered, they would moſt certainly beſiege Syracuſe, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill Epipolæ, which commanded the town. This he did at a
And fortifies the hill Epipolæ. vaſt expence, with the aſſiſtance of ſixty thouſand freed-men and ſix thouſand yoke of oxen. Diodorus tells us, that on this occaſion the tyrant did not only ſuperintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himſelf, enduring as much hardſhip and fatigue as the pooreſt labourer; by which means the workmen were inſpired with ſuch a ſpirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day and part of the night, and, which is almoſt incredible, in twenty days finiſhed a wall thirty furlongs in length, and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper diſtances, and built of hewn ſtone, rendered the place almoſt impregnable [w].

HAVING

[u] Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 3.

[w] Idem ibid. c. 4.

HAVING thus put his own city in a ſtate of defence, he made preparations ſuitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very ſenſible with how formidable a power he was ſoon to cope. His firſt care was to bring to Syracuſe from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all ſorts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their reſpective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and of ſtriking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the temples, but the ſchools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay even private houſes, were filled with workmen. The great wages which Dionyſius paid them, induced the beſt artificers every-where to offer him their ſervice. He himſelf directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to ſuperintend them, with orders to promiſe great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The art of making engines to batter walls was, according to Diodorus, now firſt brought to Syracuſe; but the artificer's name to whom Dionyſius was obliged for this, is no where told us. As he was ambitious of being ſuperior to the Carthaginians by ſea, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and then ſhipped for Syracuſe. Mount Ætna alſo ſupplied him with many fir and pitch trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the neceſſary materials, he employed ſuch a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred ſail was ſoon ready to put to ſea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys, that were refitted. He likewiſe cauſed an hundred and ſixty diſtinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for ſheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ſhips a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old uſeleſs veſſels covered them with planks. The Syracuſans themſelves manned half of the long ſhips, and the foreigners, who had entered into Dionyſius's ſervice, the reſt. In order to have his troops completely armed as ſoon as poſſible, Dionyſius animated the artificers by his preſence, by the applauſes he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them ſhared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited

Artificers flock to him out of all countries, and ſoon enable him to build a vaſt number of ſhips, and to forge a prodigious quantity of all ſorts of arms

excited more ſtrongly, than any other circumſtance, the induſtry and ardor of theſe people; for thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only ſure of receiving ſome particular marks of his favour, but even ſometimes had the honour to dine or ſup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a ſhorter time than can eaſily be conceived, beſides an immenſe quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred and forty thouſand bucklers, the ſame number of ſwords and helmets, and fourteen thouſand cuiraſſes, all of excellent workmanſhip. He had alſo prepared for ſervice a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for land-forces, beſides his own ſubjects, many ſoldiers came from Italy, Greece, and other countries, to liſt in his ſervice. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that Dionyſius is ſaid by Diodorus to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a deſire, that the Syracuſans ſhould be thought to rival their anceſtors in ingenuity; for being appriſed, that the triremes, or three-oared veſſels, were firſt made at Corinth, he was deſirous the number of oars ſhould be firſt enlarged by the Syracuſans, a colony of the Corinthians[x].

He acquaints the Syracuſans with his deſign.

THE tyrant having finiſhed his military preparations both by ſea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his deſign to the Syracuſans. In order to which he convened the ſenate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the Carthaginian territories inſtantly, and even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occaſion, and to ſpirit up the aſſembly, he urged, that the Carthaginians were of all others the moſt implacable enemies to the Greek nation; that they had then nothing leſs in view than the conqueſt of Sicily, and conſequently the ruin of all the Greek cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of Syracuſe before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a ſtate of inaction; that as they were then in a moſt deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itſelf to the Syracuſans of driving them out of the iſland than the preſent; and that laſtly, if this was let ſlip, upon their recovering themſelves, they would moſt certainly put their favourite ſcheme in execution, and deprive the Syracuſans, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable

[x] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 7.

valuable to them. The aſſembly, moved by ſo pathetic a ſpeech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of juſtice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the Carthaginians, their rage againſt them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding ſome opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their ſuffrages, and war was unanimouſly reſolved on. If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worſted, the tyrant would be ſo much afraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his ſubjects at home with more moderation. In ſhort, as they fancied themſelves to have a proſpect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for puſhing matters to extremity without delay [y].

Who approve of it.

Upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, Dionyſius, in conformity to the diſpoſition of the Syracuſans, gave up to the fury of the populace the perſons and poſſeſſions of the Carthaginians, who then reſided in Syracuſe, and there traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ſhips at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not contented with this, ranſacked all their houſes in a moſt outrageous manner: and this horrid example of perfidiouſneſs and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of Sicily; nay, the Greeks inhabiting the cities under the juriſdiction of the Carthaginians, not ſatisfied with ſtripping them of their effects, thought themſelves ſufficiently authorized to treat the bodies of thoſe miſerable wretches with the utmoſt ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of puniſhment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exerciſed on the natives of the country. This was the bloody ſignal of the war that Dionyſius now entered into with the Carthaginians [z].

He falls upon the Carthaginians in Sicily, without any previous declaration of war.

It has been above obſerved, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to Dionyſius from Greece, Italy, and ſeveral other countries. The great pay he offered, drew them over in crouds; but no foreign power contributed ſo much to his ſupport as the Lacedæmonians. From Sparta he received as many recruits as were neceſſary for the completing of his troops, which, becauſe he apprehended the war with

Great numbers of foreign mercenaries take on in his ſervice.

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

with Carthage would be long and bloody, he reſolved ſhould be very numerous. That he might be entirely at liberty to act againſt the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the Rhegians and Meſſanians. To engage the latter the more firmly in his intereſts, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill beſtowed at ſuch a critical juncture; for the Meſſanians, being a ſea-faring people, and pretty powerful, would have given no ſmall diverſion to his arms, had they joined with the Carthaginians [a].

He concludes a peace with the Rhegians and Meſſanians.

DIONYSIUS, thus backed by his ſubjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vaſt project he had formed now ripe for execution, diſpatched an herald to Carthage, with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garriſons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuſe would treat them as enemies. This letter being read firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned a general alarm at Carthage, which the plague had reduced to a miſerable condition. However, though in want of all neceſſaries, they were not diſmayed, but ſent officers into Europe, with conſiderable ſums, to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence. In the mean time, they diſpatched orders to their garriſons in Sicily, to obſerve the motions of the Syracuſan army; and appointed Himilco commander in chief of all their forces [b].

The Carthaginians levy forces to oppoſe Dionyſius.

DIONYSIUS, without waiting for the anſwer of the Carthaginians, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount Eryx, near which ſtood the city of Motya, a Carthaginian colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great ſtrength, and might be juſtly looked upon as the key of Sicily. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a conſiderable blow given to the Carthaginians. He was joined on his march by the Greeks of Gela, Camarina, Agrigentum, Himera, and Selinus, out of the ardent deſire they had to recover their liberties, and ſhake off the Carthaginian yoke. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, his army amounted to eighty thouſand foot and above three thouſand horſe. The fleet conſiſted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred tranſports, laden with warlike

[a] Idem ibid.

[b] Idem ibid.

warlike engines and all ſorts of proviſions, The Motyans, by reaſon of their attachment to the Carthaginians, expected the ſtorm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from Carthage, they were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood. The city ſtood on a ſmall iſland, about half a league from ſhore, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land, which the Motyans cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide. In it the Carthaginians kept all their ſtores and proviſions. Dionyſius therefore opened the campaign with the ſiege of this place; and after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the ſhore to be filled up with rubbiſh, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given theſe orders, he left his brother Leptines, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the ſiege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians, which terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an army, all ſubmitted, except five, viz. Ancyra, Solas, Egeſta, Panormus, and Entella. The territories of the Solantines, Panormitans, and Ancyreans, he deſtroyed with fire and ſword, and cut down all their trees. Egeſta and Entella he beſieged, endeavouring, by repeated attacks, to take them both by ſtorm; but not being able to reduce them in ſo ſhort a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, not doubting, but all other places would fall of courſe, as ſoon as he had made himſelf maſter of this.

Dionyſius inveſts Motya.

In the mean time, Himilco (F), who was buſy in raiſing men and making other preparations for the war in Sicily, ordered his admiral to ſet ſail from Carthage with ten galleys, and making ſtrait to Syracuſe, to deſtroy all the veſſels

Himilco ſends ten gallies from Carthage, to deſtroy the veſſels in the harbour of Syracuſe.

(F) This general we have conſtantly called Imilcar in the hiſtory of Syracuſe, through miſtake; for we are now convinced, that his true name was Himilco. This appears not only from Diodorus Siculus, but likewiſe from Livy, Polyænus, Frontinus, and Oroſius. In ſome editions of Juſtin he is called Amilco; in other Imilcos; but that author is certainly guilty of a miſtake, when he makes him the ſon of Hamilcar, who was killed by Gelon, and ſkips over a long interval of time, when he will have the deſtruction of this general's army by the plague immediately to have ſucceeded the death of Hamilcar above-mentioned. Beſides

veſſels he ſhould find in that harbour. What he propoſed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige Dionyſius to ſend part of his fleet to the defence of Syracuſe. The admiral, purſuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being diſcerned by the enemy; and having ſunk moſt of the ſhips he found there, returned to Carthage without the loſs of a ſingle man [c] (G).

DIONYSIUS, on his return to Motya, having ſet more hands at work, ſpeedily filled up the canal with heaps of ſtone and rubbiſh, ſo that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers ſix ſtories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houſes, and from thence galled the beſieged with continual vollies of arrows and ſtones diſcharged from his catapults (H), an engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the

[c] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

ſides, that this was not the ſame Imilcar who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that Imilcar there imagined his collegue Hannibal to have brought the plague into the Carthaginian army, by demoliſhing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he conſidered as an impious action, and therefore diſcontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this Himilco beat down the tombs which ſtood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facilitate his approaches. They were therefore probably different perſons from this circumſtance; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond diſpute (1).

(G) Polyænus tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be all placed abaft, or in the ſterns of the ſhips, that no ſuſpicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiſcovered by the enemy, and eaſily deſtroyed the veſſels he found there (2).

(H) To what has been lately obſerved of the catapultæ and baliſtæ may be added, that from the latter ſtones of a prodigious ſize were generally thrown; that the Greek word πέλτη, of which with the prepoſition κατὰ, the word καταπέλτης or catapulta i compoſed, ſignifies, according to Heſychius, a dart, a ſpear, o javelin

(1) Liv. l. xxiv. c. 36. Polyæn. ſtratag. l. v. c. 10. ex. 2 Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2. Oroſ. l. iv. Juſtin. l. xix. (2) Polyæn. ubi ſup.

the utmoſt vigor. The Motyans, tho' deſpairing of any relief, reſolved to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from ſo incenſed an enemy; and therefore oppoſed the beſiegers, notwithſtanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They poſted ſoldiers armed in coats of mail upon the maſts of their ſhips, having hoiſted up their main-yards, who threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch upon the engines, which immediatly ſet them on fire; but the Sicilians, preſently advancing, not only extinguiſhed the flames, but opened ſeveral large breaches in the walls, and made a general aſſault upon the town with ſuch fury, that they bore down all before them. The conteſt now was extremely bloody; for the beſiegers thinking themſelves ſure of carrying the place, and being vaſtly deſirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and on the other hand, the beſieged, knowing they muſt fall victims to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by ſtorm, reſolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in deſperation. At laſt, however, the Sicilians prevailed, and entered the city ſword in hand, thinking they ſhould now ſpeedily accompliſh their deſign; but herein they found themſelves deceived, for the Motyans had finiſhed a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal ſtrength with the walls themſelves, which there was a neceſſity of carrying, before Dionyſius could make himſelf maſter of the place. The beſieged therefore, after

Dionyſius attempts to ſtorm Motya.

javelin; and conſequently gives us to underſtand, that theſe were the miſſive weapons diſcharged moſt frequently out of that machine. This is confirmed by an alluſion to be found in Plautus. Both the catapultæ and baliſtæ were of Syrian or Phœnician invention, and from thoſe nations the Jews had them, as may be learned from Pliny, in conjunction with ſcripture. The Sicilians introduced them into Greece, in the time of Ageſilaus. Upon the firſt ſight of the telum catapultarium, Archidamus, the ſon of that prince, is ſaid to have cried out, 'O ye gods, all valour is now deſtroyed' (3).

(3) Heſych. in voc. πέλτη. Plaut. curcul. 5. 3. 11. Lipſ. poliorc. 3. 2. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. Plutarch in apophth. Vid. & Jac. Perizonii comment. in Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 12. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themſelves to the defence of this, and gave the Sicilians a warmer reception here than they had met with before, deſtroying vaſt numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houſes adjoining to it. However, the Sicilian towers being of a vaſt height, by their aſſiſtance the beſiegers advanced their ſcaling ladders to the neighbouring houſes, and by this means fought hand to hand with the beſieged. The diſpute now was extremely ſharp and obſtinate; for the Motyans having new life and vigor infuſed into them by the ſight of their wives and children, who, in caſe of any diſaſter, they knew would be treated in the ſame barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken priſoners by the Greeks had already been, reſolved either to conquer or die. They ruſhed therefore with a fury little inferior to madneſs into the midſt of their enemies, threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the ſcaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulſed Dionyſius with ſuch ſlaughter, that he was at laſt obliged to ſound a retreat [d].

But is vigorouſly repulſed.

But at laſt takes the town.

THE attack was repeated for ſeveral days ſucceſſively in the ſame manner, but without any effect; for the Motyans, being accuſtomed to this way of fighting, conſtantly repulſed Dionyſius, obliging him every evening to draw off. At laſt Archylus the Thurian, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the ſhattered houſes without noiſe, poſſeſſed himſelf of a very commodious poſt, where he made a lodgment, till Dionyſius ſent another ſtrong body of troops to ſupport him. The Motyans, ſeeing themſelves ſurpriſed, made their utmoſt efforts to diſlodge the enemy, ſo that a fierce encounter enſued. But at laſt the Sicilians, overpowering them with numbers, gave Dionyſius an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the Sicilians, enraged at the obſtinate defence of the beſieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the Carthaginians, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, thoſe only excepted who took ſanctuary in the Greek temples. For Dionyſius, being deſirous of ſelling them for ſlaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to reſtrain the violence of his ſoldiery, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare,

[d] Idem ibid.

clare, that he would have the Motyans fly for refuge thither. This put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; however the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immenſe quantity of wealth and treaſure. This Dionyſius thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to ſignalize themſelves on all future occaſions. And plunders it.

As many therefore of the Motyans as were left alive, he ſold for ſlaves, but commanded Diamenes and all the Greeks, who had joined the Carthaginians, to be crucified. As for Archylus, to whoſe bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great meaſure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred minas, and all the reſt in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the ſtrongeſt city in Sicily ſubject to Carthage, he placed a numerous garriſon in it, under the command of one Bito a Syracuſan. Afterwards ordering Leptines, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the Carthaginians at ſea, and to make incurſions into the territories of Entella and Egeſta, which it was his intention to have done himſelf, would the ſeaſon and the exigence of his affairs have permitted, ſummer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to Syracuſe [e]. Leaves a garriſon there, and returns to Syracuſe.

THE Carthaginians having been ſurpriſed by Dionyſius, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impoſſible to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege of Motya; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to Syracuſe. In order to which, Himilco, receiving advice, that Dionyſius with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his beſt galleys manned without delay; with which, as the Syracuſans had no ſquadron out at ſea to obſtruct his deſign, he entertained hopes either of deſtroying or making himſelf maſter of the tyrant's whole naval force by ſurpriſe at one ſingle blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewiſe changed the ſeat of the war.

SETTING ſail therefore from Carthage, after a ſhort paſſage, he arrived in the night on the coaſt of Selinus, and the next morning by break of day, at the port of Motya, where the Syracuſan galleys were then riding at anchor. Theſe he immediately attacked, burning and ſinking ſeveral of them.

[e] Idem ibid.

Himilco makes an attempt to surprise Dionysius's squadron in the harbour of Syracuse.

Dionysius, not a little alarmed at this unexpected visit of the enemy, and seeing, by the dispositions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being destroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding the Carthaginians had possessed themselves of the passage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ships out of port, because the mouth being strait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage a much superior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour, he by this means preserved them.

In the mean time, Himilco, pressing upon those galleys that lay next to him, made all possible efforts to take or destroy them; but was vigorously repulsed, and lost many of his men by showers of darts thrown from the decks. The Syracusan army likewise greatly annoyed him by repeated vollies of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon, and doing considerable execution, struck a great terror into the enemy. Himilco therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprise to bear, as judging it by no means advisable to venture an engagement with a squadron so much superior to him in strength, left the Motyans (I) to themselves, and returned to Africa [f].

But is obliged to sheer off.

Dionysius makes an inroad into the Carthaginian territories.

The following spring, Dionysius, drawing his forces out of Syracuse, made an inroad into the Carthaginian pro-

[f] Idem ibid. & Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 6.

(I) Polyænus intimates, that, upon the approach of the Carthaginian fleet, Dionysius drew off his forces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the shore, as near the enemy's vessels as possible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his soldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of twenty stadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of mud. Over this his soldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the Carthaginians into a great consternation. The admiral therefore, fearing the Syracusans would first block up his fleet in the mouth of the harbour, and then destroy it, immediately set sail, and left the Motyans to the mercy of the enemy (4).

(6) Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 6.

provinces, ravaging and deſtroying the country in a dreadful manner. The Halicyæans, terrified by this irruption, ſent embaſſadors to his camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of Egeſta, remaining firm in their fidelity to Carthage, ſet him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid ſiege to the place; but the Egeſtines making a vigorous and unexpected ſally upon the beſiegers, put the advanced guards in diſorder, and ſet fire to their tents, which occaſioned a great conſternation throughout the whole camp. Several ſoldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, loſt their lives, and many horſes were burnt. Dionyſius, ſoon after, raiſing the ſiege, roved about the country in the ſame hoſtile manner as before, and whilſt Leptines was obſerving the motions of the enemy by ſea, continued his depredations without oppoſition.

Soon after the reduction of Motya, the news of that melancholy event arrived at Carthage; and the year following Himilco was appointed one of the ſuffetes there. The progreſs of Dionyſius alarming the ſenate, they reſolved to ſurpaſs him in number both of men and ſhips; to which end they diſpatched officers into all parts of Africa and Spain to raiſe forces. When the preparations were completed, the Carthaginian army amounted to above three hundred thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the command of Mago, conſiſted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of ſix hundred ſhips of burden laden with proviſions and engines of war. This is the account given by Ephorus; but Timæus Siculus affirms, that not above an hundred thouſand men were tranſported from Africa into Sicily, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thouſand Sicilians. The troops being embarqued, and the fleet ready to ſet ſail, Himilco delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet ſealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at ſea, and then to obſerve them with all ſtrictneſs. This precaution he took (and it is the firſt time we find it uſed) to prevent ſpies from informing the enemy of his deſigns. The orders were, that they ſhould make ſtrait to Panormus, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they ſteered their courſe with a fair wind. The tranſports, getting out into the open ſea, outſailed the galleys, which kept cloſe to the coaſt

of Africa; but being deſtitute of a convoy, were attacked off of Panormus by Leptines, whom Dionyſius had ſent out with thirty ſail againſt them. After a ſhort diſpute, he ſunk fifty of them, in which five thouſand men and two hundred chariots were loſt; the reſt, tacking about, had the good luck to eſcape. As ſoon as the galleys appeared, Leptines retired; and Himilco, having landed his troops at Panormus, marched directly againſt the enemy, commanding the fleet to ſail along the coaſt near the army. On his march he took Eryx by treachery; and haſtening from thence to Motya, reduced that important place before Dionyſius, who was then beſieging Egeſta, could ſend any forces to its relief [g].

Leptines defeats the enemy by ſea

The Carthaginians retake Motya.

THE Sicilian troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the Carthaginians, in order to decide the fate of Sicily as ſoon as poſſible; but Dionyſius thought it more adviſeable to abandon the open country to the enemy, becauſe he was at a great diſtance from his confederates, and began to be in want of proviſions. He exhorted the Sicani to leave their cities, and join the army, promiſing them, after the concluſion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit as many of them as would chuſe it, to return to their former habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, liſtened to this propoſal; but the greateſt part of them deſerted to the enemy, together with the Halicyæans, who ſent embaſſadors to Carthage, to renew their antient alliance with that ſtate. Dionyſius, not meeting with a ſufficient reinforcement, and in conſequence of the reſolution he had taken, marched with great precipitation to Syracuſe, plundering and laying waſte the country all along as he paſſed. Himilco, flushed with his ſucceſs, advanced towards Meſſana, of which city he was very deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf, on account of its ſituation; for being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy, either from Italy or Greece; and beſides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which conſiſted of ſix hundred ſail and upwards. Before he inveſted the city, he concluded a treaty with the people of Himera and Cephalœdium, and reduced

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 10. ex. 2. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2.

duced the city of Lipara (K), the capital of the iſland of that name, putting it under contribution, by which he exacted

(K) Lipara was the principal of the Æolian iſlands, in number ſeven, not far from the north coaſt of Sicily. The names of theſe iſlands were Strongyle, Evonymos, Didyme, Phœnicuſa Hiera, Vulcania, and Lipara (1). According to Diodorus, both the iſland Lipara and its capital city received their name, from Liparus, the ſon of Auſon (2). king of theſe iſlands, who built the city Lipara, and cultivated all of them. The Lipareſe were antiently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by reaſon of the great revenue brought them in by alom, with which mineral their iſland (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to Diodorus, was beautified with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourbood, which were medicinal, and of ſingular ſervice to the people of Sicily, when ſeized with any ſtrange and unuſual diſeaſe. Pliny makes Æolus to have preceded Liparus in this iſland; but Diodorus tells us, that Æolus married Carne, the daughter of Liparus, and, in right of his wife, ſucceeded that prince. About the fiftieth olympiad, a colony of Cnidians (4), under their captains Gorgus, Theſtor, and Epitherſides, entered into a league with the antient inhabitants, and incorporated themſelves with them. Lipara was noted amongſt the antients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent raiſins it ſupplies ſeveral parts of Europe with, particularly England. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the contributions which Dionyſius exacted of them, amounting to about five thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling. It muſt be obſerved, that Diodorus, not only here, but in other paſſages, where he mentions a talent, means the Attic talent, which was worth about an hundred and eighty pounds (5) of our money, and not the Sicilian, amounting not to above three Roman denarii, or a two thouſandth part (6) of the Attic. The iſland is now called Lipari, and has its capital ſo fortified, that it ſtood a ſhort ſiege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an imperial detachment under the command of general Seckendorf; as was likewiſe the caſtle, whoſe garriſon of four hundred men thought proper to ſurrender the next day at diſcretion.

(1) Strab. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l, v. c. 1. Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 7. Strab. l. vi. & alib. Plin. l. iii. c. 9. (2) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. (3) Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. (4) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. (5) Feſt. ſub voc. Talentum. (6) Ariſtot. apud Jul. Pol l. ix. c. 6. & Feſt. ubi ſup. See Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 115.

acted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence moving with his forces towards Meſſana, his fleet at the ſame time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of Peloris, now the Capo di Faro, about an hundred ſtadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themſelves about the meaſures to be taken on that occaſion. Some, alarmed at the great ſtrength of the Carthaginians, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horſe, which were then at Syracuſe, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that they had not time then to make the neceſſary preparations for their defence, were for ſubmitting to the enemy. Others were reſolved to hold out to the laſt, and chearfully ſacrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were encouraged to this reſolution by an antient propheſy, whereby it was foretold, That the Carthaginians ſhould be one day carriers of water in that city. This they interpreted, as if the Carthaginians ſhould be ſlaves in Meſſana; and being thereby greatly animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than ſurrender themſelves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treaſures, they ſent to the neighbouring towns before the place was inveſted [h].

And advances afterwards to Meſſana.

Which place Himilco inveſts.

In order to prevent any incurſions of the enemy, they ſent a ſtrong detachment of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of Peloris, who for ſome time defended the frontiers. But Himilco, rightly concluding, that the garriſon muſt be greatly weakened by the abſence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby left ſo very much expoſed on the ſea-ſide, that it would be no difficult matter for his fleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town. His orders were inſtantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing freſh, they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The Meſſanians, being now ſenſible of their miſtake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that ſide; upon which the inhabitants haſtened in crouds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

quite unguarded. Himilco took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city on the land-ſide, entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themſelves into the ſea, imagining they could reach the oppoſite ſhore; of which, however, not above a fourth part made their eſcape to the coaſt of Italy. Himilco entered Meſſana with his whole army, and, in order to render his conqueſt complete, propoſed reducing all the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely ſtrong, he altered his meaſures, and returned back to Meſſana. Here he halted a ſhort time to refreſh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces againſt Syracuſe. And takes it

HIMILCO, conſidering that Meſſana was very remote from the cities held by the Carthaginians, and the moſt commodious port in Sicily on account of its ſituation, had, before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmoſt ſeverity, inſomuch, that there was not left one houſe ſtanding in the whole city; nay, Diodorus tells us, that ſcarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbiſh being carried away, and thrown into the ſea; which ſufficiently diſcovered the implacable hatred Himilco, as well as the whole Carthaginian nation, bore to the Greeks [i]. He orders it to be razed.

THE Siculi having Dionyſius in perfect deteſtation, and a fair opportunity now offering of ſhaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the Aſſarines, revolted to the Carthaginians. Dionyſius, being hereby deprived of the means of raiſing recruits, was obliged to preſent all the ſlaves and ſervants of the Syracuſans with their liberty, and with them he manned ſixty galleys. He received likewiſe a ſupply of a thouſand men from the Lacedæmonians, his antient and faithful allies. Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the caſtles and forts of the Syracuſans, and the cities in their dependence, and to ſtore them with proviſions. Thoſe of Moſt of the Siculi revolt from Dionyſius.

[i] Idem ibid.

of the Leontini, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely ſtrong, and perſuaded the Campanians to leave Catana, the place he had given them to reſide in, and remove to the city of Ætna, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, for their farther ſecurity [k].

Notwithſtanding which he advances towards the Carthaginians.

DIONYSIUS, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thouſand foot, and above three thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near a place called Taurus (L), about an hundred and

[k] Idem ibid.

(L) This Taurus was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which ſtood the famous city of Tauromi-nium. According to Diodorus (1), a great number of Sicilians had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. Dionyſius had given the country of the Naxians to theſe Sicilians; but they, induced by the promiſes of Himilco, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The ſame author adds, that, as they had ſettled here in times antecedent to this war, ſo they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called Tauromínium, from its ſituation upon mount Taurus. We learn farther from this hiſtorian (2), that Andromachus, the father of Timæus Siculus, about forty years after the commencement of this war, aſſembled all the fugitives of Naxos, a city which Dionyſius the tyrant had deſtroyed, and ſettled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of Taurominium. Theſe two accounts ſeem to claſh, ſince the firſt makes the foundation of Taurominium to have happened in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and ſixth. The learned Dr. Bentley (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both conſiſtent with one another. Cluverius indeed prefers the latter, but in this he ſeems to have Diodorus againſt him; for that author calls the place Taurominium three ſeveral times, before he makes the leaſt mention of Andromachus, viz. at olymp. XCVI. an. 1. (4) olymp. XCVI. an. 3. (5) and olymp. XCVII. an. 1. (6) However this may be, that the Taurominites were deſcended from the Naxians, cannot be diſputed. Pliny and Solinus ſay expreſly, that Taurominium was the city which was formerly called Naxos. The

(1) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. (2) Idem, l. xvi. c. 2. (3) Dr. Bentley in his diſſert. upon the epiſt. of Phal. p. 182, 183. (4) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. (5) Idem ibid. c. 10. (6) Idem ibid. c. 11.

and ſixty ſtadia from Syracuſe. His fleet by the acceſſion of the ſixty galleys above-mentioned, conſiſted of an hundred and eighty galleys. Himilco, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the Carthaginians arrived at Naxos, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take a long compaſs round mount Ætna, which by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes, and rendered the roads impaſſable by its flaming

The medals of the Taurominites clearly evince the ſame thing; for there are five ſeveral pieces in Paruta, that have on one ſide ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, and on the reverſe Apollo's head with this inſcription, ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ, and that Apollo Ἀρχαγέτας was a deity of the Naxians, we are informed by Thucydides (7) and Appian (8). To conclude, our author Diodorus himſelf, in the place we are now upon, juſt after mentioning the city Tauromínium, obſerves that "Himilco marched with great expedition to the aforeſaid "place of Naxia." Probably Naxia here is a corruption of Naxos, ſince, if we remember right, Naxia, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where elſe in Diodorus but here. This paſſage ſeems fully to prove, not only that the Naxians were the progenitors of the Taurominites, but likewiſe that, in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad, the city, or ſpot where it afterwards ſtood, was called Naxos or Naxia. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in Diodorus, that the city was but juſt built in the third year of the ſame olympiad, it ſeems clearly to follow, that Taurominium was founded in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what Dr. Bently has advanced, and, to all appearance, entirely fixes the point. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Taurominium ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the antient Naxos, the one being ſituated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the ſouthern foot of it (10). 'Tis likely there might have been a town of the ſame name with the hill, either upon it, or ſomewhere near the foot of it, as we find Ætna was the name both of a mountain and a town in its neighbourhood. If Dionyſius did not aſcend any part of the mountain, we may ſuppoſe him to have encamped near this town,

(7) Thucyd. c. 6. (8) Appian. de bel. civil. (9) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 10. (10) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 2. l. xiv. c. 10. & Celler. Geogr. ant. l. 1.

flaming inundations. Himilco therefore ordered Mago to ſail to Catana, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land-forces. Dionyſius, appriſed of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to Catana, with a deſign to attack Mago, before Himilco's army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore would greatly encourage his own mariners, and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to. This was what Himilco had foreſeen, when for the reaſon above-mentioned, his fleet and land forces were obliged to ſeparate [1].

His fleet under the command of Leptines engages that of the Carthaginians.

DIONYSIUS, having therefore drawn up his army on the ſhore, ſent out Leptines with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order, and not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. And indeed ſuch a ſalutary order could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of Mago's great ſuperiority; for his fleet was compoſed of no leſs than five hundred ſhips of burden, beſides a vaſt number of galleys with brazen beaks. The Carthaginians, ſeeing the Greek troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the ſhore, with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land, and join Himilco; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. Leptines, inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt galleys, contrary to the expreſs command of Dionyſius, fell upon Mago's firſt ſquadron, and, after a briſk action, ſunk ſeveral of the ſhips of which it was compoſed; but Mago, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately ſurrounded him, upon which, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, a moſt ſharp and bloody engagement enſued.

THE Carthaginian and Syracuſan galleys grappling with one another, (for they were ſo cloſe together, that there was no room for them to ſtrike with their beaks) the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both ſides they made the utmoſt efforts to board their enemies, and conſequently on both ſides many were thrown over-

[1] Idem ibid.

over-board and ſlain. In fine, Leptines, though for ſeveral hours he defended himſelf perfectly well, being at laſt overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the Syracuſans, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former therefore fled to the ſhore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were cloſely purſued by the Carthaginians. Many, abandoning their ſhips, threw themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave their lives by ſwimming to the ſhore; but the Carthaginian tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance; ſo that the land-army ſaw them periſh, without being able to give them the leaſt relief. The Carthaginians ſuſtained great loſs in this action; but above an hundred of the Syracuſan galleys were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit. After the action was over, the Carthaginian fleet anchored at Catana, where they refitted the Syracuſan ſhips they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the Carthaginians and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with ſuch a trophy, as enabled them to form ſome ſort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained [m]. And is defeated.

Upon this misfortune, the Sicilians apprehending they ſhould be reduced to great ſtreights by returning to Syracuſe and there ſuſtaining a ſiege, ſollicited Dionyſius to fight Himilco, alledging that an unexpected attack at the preſent juncture would ſtrike terror into the Carthaginians, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loſs. This project ſeemed the more feaſible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and haſty march; and therefore Dionyſius at firſt not only liſtened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute's warning. But when he was juſt upon the point of putting it in execution, ſome of his friends remonſtrating to him, that Mago in the mean time with his victorious fleet might poſſeſs himſelf of Syracuſe, he altered his reſolution, and haſtened with his whole army to the defence of that Metropolis. To this he was likewiſe ſtrongly induced

[m] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

Dionyſius returns with his army to Syracuſe.

duced by the fate of Meſſana, which had lately been loſt by ſuch a point of falſe conduct as the Sicilians propoſed to him. However, many of theſe, being diſpleaſed at his not falling into their meaſures, deſerted, and either retired to the neighbouring garriſons of the Carthaginians, or withdrew to their reſpective homes [n].

Himilco endeavours to excite the Campanians of Ætna to a revolt.

HIMILCO, in two days march, arriving at Catana, ordered his ſhips there to be drawn into the harbour, that they might be ſheltered from the weather, which was then very boiſterous and ſtormy. Here he halted ſome time to refreſh his troops, and ſent embaſſadors to the Campanians at Ætna to excite them to a revolt, promiſing them large poſſeſſions, and that they ſhould be equal ſharers in all the ſpoils taken from the Sicilians. That his promiſes might make the deeper impreſſion, he took care to inform them, that the Campanians of Entella had declared for the Carthaginians, and joined them with a conſiderable body of forces. In fine, he deſired them to conſider, that the Greeks of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatſoever. The Campanians were not a little moved by theſe promiſes and ſuggeſtions; but as they had given hoſtages to Dionyſius, and ſent the flower of their troops to Syracuſe, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty concluded with them [o].

He inveſts Syracuſe, and takes up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter.

THE Carthaginian general, animated with the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, marched ſtrait to Syracuſe, with a deſign to beſiege it; while his fleet under the command of Mago, ſailed along the coaſt, carrying great plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of ſo numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. Two hundred and eight galleys laden, and richly adorned, with the ſpoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a ſort of triumph the great haven of Syracuſe, and were followed by above a thouſand tranſports with more than five hundred ſoldiers on board †; ſo that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain ſo great a navy, conſiſting in the whole of near two thouſand ſail. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, amounting, according to ſome authors, to three hundred thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, beſides an additional ſquadron, of two hundred long ſhips,

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid.

† That there is a miſtake in the numbers in this place is manifeſt. How few are 500 ſoldiers on board 1000 tranſports? Nay, the words "more than" ſeem to intimate, that the number following was very conſiderable. But as this error is alſo in the preſent copies of Diodorus, we know not how to amend it.

ſhips, attending them. Himilco took up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter, and the reſt of the army encamped round it, above twelve ſtadia from the city [p].

BEFORE he directly formed the ſiege, he advanced with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, and offered the Syracuſans battle. But finding they were prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well ſatisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confeſſion of their own weakneſs, and his ſuperiority. At the ſame time he ordered an hundred of his beſt galleys to enter the two other harbours, viz. the little port and that of Trogilus, to ſtrike more terror into the enemy, and convince them, that the Carthaginians were likewiſe maſters at ſea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to diſtreſs the enemy, he ravaged and laid waſte the country many miles round for thirty days together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. He took by aſſault the quarter, or ſuburb, of the town called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proſerpina, and, in ſhort, ſucceeded in every meaſure he purſued for ſtreightening the beſieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune, he looked upon himſelf in effect as maſter of the place, though he was apprehenſive, that the entire reduction of it would be the work of a conſiderable time. He erected therefore three forts near the ſea, at equal diſtances from each other, one at Plemmyrium, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter, in which he laid up vaſt ſtores of proviſion, and all other neceſſaries, that might enable him to puſh on the ſiege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the moſt commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which ſtood round the city, to be demoliſhed, and amongſt others that of Gelon and his wife Damareta, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preſervation of his troops, he took care they ſhould want nothing that was proper for their ſubſiſtence, and therefore ſent tranſports to Sardinia and Africa for a freſh ſupply of corn and other proviſions. In the mean time, the Syracuſans, though greatly dejected by their late misfortunes, did not deſpond, Diony-

He takes by aſſault the ſuburbs of Acradina.

[p] Idem ibid.

Dionyſius being in daily expectation of receiving a conſiderable reinforcement from his foreign allies [q].

The Carthaginians are worſted in an action by ſea.

BEFORE the ſtorm fell upon Syracuſe, Dionyſius had ſent his (M) kinſman Polyxenus to implore the aſſiſtance of the Italians, Corinthians, and Lacedæmonians, againſt the power of Carthage, which alone he found himſelf unable to withſtand. He likewiſe had diſpatched ſeveral officers with large ſums to Peloponneſus, to raiſe a body of mercenaries there. All theſe, returning ſome time after Himilco had ſat down before Syracuſe, brought with them, beſides ſome land-forces, a ſupply of thirty galleys under the command of Pharacidas the Lacedæmonian. Soon after Dionyſius and Leptines went out upon a cruiſe, intending, if poſſible, to intercept ſome of the Carthaginian tranſports laden with proviſions, of which the city then ſtood in great need. They were ſcarce out of port, when the Syracuſans from the city ſpied one of the tranſports coming up to Himilco's camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys they took it. As they were ſailing away with their prize, the Carthaginians gave them chaſe with forty ſail, againſt which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them with great reſolution, took the admiral galley, beſides ſeveral others, and ſunk

[q] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(M) The Greek word κηδεστὴς, which Rhodomanus has falſly tranſlated ſocer or father-in-law, is a general term, and denotes any perſon who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes, however, it is equivalent to the Latin ſocer, and ſometimes to gener, as we learn from Stephanus and Budæus, who produce inſtances of both thoſe ſignifications. But that it is to be uſed in a general ſenſe here, is evident from Diodorus himſelf, who tells us elſewhere, that Polyxenus was uncle to Dionyſius's wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own ſiſter in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expreſſed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kinſman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of ſuggeſting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in Rhodomanus's edition of Diodorus Siculus, which yet is the beſt we at preſent have: ſo that it were to be wiſhed ſome able hand would give us a new edition of that uſeful and entertaining hiſtorian (1).

(1) Steph. in theſaur. ling. Græc. Bud. in lex. ed. Baſ. 1572. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. See alſo Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 244.

ſunk or damaged twenty more. The reſt they purſued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a ſecond time. The Carthaginians, terrified with this unexpected diſaſter, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them. The Syracuſans, faſtening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ſhips, brought them off triumphantly to the town [r].

WHAT happened now to the Carthaginians verified the obſervation, that misfortunes ſeldom come alone. Himilco who, from his firſt arrival in the iſland to this time, had been ſucceſsful in every meaſure, and the conſtant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was ſoon to be reduced to the loweſt degree of ignominy and diſgrace, and his people to the extremeſt miſery. All the ſplendor of his anticipated triumph vaniſhed in a moment, and ſerved only to enhance his future misfortunes. This, according to the judicious reflection of our hiſtorian, may ſerve as a lively leſſon to mankind, to teach them, that the proudeſt mortal, how great ſoever he may be, is but an inconſiderable creature, and may be blaſted in an inſtant by a ſuperior power. Here we may behold the Carthaginians from the ſummit of human felicity hurled down into the abyſs of calamity and woe; from the moſt potent and formidable ſtate in all the weſtern parts of the world, become the moſt weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an inſtant. However, Providence did not ſo far favour the perfidious Syracuſans, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many reſpects, recovered themſelves, and came off with reputation at the concluſion of this war [s].

HIMILCO, now maſter of almoſt the whole iſland of Sicily, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conqueſts with the reduction of Syracuſe, was obliged to deſiſt from all further operations againſt that city by the plague, which, breaking out in the camp, made great havock amongſt his ſoldiers. This infection was looked upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly thoſe of Ceres and Proſerpina above-mentioned, and demoliſhing the tombs round the city, which was conſidered as a violence

The plague breaks out in the Carthaginian army, and makes dreadful havock there.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

offered to the dead. But, without having recourſe to the extraordinary interpoſition of the gods, they might have aſcribed it, as Diodorus inſinuates, to natural cauſes; for the heats that ſummer, in the midſt of which that peſtilential diſtemper firſt broke out, were more exceſſive than they had ever been known in the memory of man; and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marſhes, whoſe unwholſome exhalations, eſpecially at that hot ſeaſon, which of itſelf was almoſt ſufficient to have occaſioned the plague, muſt have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where ſuch an infinite number of people were crouded together: and that theſe in fact were the two principal concurring cauſes of that dire malady, is apparent from hence, that the Athenians, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. It began among the Africans, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. As this plague was attended with ſome uncommon ſymptoms, carried off above an hundred and fifty thouſand men in a very ſhort time, and may be looked upon as one of the moſt malignant diſtempers to be met with in hiſtory, we ſhall beg leave here to give a brief account of it, believing that ſuch a ſhort digreſſion will not be unaceptable to our curious readers [t].

A deſcription of this moſt malignant peſtilence.

BEFORE ſun-riſing, the patients were ſeized with a convulſive ſhuddering, pretty nearly reſembling that attending the rigor or cold fit in agues, which happens in the beginning of the paroxyſm. This was in part occaſioned by the freſh breezes coming off from the ſea, which at that time of the morning were very piercing. As the ſun advanced nearer the meridan, the cold remitted and the heat grew more intenſe; ſo that by noon they found themſelves almoſt ſuffocated with heat; which made them exceſſively weak and faint, but gave freſh force and malignity to the diſeaſe. The ſouth wind moreover greatly encreaſing the infection, they died in ſuch numbers, that, after ſome time it was impoſſible to inter them; nay, the perſons attending the ſick were cut off in ſuch a manner, that no one durſt approach the infected. In the firſt ſtage of the diſtemper, they were afflicted with catarrhs, ſwellings of the throat, &c. Theſe were ſucceeded by violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathſome ulcers,

[t] Idem ibid.

cers, &c. Some were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the phyſician (A), this terrible malady eluding all his art; ſo that thoſe infected with it expired the fifth or ſixth day in exquiſite torture. Juſtin ſeems to intimate, that almoſt the whole Carthaginian army periſhed by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an inſtant; which may ſerve to give us an idea of the great malignity of it. Diodorus, however, informs us, that a conſiderable body of Africans and Iberians ſurvived this dreadful calamity; though he at the ſame time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thouſand carcaſſes of thoſe who periſhed did not meet with any interment, and conſequently inſinuates, that a greater number died, ſince, according to the ſame author, the dead were buried for ſome time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy obſervation, that not a ſingle perſon of thoſe who attended the ſick eſcaped [u].

DIONYSIUS, being appriſed of the deplorable condition to which the Carthaginians were reduced, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking them. Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered Pharacidas and

Dionyſius attacks the enemy, and defeats them

[u] Juſtin. l. xix. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Oroſ. l. iv.

(A) It appears from the antient hiſtorians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongſt the Carthaginians, eſpecially in their African dominions: and it is worthy obſervation, that thoſe parts are ſtill often viſited by that terrible malady, particularly Algiers, Tunis, &c. It is probable, that the Carthaginians brought the ſeeds of the diſtemper with them out of Africa, ſince the peſtilence had made great havock there juſt before the breaking out of this war; which Dionyſius (1) urged as a reaſon to the Syracuſans for his attacking the Carthaginians, whom he ſuppoſed to have been thereby extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this paſſage, that the Carthaginians had phyſicians with them in their camps, and conſequently that the art of phyſic was not unknown to that people. This likewiſe in ſome meaſure appears from the worſhip of Æſculapius (2), which prevailed in the territories ſubject to the ſtate of Carthage, though at what degree of perfection herein the ſtudents arrived, we cannot pretend to ſay.

(1) Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7. (2) Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. Serv. aliique multi.

and Leptines to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land forces in the camp. With this view, having aſſembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of Cyane, and ſetting out from thence about midnight, without being diſcovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then detached a ſtrong body of cavalry, and a thouſand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greateſt diſtance, pretending, that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real deſign was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having a great averſion to him, and being ready to mutiny on all occaſions. Accordingly he gave private inſtructions to the officers of the horſe to retire as ſoon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being ſurrounded on all ſides, were cut off to a man. Dionyſius, upon the return of the cavalry, at the ſame time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in their poſſeſſion. The ſuddenneſs of the attack ſo ſurpriſed the Carthaginians, that they were ſome time before they could put themſelves into a poſture of defence, which gave them an opportunity of taking the fort called Polichna by ſtorm; and the horſe at the ſame time advancing in good order, with ſome galleys, to that near Daſcon, likewiſe carried it. By the reduction of theſe forts, the Syracuſans were enabled to enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiouſly on the enemy's galleys anchored there. The Carthaginians in the camp for ſome time defended themſelves with great bravery; but ſeeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, haſtened to the ſhore, to the relief of their companions on board the veſſels. But all their endeavours were ineffectual; for the Carthaginian ſhips, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Syracuſan galleys, many of them were ſunk at the firſt attack, others quite diſabled, and a great number burnt and taken. The ſlaughter on this occaſion was ſo dreadful, that the ſhore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy ſpectacle to Himilco, and filled all the Carthaginians with great horror, who, bewailing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a ſtate of deſperation. In the mean time, the camp, being deſerted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left very much expoſed; which Dionyſius taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, and finding but a feeble reſiſtance, ſoon

ſoon broke into it, putting all to the ſword who oppoſed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of Daſcon, where finding forty Carthaginian ſhips of fifty oars a-piece, with a great number of tranſports, and ſome galleys, he immediately ſet fire to them. This completed the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many of the ſhips burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either conſumed by the violence of the flames, or falling foul one upon another, broken to pieces. Diodorus ſays, that when the ſhips were all in a blaze, and the flames aſcending above the maſts, a moſt dreadful ſcene was exhibited, the gods themſelves ſeeming to deſtroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which puniſhment, he inſinuates, they deſerved, on account of their great impiety. Such a ſpirit of joy and gladneſs diffuſed itſelf over the whole city on this happy occaſion, that old and young, women and children, in fine, almoſt all the inhabitants of Syracuſe, poſted to the walls and eminencies in the greateſt hurry, to be ſpectators of ſo glorious a victory: at the ſight of which, lifting up their hands to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in ſo ſignal a manner the many ſacrileges, which the Carthaginians had committed ſince their arrival in Sicily. Night putting an end to this action, Dionyſius, with his troops, retired, and encamped near the enemy at the temple of Jupiter, with a deſign to renew the fight early the next morning [w] (B).

[w] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(B) Polyænus ſeems to intimate, that Dionyſius amuſed the Carthaginians with ſome propoſals for an accommodation, and at the ſame time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of caſtles and fortreſſes, if they would put garriſons into them. The Carthaginians, cloſing with this offer, poſted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in thoſe places; but hereby ſo weakened their army, that Dionyſius found himſelf ſtrong enough to attack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this ſtory to be true, which perhaps our readers may ſcruple doing, ſince Diodorus Siculus, Juſtin, and Oroſius, have paſſed it over in ſilence, it is probable the ſtratagem was made uſe of after the plague had made great havock

Himilco with great difficulty escapes to Africa.

THOUGH Dionyſius penetrated into the Carthaginian camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the ſword, and even entirely ruined their fleet, yet he could not, by this laſt effort, oblige them abſolutely to raiſe the ſiege: this he reſerved to the day following. But Himilco, taking the opportunity of this ſhort reſpite, ſent embaſſadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready caſh he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his ſhattered army to return to Africa. Dionyſius was unwilling utterly to deſtroy the Carthaginians, leſt the Syracuſans, when free from the apprehenſions of ſo formidable an enemy, ſhould ſeek to regain their antient liberty, and thereby give him freſh diſturbance; but, on the other ſide, he knew, that neither the Syracuſans, nor their confederates, would ſuffer him to grant the enemy ſuch terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow Himilco, with all the citizens of Carthage, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed to, Dionyſius retired with his forces into the city, whither Himilco privately ſent him the promiſed ſum, and then began to make the neceſſary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, Himilco, with forty galleys full of the citizens of Carthage, was ready to ſet ſail, leaving the reſt of the army behind him. But the Corinthians, who ſerved under Dionyſius, diſcovering, from the noiſe and motion of the veſſels, that Himilco and his friends were making off, ſent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered ſome galleys to be manned, as if he deſigned to prevent their retreat;

in the Carthaginian camp; for Himilco's forces were at firſt ſo vaſtly ſuperior in ſtrength to Dionyſius's army, even according to Polyænus himſelf, that he might have garriſoned all the fortreſſes belonging to the Syracuſans, and yet have been much more than a match for Dionyſius (1).

(C) According to what we have lately obſerved, that was about fifty-four thouſand pounds ſterling; which was no extraordinary ſum for the military cheſt, conſidering what a numerous army Himilco commanded.

(1) Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 9. Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Fronţin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 11.

treat; but as his orders were but ſlowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permiſſion, gave them chace; and coming up with the rear, by piercing them with the beaks of their veſſels, ſunk ſeveral of them. Upon the defeat of the Carthaginians, the Siculi, who joined them, diſperſed, and, flying through the heart of the country, retired to their reſpective homes. In the mean time, Dionyſius poſted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of thoſe left behind might make their eſcape; and marching by night with his forces, took poſſeſſion of it. This he met with no oppoſition in doing; for the Africans, finding themſelves betrayed by Himilco and the Carthaginians, and that the Sicilians had deſerted them, were thrown into ſuch a conſternation, that they immediately diſperſed, taking a great variety of routs. Being therefore incapable of making any reſiſtance, they either fell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or ſurrendred to Dionyſius himſelf at diſcretion. But the Iberians, keeping together in a body, ſent an herald to capitulate with Dionyſius, who took them into his ſervice. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp were delivered up as plunder to the ſoldiery[x].

THIS victory was the more extraordinary, inaſmuch as, before the plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, Dionyſius found himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and actually conſulted with his friends about the moſt proper method of making his eſcape. In this melancholy ſituation, his friend Ellopides adviſed him to reſume his courage, and by no means to renounce the ſovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greateſt ornament of his ſepulchre. The tyrant cloſed with this advice, and, notwithſtanding the Siculi had joined the enemy, by the incident abovementioned, became victorious. Diodorus and Plutarch both omit this circumſtance, though the former of thoſe hiſtorians mentions ſomething of this nature to have happened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the Syracuſan army, when he was ſhut up in his capital city. However, Iſocrates, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time of the tranſaction, has furniſhed us with this fragment of hiſtory, which has likewiſe been tranſcribed by Ælian; ſo that we ſhall make no ſcruple to inſert it here.

THUS

[x] Idem ibid. c. 7.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the moſt remarkable, for the variety of incidents and viciſſitudes of fortune obſervable in it, to be met with in hiſtory. A large field for reflections here opens itſelf; but as theſe have been already in ſome meaſure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we ſhall be obliged at preſent to ſuperſede them. In general, however, we may remark, that all human grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes uſe of ſome wicked men as its inſtruments in ſcourging others, and conſequently that villainy muſt be frequently triumphant; and laſtly, that a ſtrict attachment to the dictates of juſtice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all ſtates, how elevated ſoever, ſince a deviation from theſe cannot be ſecured by the moſt formidable and extenſive power from a retaliation.

The Carthiginians are in the utmoſt conſternation upon receiving the melancholy news of the total ruin of both their land and ſea forces.

ADVICE being brought to Carthage of the terrible fate that both the land and ſea-forces of the republic had met with in Sicily, the whole city was overwhelmed with ſorrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people were under the ſame diſmal apprehenſions, as if the enemy had actually made themſelves maſters of the town. All the houſes in the city, as well as the temples, being ſhut up, an entire ſtop was put to every kind of buſineſs, and even to their religious worſhip. This happened when the Carthaginians were ſeized with the firſt impreſſions of terror; for ſoon after, recovering themſelves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might poſſibly turn out better than they had been repreſented. They did not, however, continue long in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe; for in a little time the poor remains of their ſhattered troops landed near Carthage, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this, all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themſelves entirely to deſpair, and, giving a full vent to their grief, made the ſhore ring with their groans and lamentations. In ſhort, a greater ſcene of horror, except the ſpot of ground where the Carthaginian army encamped before Syracuſe, than Carthage now was, cannot well be conceived [y].

Himilco, not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, kills himſelf.

HIMILCO in the mean time, landing at Carthage, appeared in mean and ſordid attire. He was immediately met

[y] Iſocrat. in Archidam. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. iv. c. 8. Juſt. l. xix. ſub fin. Oroſ. l. iv.

met by a vaſt concourſe of people, bemoaning their ſad and inauſpicious fortune. Joining with theſe forlorn wretches, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but moſt of all that of his country. Afterwards impiouſly taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the ſole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to eſteem it as a ſingular happineſs, that their preſent calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could aſſume to themſelves no merit from it: "The enemy," ſaid he, "may indeed rejoice at our "miſery, but have no reaſon to glory in it. The troops "we have loſt did not fall by their valour, nor did they "oblige thoſe that are now arrived ſafe here to abandon "their iſland by force. We return victorious over the Sy-"racuſans, and are only defeated by the plague. As for "the baggage found in our camp, this ought not to be "looked upon as the ſpoils of a conquered enemy, but "as moveables, which the caſual death of the owners has "left the Syracuſans in poſſeſſion of. No part of the di-"ſaſter, continued he, touches me ſo much, as my ſurvi-"ving ſo many gallant men, and my being reſerved, not "for the comforts of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a "calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to Car-"thage the remaining part of the army under my conduct, "I ſhall ſpeedily follow thoſe brave men, who periſhed in "Sicily, and thereby demonſtrate to my country, that it "was not out of a fondneſs for life, but merely to pre-"ſerve the troops, which had eſcaped the plague, from the "fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death, "they would have been expoſed, that I ſurvived them." After this going directly to his houſe, and ſhutting the doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke. This violent death Diodorus interprets as a ſignal puniſhment inflicted upon him, for his having ſo frequently violated the ſanctity of temples and tombs at Syracuſe, which, according to our author, was a crime of a moſt flagrant and enormous nature [z].

THE fame of Dionyſius's ſucceſs being ſpread all over the Carthaginian dominions, and thoſe of their confederates in Africa, the affairs of this ſtate there were ſoon almoſt in as

[z] Juſtin. Oroſ. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

as bad a situation as in Sicily. The Africans bore a natural hatred to the Carthaginians, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in Africa, that Himilco had saved only the citizens of Carthage, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incensed therefore to the last degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the Carthaginians, who now were become despicable to all their neighbours, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, took up arms, intending to take signal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the persons of their countrymen. They dispatched expresses into all parts notifying the ill usage they had met with in the most aggravating terms; by which means, supplies coming from every quarter, they soon assembled a considerable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their design being publicly known, and that they had forces likewise to put it in execution, the whole country rose; so that their army in a short time amounted to above two hundred thousand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their rout towards Carthage [a].

The Africans revolt from the Cathaginians.

On their march, they took Tunis, a city in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which surrendered at the first summons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of Carthage, who now gave up every thing for lost. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them, but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the Carthaginians, in all public calamities, carried their superstition to a very great excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods, particularly Ceres and Proserpina, whose temples they had violated at Syracuse, and therefore considered this fresh melancholy incident as the effect of their resentment. Before, these deities had never been heard of in Africa; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their services; and all their sacrifices ordered to be offered after the Greek manner, those Greeks amongst them, who were versed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worship of these goddesses, being appointed to officiate in this service.

They take Tunis, and advance into the neighbourhood of Carthage.

[a] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

ſervice. Having by this means ſufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for paſt offences to theſe deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all neceſſary preparations to reduce the rebels, and thoſe who ſupported them, to reaſon [b].

THOUGH the African forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the Carthaginians, they wanted a general, as well as ſubordinate officers, of experience, and neither had warlike engines to carry on a ſiege, nor proviſions to ſupport ſo vaſt a multitude; whereas the Carthaginians being maſters of the ſea, were ſupplied with every thing in great plenty from Sardinia. Such an army as this was like a body uninformed with a ſoul. As there was no diſcipline or ſubordination in it, every perſon might ſet up himſelf for a general, and claim an independence on the reſt; which would ſoon cauſe numberleſs factions and diviſions amongſt them, and conſequently ſoon diſſolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for diſſenſions ariſing therein, the famine daily encreaſing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the Carthaginians to deſert, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and by this means delivered Carthage from one of the moſt imminent dangers that had ever threatened it [c].

But are obliged at laſt to diſperſe.

AFTER the late diſaſter in Sicily, Himilco had left Mago to take care of the Carthaginian intereſt there, and ſettle their broken affairs in the beſt manner poſſible. In order to this, he treated all the Sicilians ſubject to Carthage with great mildneſs and humanity, and granted his protection to all thoſe who were perſecuted by Dionyſius. He alſo entered into alliances with ſeveral Sicilian cities, which had an averſion to that tyrant. Strengthened by theſe alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from Carthage, he formed an army, and made an incurſion into the territory of Meſſana. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to Abacænum, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. Dionyſius, advancing to Abacænum with his army, offered him battle; which challenge Mago accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loſs of above eight hundred men. Upon this defeat, the Carthaginian general, with his broken troops, entered Abacænum; and Dionyſius returned to Syracuſe [d].

Dionyſius routs Mago at Abacænum.

NOTWITH-

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid c. 10. [d] Dod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 10.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their losses, meditate a fresh attempt upon the island of Sicily.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great losses the Carthaginians had sustained in the course of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the island of Sicily. Their officers were therefore sent, as usual, to levy forces in Africa, Sardinia, and some of those parts of Italy not inhabited by Greeks. As they had hitherto had such bad success with their fleet, they proposed determining the fate of Sicily by a decisive battle in the field; for which reason they fitted out a much weaker squadron of long ships, than in any of the former expeditions. The Carthaginians armed all their troops on this occasion in the completest manner, and appointed Mago, who was defeated the year before at Abacænum, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the island above-mentioned would soon receive a very considerable alteration.

MAGO, assembling his land-forces, found them to amount to eighty thousand fighting men, with which he landed in Sicily. On his march through the territories of the Siculi, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At last he encamped on the river Chrysas in the country of the Agyrinæans, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that Dionysius was advancing against him at the head of twenty thousand men, he thought proper to continue some time in his camp, and put himself there into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time the tyrant, being arrived in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp, sent to Agyris, prince of the Agyrinæans, to join him with all his forces, and supply his troops with some provisions. This tyrant was next to Dionysius in power of all others in the island, his city containing no less than twenty thousand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treasure; for he had lately put to death some of his principal subjects, and confiscated their estates. Dionysius therefore making him a visit, with some of his particular friends, prevailed upon Agyris to come into his measures; in consequence of which he received a supply of provisions and a strong reinforcement of troops. What induced Agyris to fall in so readily with the Syracusan tyrant's views was, the promise of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in case their arms were attended with success in this war [e].

Dionysius wins Agyris, tyrant of the Agyrinæans, over to his interest;

IN

[e] Idem ibid. c. 11.

In the mean time, Mago, finding himſelf in an enemy's country, and reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, began to be very uneaſy. The Syracuſans were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this Dionyſius oppoſed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without ſtriking a ſtroke, by ſtarving them to a ſurrender. And indeed he had good reaſon for what he advanced; for the Agyrinæans, being well acquainted with all the paſſes and by-ways of the country, every day ſurpriſed the Carthaginian parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the proviſions they were carrying to their camp. However, the Syracuſans, being diſguſted at Dionyſius's refuſal to comply with their motion, directly quitted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great conſternation, and obliged him to manumit all the ſlaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the Carthaginians, moved by the dreadful proſpect of a famine, thought proper to ſend embaſſadors to him, to propoſe an accommodation. This being as neceſſary for Dionyſius in his preſent circumſtances as the Carthaginians, a peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties, without any further effuſion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of Tauromínium was given up to Dionyſius, who, driving from thence the Siculi, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. As for Mago, as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, he returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to ſhift for themſelves. Thus this war ended, notwithſtanding the terrible blow they received before Syracuſe, very little to the diſadvantage of the Carthaginians[f].

And concludes a peace with Mago.

From this time, for nine years, the Carthaginians enjoyed an uninterrupted repoſe, at leaſt hiſtory is ſilent as to any military tranſactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the ſecond year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, Dionyſius, meditating a war againſt them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) ſuch a footing, as

[f] Idem ibid.

(A) Ariſtotle and Polyænus affirm, that Dionyſius, in his expedition to Etruria, had an hundred galleys, as likewiſe a large ſhip with a body of horſe on board, with which making a deſcent, he plundered the temple of Leucothea, from whence carrying off

as might enable him to carry it on with a proſpect of ſucceſs. This, by the aſſiſtance of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different ſcenes of his life to that

off ſeventy talents in money, beſides other valuable effects, he immediately put to ſea again. The ſame authors relate, that, upon his re-embarquing, he was informed, that the ſoldiers and ſeamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thouſand talents of ſilver; whereupon he iſſued out an order before he landed in Sicily, requiring every perſon to bring to him half of his treaſure, upon pain of death, promiſing each of them the other half for his own uſe, in caſe of a compliance herewith. When the landmen and mariners brought him in their reſpective halves, he knew what riches remained ſtill in their poſſeſſion, and obliged them to refund thoſe likewiſe (1). Ælian takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that Dionyſius impiouſly carried off all the treaſures of Apollo and Leucothea, and amongſt other valuable moveables a ſilver table, placed near the ſtatue of Apollo; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the ſame time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the good Genius; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongſt the antients, after the concluſion of their meals, when the tables were taken away. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the learned Perizonius imagines Ariſtotle's text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by Ælian, viz. by inſerting Τροιζηνίδα or Τροιζηνίαν inſtead of Τυρρηνίαν, and this in contradiction to the manuſcripts. But we muſt beg leave to diſſent from that great man in this particular; for that this very paſſage of Ælian is corrupted, he himſelf allows; nay, ſo corrupted, that it has embaraſſed moſt, if not all, of thoſe learned men, who have endeavoured to tranſlate and explain that author, particularly Geſner, Schefſer, and Juſtus Vulteius, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Beſides, all the manuſcripts of Polyænus, an author who did not occur to Perizonius, and who lived within a very few years of Ælian, if he was not cotemporary with him, in the paſſage referred to, which was moſt certainly taken from Ariſtotle, have Τυρρηνίαν. This authority is of much greater weight than the teſtimony of Pauſanias, in proof of there having been in antient times a temple ſacred to Apollo at Trœzene; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpoſe.

(1) Ariſtot. œconom. l. ii. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 21.
(2) Ælian. var. hiſt. l. i. c. 20. & Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. xv. ſub fin.

that time, he eaſily put in execution. Having fitted out ſixty galleys, under colour of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he made a deſcent in Etruria, and plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of Agylla, carrying away, beſides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thouſand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raiſed by the ſale of the ſpoils, and with this money, ſet on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plauſible pretence to break with the Carthaginians, for which he was not long at a loſs. Obſerving, that the Carthaginian ſubjects in Sicily were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the conſequence of which was an admiſſion of his troops into their cities. The Carthaginians, being appriſed of this, firſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch a proceeding, as a manifeſt infraction of the treaties then ſubſiſting between them, by miniſters ſent to the tyrant for that purpoſe; but this not availing, they declared war againſt him [g].

Dionyſius plunders a rich temple in Etruria,

And breaks again with the Carthaginians.

THE people of Carthage, ſuſpecting his deſign againſt their ſtate, upon the firſt notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had ſtrengthened themſelves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other neceſſary meaſures to ſecure themſelves againſt the impending ſtorm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was joined by a ſtrong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their ſervice. To give a greater diverſion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they ſent to Italy, and the other to Sicily; and this obliged Dionyſius likewiſe to divide his forces. The main army, however, was to act in Sicily, under the command of Mago, who, ſoon after his arrival, was attacked by Dionyſius at a place called Cabala. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at laſt the Carthaginians were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed ſtrong by its ſituation, but deſtitute of water. In the battle they had ten thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, together with Mago their general, who behaved with great bravery and reſolution, and five thouſand taken priſoners. The Carthaginians, terrified by this defeat, and finding themſelves blocked

And defeats them at Cabala in Sicily.

[g] Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 2.

ed up by Dionyſius on the hill, where they were like to die of thirſt, were forced to ſue for a peace. Dionyſius anſwered the embaſſadors they ſent him with great haughtineſs, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. Theſe hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the ſame time repreſenting that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in Sicily (B), without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an expreſs ſent to Carthage. In the mean time, they buried Mago, who, at the time of his death, was one of their ſuffetes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the preſent melancholy ſituation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his ſon Mago to command the troops in his room [h].

Dionysius, much elated with his good ſucceſs, now looked upon himſelf as ſovereign of all Sicily, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly miſtaken; for the Carthaginians intended nothing leſs than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occaſion was calculated only to amuſe the tyrant, till they had an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, in the time of the truce Mago their new general raiſed and diſciplined freſh troops, and improved that ſhort interval allowed him ſo well, that, at the return of the expreſs ſent to Carthage, he took the field with a powerful army. As Mago, though young, had, on many occaſions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his con-

[h] Idem ibid. & Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.

(B) Polyænus relates this in a manner ſomething different from Diodorus. He ſays, that the Carthaginians pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with Dionyſius, without the conſent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditions preſcribed them. The tyrant granted this requeſt, though againſt the advice of Leptines; which brought upon him the diſaſter here mentioned (3).

(3) Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.

duct ſhewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Obſerving therefore their ardor, immediate'y upon the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionyſius battle not far from Cronion, and entirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thouſand Syracuſans on the ſpot, and among the reſt Leptines (D) his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, Dionyſius had the advantage, repulſing thoſe that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of Leptines, and that the body he commanded was broke and diſperſed, he immediately betook himſelf to flight, and was hotly purſued by the Carthaginians. A dreadful ſlaughter was made of the run-aways in the purſuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the reſt muſt all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to eſcape. This made the Carthagians ample amends for the blow they received at Cabala, and left them in full poſſeſſion, not only of their own towns, but alſo of a good part of the Syracuſan territories. Dionyſius, with the remains of his ſhattered army, fled to Syracuſe, where he expected ſoon to be beſieged by the victorious enemy. But the Carthaginian general uſed his victory with

But is overthrown at Cronion.

(C) According to Polyænus, the Carthaginians had a ſtrong party in the city of Cronion, who were deſirous of opening the gates to them. The Carthaginian general, being appriſed of this, when the wind favoured his project, ſet a wood on fire, which grew cloſe by the town, the ſmoke of which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-againſt him, prevented them from diſcovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the Cronians in his intereſt into the town (4).

(D) Frontinus relates, that this Leptines was the author of the following ſtratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waſte his own lands, and burn ſeveral Syracuſan caſtles and villages in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp in the night-time. The Carthaginians, imagining this to have been done by their own men, ſent a ſtrong body of troops out of the camp to ſupport them; but theſe falling into an ambuſcade, which Leptines had laid for them, were entirely defeated, and driven back to their camp with great ſlaughter (5).

(4) Idem, l. v. c. 10. ex. 5. (5) Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 11.

great moderation, and, inſtead of purſuing the routed enemy, retired to Panormus, whence he ſent embaſſadors to Dionyſius, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that both parties ſhould keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, ſave only that Dionyſius ſhould deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, and that part of the territory of Agrigentum adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river Halycus, and beſides pay a thouſand talents, to defray the expences of the war. In other reſpects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to ſubſiſt in their fulleſt extent [i].

The Carthaginians make an expedition to Italy, in favour of the people of Hippo, who are their confederates.

ABOUT three years after the concluſion of this laſt war, the Carthaginians landed an army in Italy, and reſtored the inhabitants of Hippo, or, as Strabo calls it, Hipponium, to their city, from whence they had for ſome time been expelled. This city was very antient, as being mentioned by Scylax, and was, according to Strabo, built by the people of Locri. The Romans called it Vibo, Valentia, and Vibo Valentia; but Ptolemy made uſe of the old name, following herein Scylax and Strabo. If the laſt author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and wore them in honour of Proſerpina, who, according to an antient tradition prevailing amongſt the natives, came thither on purpoſe to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the Carthaginians, who made this expedition purely with a deſign to reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating them with great kindneſs, they returned to Africa.

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the troops from Italy, Carthage had a moſt terrible calamity to ſtruggle with: the plague broke out afreſh there, and ſwept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This ſeems to have raged with greater violence than any diſtemper the city was ever viſited with before; for ſuch vaſt multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and Sardi, encouraged by the extreme

[i] Idem ibid.

treme weakneſs to which that ſtate was hereby reduced, attempted to ſhake off the Carthaginian yoke; but were at laſt, not without ſome effuſion of blood, reduced to their former obedience. The peſtilence we are now ſpeaking of, was of a very ſingular nature; for panic terrors and violent fits of frenſy ſeized on a ſudden the heads of thoſe afflicted with it, who ſallying ſword in hand out of their houſes, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. Juſtin ſeems to intimate, that the Carthaginians laboured under ſuch a grievous ſickneſs as this ſeveral years, with little or no intermiſſion; for it appears from a hint he has given us, that they were delivered from the plague not long before the death of Dionyſius [k].

The Africans and Sardi rebel; but are at laſt reduced to their former obedience.

Towards the beginning of the hundred and third olympiad, Dionyſius, aſſembling a great number of forces, reſolved to fall upon the Carthaginians, who were then in a very bad ſituation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the Africans and Sardi, which had not been long finiſhed. As he had not the leaſt colour or pretext for ſuch an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourſe to a downright falſity, viz. that the Carthaginians made incurſions into his dominions. Without putting himſelf to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, attended by a navy of three hundred ſail. With this formidable force he ſoon reduced the cities of Selinus and Entella, plundering and laying waſte all the adjacent country. Then he made himſelf maſter of Eryx, and laid ſiege to Lilybæum; which, being defended by a numerous garriſon, baffled his efforts in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to riſe from before it. Being informed, that the arſenal at Carthage was conſumed by fire, he concluded, that this ſtate would find it impoſſible to equip a fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of his beſt galleys in the haven at Eryx, and ſent back all the reſt to Syracuſe. The Carthaginians, being appriſed how little the tyrant was upon his guard, immediately manned two hundred galleys, and unexpectedly entering the port of Eryx, ſurpriſed that part

Dionyſius takes Eryx from the Carthaginians; but has part of his fleet ſurpriſed by them in the port of that city.

[k] Idem ibid. c. 3. Juſt. l. xx. ſub fin. Scylax & Strab. l. vi. Inſcript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 99. n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. Cic. pro Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

of his fleet laid up there, and carried moſt of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. Dionyſius did not long ſurvive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name in the government of Syracuſe [l].

The Greek language is expelled Carthage, on account of a treaſonable correſpondence carried on in it between a Carthaginian and Dionyſius.

THOUGH Diodorus does not ſay expreſly, that the Carthaginians, upon the laſt rupture, ſent a body of troops to Sicily, yet Juſtin gives us ſome reaſon to believe, that they either did, or deſigned it, and that the commander's name was Hanno. The ſame author farther informs us, that Suniator, or Suniates, a perſon of great authority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to Hanno, and, in order to do him a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions. This he did by writing in Greek to Dionyſius; but his letter, wherein he made very free with Hanno's character, was intercepted, and he thereupon found guilty of treaſon by the ſenate. This occaſioned the paſſing of a law at Carthage, whereby all the inhabitants were forbid learning either to write or ſpeak the Greek language, that they might be deprived of all means of correſponding with the enemy [m].

Oroſius miſtaken.

WE are told by Oroſius, that the Carthaginians concluded their firſt treaty with the Romans in the four hundred and ſecond year of Rome, which was not far from the time we are now ſpeaking of. But this we muſt by no means give credit to, becauſe it is contradicted by Polybius, an author infinitely ſuperior in point of authority to Oroſius, who affirms, that the firſt treaty the Carthaginians entered into with the Romans happened in the year after the regifuge; and that this was the ſecond. And here we cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurpriſe at M. Rollin, who quotes Oroſius as affirming this to have been the ſecond treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expreſsly aſſerts it to have been the firſt. The articles of this treaty may be ſeen in a former part of this work, and therefore we ſhall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to obſerve, that the people of Utica and Tyre, according to Polybius, were compriſed in the treaty, and that the Romans were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the Fair Promontory, Maſtia, and Tarſeium. The Car-

[l] Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 8. [m] Juſtin. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 5. Mel. l. ii. c. 4. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 40, &c.

Carthaginians, being at this time in full poſſeſſion of Sardinia and a great part of Africa, thought it conſiſtent with juſtice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourſe betwixt the Romans and theſe countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the Romans and Carthaginians applied themſelves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the Romans gained a ſignal victory over the Samnites; upon which the Carthaginians ſent to compliment the republic on her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thankſgiving for ſo glorious an action [n]. But to return to the affairs of Sicily.

Dionyſius the ſecond comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians

THE prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterpriſing; but this mildneſs and moderation being rather the effect of a ſlothful and indolent diſpoſition, than of a wiſe and judicious underſtanding, his ſubjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himſelf the government of Syracuſe, he changed the truce with the Carthaginians into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good underſtanding with that neighbouring ſtate. As Diodorus aſcribes this peace to his indolence and ſloth, and conſequently, in ſome meaſure, ſeems to upbraid him for it, we have ſome reaſon from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantageous to the Syracuſans [o].

[n] Oroſ. l. i. ad A. U. C. CDII. M. Rollin in hiſt. anc. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amſterdam, 1733. Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. Liv. l. vii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 643. [o] Diod Sic. l. xvi. c. 2.

(E) This muſt have been a mere compliment, proceeding from ſome political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the intereſt of the Carthaginians, that the Samnites ſhould be ſubdued by the Romans. The latter, at this time, began to rival the Carthaginians in trade; whereas the former ſeem to have been their good and faithful allies; at leaſt it is certain they ſometimes ſupplied them with bodies of auxiliaries or mercenary troops, as we ſhall find towards the cloſe of this ſection. This paſſage ſeems to intimate, that Jupiter was a deity well known at Carthage, and that

A war commences between the Syracusans and the Corinthians on the one hand and Dionysius and the Carthaginians on the other.

SOME years after, the people of Syracuse, being agitated by civil dissensions, were involved in the greatest miseries (F). Dionysius was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile for ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of Dion, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. His past misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of Icetas, who was by descent a Syracusan, and at that time tyrant of the Leontini; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. Besides, they entertained some hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in some respect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of Dionysius. The Carthaginians, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themselves absolute masters of Sicily, fitted out a great fleet, and for some time hovered about the coasts of that island, not being at first determined where to make a descent. This so alarmed the Syracusans, that they apprehended themselves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity resolved to have recourse to the Corinthians, from whom they were originally descended, and whose assistance had several times extricated them out of great difficulties. The Corinthians, being the most famed of all the Greek nations

that his image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before observed of Baal in the Phœnician history (6).

(F) It appears from Diodorus, that the Carthaginians were at the bottom of these civil dissensions at Syracuse; for Dionysius had never been dethroned by Dion, had not Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, a city in the territory of Agrigentum, supposed to have been built by Minos, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thousand arms, and supplied him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse. This was certainly good policy in the Carthaginians, whose interest it was to endeavour rending the city of Syracuse into as many factions as possible, that the inhabitants might destroy one another, and thereby become a more easy prey to the state of Carthage (7).

(6) Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 343. not. (E).
(7) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 3.

nations for their profeſſed averſion to tyranny in every ſhape, readily granted their requeſt, and gave their embaſſadors a moſt kind reception. Icetas, whoſe only view was to make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, in the mean time ſeemed to concur with theſe meaſures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He was in hopes ſome domeſtic broils or other would prevent the Corinthians from aſſiſting their relations, and then, by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he ſhould win over to his intereſt thoſe very perſons who made it, which would enable him the more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign. He therefore diſpatched deputies himſelf along with the Syracuſan miniſters; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the Corinthians from ſending any forces into the iſland, which, according to his laſt treaty with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulſion of Dionyſius, to be divided between him and them. However, the Corinthians, then enjoying a profound tranquillity, were at leiſure to ſend a body of troops to Syracuſe, which, in a general aſſembly, it was reſolved ſhould be done. As the Syracuſans in particular deſired they would ſend them an able and experienced general, they appointed Timoleon, the ſon of Timodemus and Demariſte, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, to take upon him the command of the Syracuſan army, in conjunction with their forces, and with theſe he was to act againſt Dionyſius and the Carthaginians [p].

Icetas endeavours to diſſuade the Corinthians from ſending any forces to Syracuſe.

THE Syracuſan embaſſadors were ſcarce ſet out for Corinth, when Icetas took off the maſk, and openly joined the Carthaginians, intending, by their aſſiſtance, to poſſeſs himſelf of Syracuſe, and that under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt Dionyſius. But being apprehenſive, that a body of forces from Corinth, under the conduct of a ſkilful general, would defeat his meaſures, he diſpatched an expreſs to the Corinthians, acquainting them, that the Carthaginians, appriſed of their deſign, were waiting to intercept their ſquadron with a ſtrong fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in ſending him ſuccours had obliged him to call in even the Carthaginians to his aid, and employ them againſt the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhauſting their treaſures by great, but uſeleſs, expences, ſince he could, without the aſſiſtance of his allies the Carthaginians, drive out Dionyſius, and reſtore Syracuſe

to

[p] Plut. in Timol. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 10.

to its antient liberty. The Corinthians, hereby plainly discovering, that the tyrant aſpired to the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and being juſtly at that time celebrated for the generous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch a perfidious conduct; and therefore thoſe who had before either oppoſed the expedition, or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily concurred with the reſt, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for Timoleon's ſudden departure [q].

Timoleon, encouraged by ſeveral good omens, ſets ſail for Sicily.

PLUTARCH tells us, that when the troops were ready to embarque, the goddeſs Proſerpina, attended by her mother Ceres, both in travelling habits, appeared to her female prieſts in a dream or viſion; and that both theſe deities declared they would ſail with Timoleon to Sicily, an iſland in a peculiar manner ſacred to them. This greatly encouraged Timoleon, who, conſecrating the beſt trireme of his ſquadron to the goddeſſes, called it the ſacred ſhip of Ceres and Proſerpina. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that Timoleon going to Delphi, in order to ſacrifice there to Apollo, and deſcending into the place where the reſponſes of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, ſlipping from among the conſecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head; which he interpreted as an happy omen, Apollo thereby ſeeming to crown him with ſucceſs, and to aſſure him of a triumph over Icetas and the Carthaginians. He ſet ſail from Corinth with ſeven galleys of his own nation, two of Corcyra, and a tenth, which was ſent him by the Leucadians, with only a thouſand ſoldiers on board; a very ſmall force, conſidering the enterprize he was going upon. Our author farther informs us, that Timoleon, getting out of port by night, was carried by a proſperous gale into the ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, reſembling thoſe torches that were uſed in the ſacred myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpina, which conducted him to that part of Italy where he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his ſoothſayers as a confirmation of what thoſe two goddeſſes had before declared, he looked upon it as a ſure token of victory. Purſuing his voyage therefore over the Ionian ſea with great alacrity, he ſoon arrived ſafe with his ſmall fleet

[q] Diod. Sic. & Plut. ubi ſup.

at Metapontum, now Torre di Mare, on the coaſt of Italy [r].

THE firſt advice he received here was, that Icetas had defeated Dionyſius, and having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. At the ſame time he was informed, that the Carthaginians had, by the treaty with Icetas, engaged themſelves to hinder the Corinthian ſquadron from putting in at any of the Sicilian ports, that being by this means obliged to return home, they might from thence meet with no farther obſtruction in dividing the iſland between them. This gave him great uneaſineſs; however, he advanced with his ſmall fleet to Rhegium, where he found embaſſadors from Icetas, who were charged to acquaint him, that if he thought proper, he might come to Syracuſe, and aſſiſt him with his advice; and that he ſhould meet with a kind reception there, and even be a partaker of his good fortune, provided he would diſmiſs his troops; but otherwiſe the Syracuſans, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into the city. *Theſe miniſters were convoyed to Rhegium by twenty Carthaginian galleys, who had orders to block up the road, and oppoſe Timoleon, if he offered to approach Syracuſe. That general, finding himſelf unable to force his way, by reaſon of the ſuperior ſtrength of the enemy, and that, even provided he could land at Syracuſe, his handful of troops would not be able to engage thoſe of Icetas, flushed with victory and ſupported by a numerous Carthaginian army, was reſolved to have recourſe to artifice at this critical conjuncture. He therefore demanded a conference with the embaſſadors and the chief commanders of the Carthaginian ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of Rhegium. He pretended to liſten to the propoſal offered him; but inſiſted, that as the Rhegians were Greeks, and common friends to both parties, he ought firſt to hear what they had to ſay, and act, if poſſible, by their advice, that he might on his return to Corinth, have wherewithal to juſtify his conduct; alledging further, that the Carthaginians themſelves would more ſcrupulouſly obſerve the articles of a treaty they had ſigned before ſo many witneſſes. The Rhegians were privy to the deſign, and dreaded nothing more than the conſequence of having ſo formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the

Upon his arrival on the coaſt of Italy, he amuſes Icetas and the Carthaginians.

Cartha-

[r] Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 11. & Plut. ubi ſup.

Carthaginians. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves ſolely to the affair in hand. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, being amuſed, and verily believing, that Timoleon would be perſuaded to return home, had not made the leaſt preparation to attack him, in caſe he ſhould attempt ſteering his courſe towards the coaſt of Sicily.

And lands his forces in Sicily by a ſtratagem.

TIMOLEON, that he might not give the Carthaginians the leaſt room to ſuſpect his deſign, did not offer for a conſiderable time to ſtir out of the aſſembly, which being met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpoſe to gain time; nay, Timoleon, farther to prevent any ground for ſuſpicion, frequently made ſigns, as though he was going to begin a ſpeech in ſupport of the reſolution he had ſeemingly formed. But while the Carthaginian commanders were buſy in the council, nine Corinthian galleys, according to the orders they had received from Timoleon, ſet ſail, and paſſed in ſight of the Carthaginian fleet, unable at that time to act, by reaſon of the abſence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was ſuppoſed, were then in the city. When Timoleon was privately informed, that his galleys were at ſea, by the aſſiſtance of the Rhegians about his chair, he ſlipped through the croud, and making to the galley that was left, embarqued, and rejoined the reſt of his ſquadron. The Carthaginians, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter complaints of the Rhegian perfidiouſneſs and fraud. The Rhegians, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to ſee the Carthaginians overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, the Carthaginians could not come up with Timoleon, ſo far was he got before them, though they gave him chace for ſome time. He arrived therefore ſafe with his whole fleet at Taurominium [s].

THE Carthaginian general, appriſed of Timoleon's landing at Taurominium, diſpatched an expreſs on board one of his galleys thither, threatening Andromachus, tyrant of that

[s] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

that city, with his reſentment, if he did not immediately drive away the Corinthians from thence. The form of the menace, according to Plutarch, was this: The barbarian, ſtretching out his hand with the inſide upward, and then turning it down again, threatened to turn the city topſy-turvy juſt ſo, in as little time, and with as much eaſe. Andromachus, laughing, made no other reply to this inſolence, than by repeating the ſame motion with an air of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exerciſed firſt upon the veſſel which brought him thither. This ſingle circumſtance, ſlight as it is, ſeems clearly to point out the Carthaginian original, ſuch kind of inſolent denunciations having been common in the eaſt, as may be learned from ſcripture, to omit what may be collected on this head from profane authors [t].

The Carthaginians threaten Andromachus with their reſentment, if he continued to harbour Timoleon.

Icetas no ſooner received intelligence of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, than he was thrown into a great conſternation, and deſired the Carthaginians to ſend a ſquadron of galleys with all poſſible expedition to guard the coaſts. Soon after, he put the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of Syracuſe, and diſpatched an expreſs to Mago, the Carthaginian general, preſſing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, Timoleon, drawing his forces out of Taurominium, which in the whole did not amount to above a thouſand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the duſk of the evening, and arrived the next day at Adranum, a place to which Icetas had advanced a little before at the head of a Carthaginian detachment of five thouſand men. Theſe he ſurprized at ſupper, and therefore meeting with but a faint reſiſtance, eaſily made himſelf maſter of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the ſword, and taking ſix hundred priſoners. In order to follow his blow, and ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to Syracuſe, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took poſt with his troops, and defended himſelf with that intrepid reſolution, that the whole united power of Icetas and the Carthaginians found it impoſſible to diſlodge him [u].

Timoleon defeats Icetas at Adranum.

THE

[t] 1 King. xx. 10. & alib. paſſ.

[u] Plut. & Diodor. ubi ſup.

The situation of affairs in Sicily, when Timoleon broke into Syracuse.

THE Carthaginians, being informed, some time before this war broke out, that the whole island of Sicily was soon like to be in a flame, greatly caressed all those cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring states were invited to accede, particularly Icetas, tyrant of the Leontini, the Syracusan general, with whom a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, as above-mentioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and support their confederates, especially Icetas, they raised a great number of forces both by sea and land, and transported them to Sicily, under the command of Hanno their general. Upon a general muster here, the army was found to consist of fifty thousand men, and three hundred chariots. These were attended with two thousand carriages drawn by two horses a-piece, an immense quantity of provisions, besides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all sorts of warlike stores. The fleet, destined to concur with these land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was composed of an hundred and fifty long ships or galleys, as related above. Hanno, with his forces, moved first towards Entella; which city he caused to be blocked up, having before ravaged and destroyed the country all round it. The Campanians, however, then in garrison, found means to notify their distress to the neighbouring cities, and to desire their assistance; but none of them durst stir, except Galeria, which sent them a reinforcement of a thousand men, who, being intercepted by the Carthaginians, were all cut to pieces. The Campanians indeed, who inhabited Ætna, seemed at first, on account of their consanguinity, disposed to assist them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the Galerians had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie still. In the mean time, Icetas, moving from Leontium with his army, encamped at Olympus, fortifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive Dionysius, in case he should think proper to attack him. Provisions failing him, he was obliged to return to Leontium for a fresh supply. This Dionysius interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a sharp conflict, Icetas routed him, killing three thousand of his men upon the spot, and pursuing the rest with so much ardor, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of Syracuse; by which means he possessed himself of the whole

city,

city, except the iſland on which the citadel ſtood. This was the ſituation of affairs in Syracuſe, when Timoleon broke into the city, and gave Icetas the defeat abovementioned [w].

BEFORE the action at Adranum, the Sicilians in general were ſo far from being diſpoſed to join Timoleon, that they were prejudiced againſt him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly ſuffered by the treachery of Calippus an Athenian, and Pharax a Lacedæmonian general; for theſe perſons, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppreſſive manner than the worſt and moſt deſpotic of their own tyrants. The people of Adranum only were divided in their ſentiments, ſome preferring the Carthaginians and Icetas, and others the Corinthians. Hence it came to paſs, that both partiers were ſolicited for ſuccours by their reſpective confederates; and both ſides accordingly advancing to the relief of their friends much about the ſame time, engaged in the manner above related. The Corinthians, being victorious, entirely through the valour and conduct of Timoleon, according to Plutarch, were received with open arms by the people of Adranum, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time, Dionyſius, as we have already obſerved, poſſeſſed the iſland of Ortygia, Icetas Neapolis and Acradina, Timoleon all the reſt of the city, and the Carthaginians the port, having moreover their army encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the town. This deplorable ſituation threw Timoleon into great perplexities, ſo that he was at a loſs what courſe to take. Whilſt he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he was reinforced by a body of the Adranitæ and Tynderitæ; Marcus or Mamercus alſo, prince of Catana, an able warrior, and maſter of an immenſe treaſure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon ſuch an unexpected flow of ſucceſs, many forts and caſtles ſurrendered to him; and laſtly, to crown all, he received advice, that the Corinthians had ſent him a farther ſupply of ſoldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at Thurium, together with money to pay all their troops at Syracuſe [x].

The Sicilians at firſt not diſpoſed to join Timoleon.

DIONY-

[w] Plut. & Diodor. ibid. [x] Idem ibid.

Dionyſius ſurrenders the citadel of Syracuſe to Timoleon.

DIONYSIUS, ſeeing himſelf beſieged on all ſides, without any hopes of relief, ſent privately embaſſadors to Timoleon, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would ſuffer him to retire unmoleſted. Timoleon, immediately cloſing with ſo advantageous an offer, readily agreed to what the tyrant deſired, and detached Euclid and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of that important place. As the Carthaginians had a ſtrong guard upon the haven, and conſequently were maſters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where Icetas was poſted, the Corinthians could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in ſmall parties. Dionyſius received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vaſt number of horſes, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing ſeventy thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and two thouſand regular troops, which Timoleon incorporated among his own. After this, Dionyſius was ſent to Corinth by Timoleon in a ſingle galley, without any convoy, where he arrived ſafe, notwithſtanding the Carthaginians, being appriſed of his departure, had laid ſeveral veſſels in wait for him. The Carthaginians were ſo diſheartened at theſe misfortunes, coming as it were one upon the neck of another, (for Plutarch tells us they happened all in the ſpace of fifty days) that they did not offer to make the leaſt movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho' the latter were above ten times as numerous as the Corinthians [y].

ACCORDING to Diodorus, the firſt treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was ſigned this year, which was the firſt of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As this correſponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of Rome, (if, with Fabius Pictor, we place the foundation of that city in the firſt year of the eighth olympiad) it is not improbable, that Oroſius, in the paſſage abovecited, followed Diodorus Siculus. But neither of them, in the point before us, deſerves any conſideration; for though we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforeſaid, yet, that it was the firſt, we can by no means allow; ſince

[y] Idem ibid.

ſince Polybius, who undoubtedly conſulted both the Roman and Carthaginian archives, does not only aſſure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and ſixty years before this time, but likewiſe gives us the expreſs words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this caſe, as well as in all others relating to the Roman and Carthaginian affairs, as interwoven, muſt be looked upon as inconteſtable [z].

BUT to return to the Carthaginian tranſactions in Sicily: Towards the concluſion of this, and the beginning of the following year, the Carthaginian forces, that were to act in favour of Icetas received a ſtrong reinforcement, and Mago was appointed to command them. Upon the retreat of Dionyſius, Icetas, laid ſiege to the citadel of Syracuſe, which was defended only by four hundred Corinthians left there by Timoleon, under the conduct of one Leon, an experienced and brave officer. Timoleon, who had withdrawn to Catana, ſent the garriſon frequent ſupplies of proviſions; but they were for the moſt part intercepted by Icetas, who kept the place cloſely blocked up on all ſides. When they were reduced to the laſt extremity, Timoleon found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in ſpite of all oppoſition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the aſſiſtance of ſmall fiſher-boats and ſkiffs, which got a paſſage through the Carthaginian fleet in the moſt tempeſtuous weather, ſliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one againſt another, or diſperſed by the violence of the wind. Whilſt theſe things happened, Icetas formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate Timoleon at Adranum, to which place he had for a ſhort time retired, and employed two foreigners, probably Carthaginians, for that purpoſe; but they were prevented from executing their execrable deſign in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remarkable event may be ſeen in Plutarch. Timoleon, after his eſcape, returned to Catana, and continued ſupplying his troops in the citadel with proviſions, as often as an opportunity offered. The beſieged were, however, greatly fatigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's aſſault,

The Corinthian garriſon in the citadel defends itſelf againſt the united forces of Icetas and the Carthaginians.

[z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Oroſ. l. iv. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, &c. edit. Gronov.

assaults, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheless they defended themselves with incredible bravery, and, having their renowned general himself so near at hand, despised all the efforts of the enemy [a].

Icetas introduces the Carthaginian army into Syracuse.

ICETAS, being much chagrined at this late disappointment, and finding his soldiers desert in great numbers to the enemy, dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthaginian general, desiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As soon as he arrived, Icetas, without any scruple, admitted him at the head of the whole Punic army, consisting of sixty thousand men, into the town; which was a point the Carthaginians, in all their struggles with the Siculo-Greeks, could never gain before. As Mago's fleet of an hundred and fifty sail at the same time rode in the harbour, the city seemed to be entirely in the enemy's hands. Timoleon, being informed of this, kept his troops together, but for the present remained at Catana, that he might be at hand to encourage and succour the Corinthian troops in the citadel; which he did so effectually, by continuing to supply them with corn and other provisions, in the manner above-related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliging the enemy to raise the siege, that they were not under the least apprehension for the safety of the place [b].

The Corinthian garrison in the citadel in a sally take Acradina.

MAGO and Icetas, finding it impossible to reduce the citadel, as long as Timoleon was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in Syracuse, and with the rest either drive Timoleon from Catana, or block him up in that city. Tho' they knew his forces were very inconsiderable in comparison of those with which they intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occasion. They were scarce gone, when Leon who commanded in the citadel, observing that those who were left to continue the siege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great number of them, put the rest to flight, and having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called Acradina, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. As Acradina was the best and most opulent part of Syracuse, consisting, as it were, of several towns united, Leon found vast

[a] Plut. ubi sup. [b] Idem ibid.

vaſt ſums of ready money and great plenty of proviſions in it; which, at that time, were of ſignal ſervice to him. A courier was immediately ſent away with this melancholy news to Mago and Icetas, who, upon receiving it, returned in great haſte to Syracuſe, though they were then but a ſmall diſtance from Catana; but could not, upon their arrival, diſlodge the enemy from the poſt they had gained.

Timoleon receives a freſh ſupply of troops from Corinth.

In the mean time, a ſupply of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe from Corinth landed ſafe in Sicily, having been detained a conſiderable time at Thurium by tempeſtuous weather, and found means to elude the vigilance of the Carthaginian ſquadron under Hanno, poſted to intercept them. That commander, not imagining the Corinthians would attempt a paſſage to Sicily in ſuch a ſtormy ſeaſon, left his ſtation at Thurium, and, ordering his ſeamen to crown themſelves with garlands, and adorn their veſſels with bucklers of both the Greek and Carthaginian form, ſailed to Syracuſe in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to underſtand, that he had taken the ſuccours Timoleon expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a ſurrender. But whilſt he ſpent his time in ſuch trifling amuſements, the Corinthians marched with great expedition through the territories of the Brutii to Rhegium, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were eaſily wafted over to Sicily. This capital error in Hanno proved the total ruin of Icetas, and, in its conſequences, was of infinite prejudice to the Carthaginians [c].

And reduces Meſſana.

TIMOLEON, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched againſt Meſſana, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of, and then advanced in good order to Syracuſe. Mago was ſeized with a panic upon the news of his approach, inſomuch, that he ſeemed only to want a pretence to quit the iſland, tho' the new Corinthian ſuccours, in conjunction with all Timoleon's other troops, did not form a corps of above four thouſand men. Soon after, ſome of Icetas and Timoleon's Greek mercenaries mixing together in converſation, whilſt they were fiſhing for eels in the marſhes above Syracuſe, one of the Corinthian party addreſſed himſelf to thoſe of the other ſide in the following terms: "Is it poſſible for Greeks to attempt reducing ſo noble a city "as this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the moſt cru-

[c] Idem ibid.

" el and bloody barbarians breathing? Is it not much more " for their intereſt, that the Carthaginians ſhould be remo- " ved at the greateſt diſtance from Greece, than that they " ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of a moſt rich and fertile " iſland in its neighbourhood? Can any perſon be ſo ſtu- " pid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces from " the ſtreights of Hercules and the Atlantic ocean, purely " to ſupport Icetas, who, if he had acted like an able ge- " neral, would never have introduced his country's impla- " cable enemies into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in " him to treat his anceſtors and natural friends, as the bit- " tereſt enemies, which had he not done, he might have " enjoyed his high dignity, without giving the leaſt offence " to Timoleon and the Corinthians?" Theſe diſcourſes being ſpread through the whole camp, and even reaching Mago's ears, whoſe army was moſtly compoſed of mercenary Greeks, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonſtrances of Icetas, who plainly demonſtrated to him the weakneſs of the enemy, he weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for Africa, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of Sicily. No other reaſon can be aſſigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous diſpoſition of that general, who, conſcious of his guilt, on his arrival at Carthage, laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent the puniſhment his cowardice deſerved. His body was hung upon a gallows or croſs, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people, in order to deter ſucceeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and ſacrificing their country, in ſo flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more daſtardly action is not to be met with in the whole courſe of hiſtory [d].

He takes by ſtorm that part of Syracuſe poſſeſſed by Icetas.

THE next day, Timoleon appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of Mago's precipitate flight, and ſeeing the haven quite clear of Carthaginian veſſels, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed, but could ſcarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of Mago on this occaſion, and therefore, in a pleaſant humour by proclamation offered a great reward to any perſon who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the Carthaginian ſquadron was retired, to make its eſcape from his formidable

[d] Plut. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

ble fleet. Icetas being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was poſted, Timoleon made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault. This he divided into three attacks; the firſt he commanded in perſon, with a body of choſen troops, againſt that part of the town ſituated upon the river Anapus, which was the ſtrongeſt and moſt difficult of acceſs; the ſecond he committed to the conduct of Iſias, a Corinthian captain, who was to advance from the quarter of Acradina; and the third was to be formed againſt the poſt Epipolæ by Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the laſt ſupply of troops from Corinth. In conformity to this plan, the aſſault was made; and the troops of Icetas being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by ſtorm. That Icetas ſhould loſe many men in this action, is eaſy to be believed; but that the Corinthian forces ſhould not have ſo much as a ſingle man wounded, ſavours ſo much of fable and rhodomontade, that Plutarch muſt excuſe us, if we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion [e].

Timoleon drives ſeveral tyrants out of Sicily.

Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with thoſe of Mamercus and the cities above-mentioned, and the reduction of Syracuſe, having left a body of troops to defend that capital, marched ſtrait to Leontium, Icetas's metropolis, with an intention to beſiege it. In conſequence of this deſign, he ſat down before the place; but finding the garriſon very numerous, and being repulſed with loſs in ſeveral attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to Engyon, a city that groaned under the tyranny of Leptines, and ſo terrified the tyrant by his repeated aſſaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to Peloponneſus. Apollonia, a neighbouring city under the power of Leptines, upon this, applied to Timoleon for his protection, and obtained it, ſo that this general now began to be looked upon as the ſcourge of tyrants, and conſequently to be in high eſtem amongſt the Sicilians; but being in great diſtreſs for money to ſatisfy the demands of his ſoldiers, he detached a thouſand men to make an inculſion into the Carthaginian territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waſte, and pillaging it thoroughly, carried off an immenſe booty, which they brought to Timoleon, who expoſing every thing to public ſale, by this means raiſed a vaſt ſum, and not only paid his army all their paſt arrears, but likewiſe advanced them their pay for a conſide-

[e] Plut. ubi ſup.

rable time to come. Soon after, he made himſelf maſter of Entella, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who perſiſted in their adherence to the Carthaginians, and reſtored the reſt to their liberty. Upon this the Greek cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the Sicani and Siculi, ſubject to the Carthaginians, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates. Icetas, in the mean time, in conjunction with ſome Carthaginian auxiliaries, formed the ſiege of Syracuſe. This, in the beginning, he puſhed on with vigour; but as Timoleon's garriſon behaved with incredible reſolution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent ſallies, and as Timoleon himſelf was now advancing a ſecond time towards Leontium, he was at laſt forced to abandon the ſiege [f].

And reduces Leontium.

Icetas, having thus loſt the beſt part of his troops in this fruitleſs expedition, marched back with great precipitation to Leontium, in order to cover that important fortreſs from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not miſinformed; for Timoleon, judging it of the higheſt conſequence to his affairs to reduce Icetas, before the Carthaginians returned into the iſland, which they threatened to do in a ſhort time, moved directly towards his frontiers, and appeared before Leontium, without giving him time to recruit his ſhattered troops, and re-eſtabliſh his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this ſudden approach, and finding himſelf incapable of reſiſting an army ſo animated by ſucceſs, was glad to come to a compoſition with the Corinthian general; the terms of which were, that he ſhould renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians; that his forts ſhould all be demoliſhed; and laſtly, that the Leontini ſhould be governed by laws of their own, he reſiding amongſt them as a private perſon. Having thus detached Icetas from the Carthaginian intereſt, and extirpated tyranny out of the Greek part of Sicily, he returned to Syracuſe, deſigning to carry the war into the Carthaginian dominions without delay [g].

The

[f] Plut. & Diodor. ubi ſup.

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

The Cathaginians make great preparations for carrying on the war with Timoleon.

THE ſenate and people of Carthage, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the laſt campaign, deprived moſt of them of their commiſſions; and, reſolving to new-model the army, filled the vacant poſts with perſons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in Sicily with all poſſible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took beſides into their ſervice a numerous body of mercenaries, raiſed in Spain, Gaul, and Liguria. Their naval preparations were in all reſpects proportioned to thoſe made by land; both which being completed, they ſent Aſdrubal and Hamilcar, two experienced commanders, over to Sicily with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred ſhips of war, and a thouſand tranſports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horſes, and all ſorts of proviſions. In the mean time, Timoleon, having juſt concluded the war with Icetas, and, by the acceſſion of his troops, conſiderably reinforced his army, advanced againſt them with great intrepidity upon the firſt news of their landing at Lilybæum, though his forces did not amount to above ſeven thouſand effective men. He had, before the arrival of the Carthaginians, detached Dinarchus and Demaretus with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a conſiderable time at diſcretion, but likewiſe obliged ſeveral of their cities to ſide with the Greeks, and at their departure carried off a vaſt ſum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By this means Timoleon was enabled to ſettle a military cheſt, and eſtabliſh a fund ſufficient for the preſent exigences of the war. TheCarthaginian generals had no ſooner landed their forces, but they were appriſed of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their wholearmy towards Timoleon, they at laſt encamped upon the banks of the river Crimeſus or Crimeſſus. The Corinthian commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp; but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name Thracius, a profligate fellow, who had ſome time before been concerned in plundering the temple of Apollo at Delphi, cried out, that Timoleon was not in his right ſenſes, otherwiſe he would never propoſe with ſuch an handful of men to attack the Carthaginian army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable deſtruction, if he was not diſtracted, he muſt certainly have

a deſign to ſacrifice them, perhaps becauſe he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he adviſed them to go and demand their pay at Syracuſe, and not think of attending Timoleon in ſuch a deſperate expedition [h].

Timoleon, by his addreſs prevents a mutiny from breaking out in his camp.

THE mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and ſedition, received the harangue of this hot-headed incendiary with applauſe, and were all of them upon the point of deſerting their ſtandards. But at length Timoleon by his entreaties, large promiſes, and ſingular addreſs, brought them back to a ſenſe of their duty, excepting a thouſand, who were determined at all events to follow the deſperate fortunes of Thracius. After this he wrote to his friends at Syracuſe, informing them of what had happened, but at the ſame time enjoined them to treat the deſerters with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguiſhed all the ſparks of ſedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the Carthaginian forces with great ardour and celerity [i].

He engages and defeats the Carthaginian army.

IT happened that, as he was aſcending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met ſome mules loaded with parſley, an herb with which the ſepulchres of the dead were uſually adorned by the antients. This trifling event threw the ſoldiers into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad ſignification. Timoleon, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the Iſthmian games were crowned with this herb, particularly the Corinthians, it ought to be eſteemed as a ſymbol of victory, and therefore entreated them to baniſh all gloomy apprehenſions. To remove entirely all impreſſions of terror from their minds, he made himſelf a crown of parſley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With theſe round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been ſure of a triumph, and thereby inſpired the troops with as much reſolution as Timoleon had done, before the laſt occurrence happened, by a pathetic ſpeech, wherein he put them in mind of Gelon's ſignal victory over the barbarians with an inconſiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow ſo great an example. Plutarch, an author not a little

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 13. [i] Idem ibid.

little tinctured with credulity and ſuperſtition, adds, that the ſoothſayers diſcovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial ſort of noiſe (A). Theſe they ſhewed to the ſoldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain ſucceſs, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auſpicious day. Timoleon therefore, taking advantage of their preſent diſpoſition, and of the confuſion the Carthaginians were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the Crimeſus, attacked them with great vigour and reſolution. Ten thouſand of the enemy's forces, who had already paſſed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the reſt could come up to their aſſiſtance. Great numbers of the enemy periſhed in this firſt action; for Timoleon himſelf being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole Carthaginian army having gained the oppoſite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. The Sicilian horſe, under the conduct of Demaretus, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themſelves; but could make no impreſſion, the armed chariots (B) poſted there keeping

(A) Plutarch ſays, that juſt before the beginning of the engagement there aſcended ſo thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itſelf, was viſible, the Greeks only hearing a confuſed noiſe of a vaſt multitude advancing towards them. But the ſun-beams at length diſſipating the vapours, they obſerved the Carthaginian army approaching them in the following order: Firſt, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible; ſecondly, a body of ten thouſand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightneſs of their armour, and their ſlow regular march, they took to be native Carthaginians; and laſtly, the groſs of their army, compoſed of different nations, who followed the reſt in ſuch a diſorderly manner, as gave Timoleon great encouragement to attack them. By this it ſeems to appear, that the national troops in the Carthaginian armies were diſtinguiſhed in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as thoſe of the provinces ſubject to Carthage (1).

(B) The cuſtom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongſt the Greeks, Phrygians, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the Trojan war,

(1) Plutarch. ubi ſup.

in gthem at a diſtance, and puſhing them with ſuch vigour, that they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. Timoleon, obſerving this, ordered them inſtantly to wheel about, and

is evident from Homer. Herodotus aſſures us, that the Greeks learned this method of fighting from the Libyans or Africans; and Xenophon intimates, that it was particularly in uſe amongſt the people of Cyrenaica. In the earlieſt ages the Medes, Syrians, Arabs, &c. fought in chariots, but eſpecially the Libyans and Ethiopians, as we are informed by ſcripture. The ſacred writings farther ſpeak of two ſorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other deſigned to break the enemies battalions, by being let looſe againſt them. Theſe laſt were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that oppoſed them (2).

The moſt antient chariots of war mentioned in hiſtory are Pharaoh's, which were overwhelmed in the Red-ſea. The Canaanites, to whom Joſhua gave battle at the waters of Merom, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; Siſera, Jabin the king of Hazor's general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of Judah could not take poſſeſſion of all the lands allotted to them, becauſe ſome of the antient inhabitants were ſtrong in chariots of iron; the Philiſtines, in the war carried on by them againſt Saul, had thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſemen; David, having taken a thouſand chariots of war from Hadadezer, king of Syria, ham-ſtrung the horſes, and burnt nine hundred chariots, preſerving only an hundred to himſelf. Theſe, with many more paſſages that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were uſed amongſt the Phœnicians, Syrians, and Egyptians, in very remote times (3).

Erectheus or Erichthonius, king of Attica, is ſaid firſt to have introduced theſe armed (4) chariots into Greece, though he, in all probability, received them from the Barbarians, amongſt whom they were in uſe long before his time, as is intimated by Euſebius. At the Trojan war the Greek chariots had for the moſt part only a pair of horſes, to which, however, ſometimes a third was added, called by Homer παρήορος, which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to Euſtathius. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that in his time this ſort of chariots was uſed among the

(2) Hom. in Il. & Odyſ. paſſ. Herodot. in Melpom. Xenoph. in Cyropæd. l. 6. 2 Chron. xvi. 8. Calmet in dict. bibl.
(3) Exod. xiv. 7, 10, 17, &c. Joſh. xi. 4. Jud. iv. 3. Jud. i. 19. 1 Sam. xiii. 15. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. 2 Sam. viii 4.
(4) Euſeb. in chron. p. 99. & Eraſm. Vinding. in Hel. apud Gronov. in theſ. ant. Græv. t. xi. p. 183.

and attack the enemy in flank, whilſt with the foot he formed a ſort of phalanx, joining man to man, and ſhield to ſhield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great

the Romans, but left off by the Greeks. Sometimes alſo the moſt antient Greeks had two pair of horſes to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from Homer. The drivers were frequently perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, as Æneas, Neſtor, and one of Priamus's ſons. The perſon armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewiſe frequently a perſon of prime quality, as Pandarus the ſon of Lycaon, and Hector the ſon of Priamus. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as Paris, Agamemnon, Hercules, and Cygnus, &c. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and ſilver, and much curious workmanſhip, as that of Rheſus in Homer, and even ſometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of Diomedes in the ſame author. The kings of Perſia were forbidden by the royal law ſo much as to touch the bridles or reins of horſes faſtened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconſiſtent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The Rhodians conſecrated horſes and chariots to the ſun annually, in conformity to the practice of their Phœnician anceſtors, as we learn from Feſtus; and Pauſanias, Heliodorus, and Strabo aſſure us, that the Spartans, Maſſagetæ, and Ethiopians antiently did the ſame thing. The ſcripture obſerves, that ſome of the kings of Judah preceding Joſiah did offer chariots to the ſun; which ſuperſtitious cuſtom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the Perſians, as father Calmet thinks, who had horſes and chariots conſecrated in honour of that luminary. The reaſon the Rhodians gave for throwing a chariot every year into the ſea, in honour of the ſun, was becauſe they believed, that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The deſcription of the ſcythed chariots, mentioned in the Maccabees, as the antients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horſes were faſtened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horſes hadlikewiſe two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree alſo were fixed iron ſpits, armed at their extremities

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(5) Hom. Il. 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, & alib. paſſ. Odyſſ. 13. & alib. paſſ. Everard. Frithius in antiquit. Homer. l. iv. c. 11. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Heſiod. in Scut. Herc. &c.
(6) Feſt. voce October. Pauſan, in Laconic. Strab. l. xi. Heliodor. in Æthiopic. l. x. Vide & Dan. Claſenium in theol gent. l. iii. c. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

great fury upon the Carthaginians. These sustained the shock of the Sicilian foot with great intrepidity, and repelling

with scythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very fellows of the wheels were furnished with scythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to resist the shock of the motion, and the chariot be less subject to overturn. The driver's seat was a kind of little tower made of very solid wood, and raised breast-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes several men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as these the Romans found amongst the antient inhabitants of this island when they first landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewise common in the neighbouring parts of Gaul, which is a plain proof, that both these countries were known to the antient Phœnicians, except it be admitted, that these machines were invented before the progenitors of the Gauls and Britons first came out of Asia. Diodorus affirms, that the military chariots of these remote nations were of the same kind with those used by the antient Greek heroes at the siege of Troy. It appears from different authors, that the Britons had several sorts of chariots, viz. the benna, the carrus or carrum, the covinus, the essedum, and the rheda, all of which, from their names, appear to have been of Phœnician extraction. The esseda seems to have been of the same kind as the Carthaginian armed chariots, from the description Cæsar gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horses, and the noise of their wheels, they usually broke the enemies ranks; that, when they had intermixed themselves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themselves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers, in the mean time retiring out of the battle, posted themselves in such a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on these occasions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Cæsar and Dio, or to a future part of this history, to which it will more properly belong (8).

Accord-

(7) 2 Macc. xiii. 2. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Q. Curt. l. iv. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 6. (8) Cæs. de bell. Gal. l. iv. Dio Cass. l. lxii. p. 706. in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov. 1606. Diod. Sic. l. iv. p. 209.

ling the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, ſoon came to a cloſe engagement. The Carthaginians had now apparently the advantage, becauſe in ſuch actions as theſe ſtrength contributes as much to victory as diſcipline and military ſkill. But whilſt the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and ſurround on all ſides Timoleon's ſmall army, there aroſe on a ſudden a violent ſtorm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they were not able to ſtand their ground any longer. At the ſame time, the Crimeſus overflowing its banks, occaſioned ſuch an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embaraſſed by it, which heightened their conſternation and confuſion, and forced them to retire in diſorder. The Greeks then, encouraging one another with ſhouts of joy, preſſed them ſo vigorouſly, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The ſacred cohort or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great reſolution, and ſtood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. Plutarch relates, that, of ten thouſand men, who

According to father Calmet, it does not appear, that the Hebrew kings ever made uſe of chariots in war. For though the ſcripture ſays, Solomon had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of theſe princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great uſe there. This ſeems to be confirmed by an obſervation in ſcripture, viz. that the tribe of Judah could not diſpoſſeſs the antient inhabitants of the valleys in their diſtrict, becauſe they had chariots of iron. The Carthaginians, who were deſcended from the old Phœnicians or Canaanites, imitated their anceſtors in this particular. They generally poſted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horſe, that when the former had made an impreſſion upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all thoſe who were put into diſorder and confuſion (9).

(9) 1 Kings x. 26. Jud. i. 19. Chriſt. Hendr. in republ. Carthag. l. ii. c. 2. p. 515, 516.

who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thouſand were native Carthaginians of the beſt families in Carthage, and that, according to the Punic records, ſuch a number of perſons of diſtinction never fell in any battle before, the Carthaginian armies being for the moſt part made up of Africans, Spaniards, Numidians, &c. ſo that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Beſides the ſlain, there were above fifteen thouſand taken priſoners; all their baggage and proviſions, with two hundred chariots, a thouſand coats of mail, and ten thouſand ſhields, fell into Timoleon's hands, and were either ſent to Corinth, and there dedicated to Neptune, or hung up in the temples of Syracuſe. The ſpoil, which conſiſted chiefly of gold and ſilver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to Plutarch, ſo immenſe, that the whole Sicilian army was three days in collecting it, and ſtripping the ſlain. In fine, after Timoleon's troops had paſſed the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, they found there ſuch an incredible quantity of gold and ſilver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the ſoldiers, reſerving nothing for himſelf but the glory of ſo famous a victory. It muſt not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month Thargelion, which was Timoleon's birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if Cornelius Nepos may be credited, happened on the ſame day. The wonderful ſucceſs it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of ſuperſtition; for, next to the violent ſtorm above-mentioned, this unparallelled victory was owing to the happy turn Timoleon gave to a frivolous accident conſidered as a fatal omen. This certainly ſhewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and Polyænus takes notice of it as an inſtance of the great military capacity of that general[k].

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[k] Plut. & Diodor. ubi ſup. Corn. Nep. in vit. Timol. c. 5. ed. Auguſt. Van Staveren. Lugd. Bat. 1734. Vid. & Boſium in loc. Polyæn. ſtrat l. v. c. 12. ex. 1. Dion. Petav. ration temp. p. 1. l. iii. c. 10. ed. Par. 1641.

THE news of ſo ſignal a victory, obtained over the profeſſed enemies of the Greek name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at Corinth and Syracuſe, eſpecially as it was like to be attended with ſuch happy conſequences. The Corinthians adorned their temples with the Carthaginian ſpoils, which they hung up there with inſcriptions upon them, importing, that the people of Corinth, and Timoleon, their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgment for their having made them the inſtruments of delivering Sicily from Carthaginian ſervitude. Timoleon having left his mercenaries upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to Syracuſe with the reſt of his army, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. 'Tis worthy obſervation, that all the puniſhment he inflicted upon the thouſand mercenaries, who were accomplices of Thracius, for their infamous deſertion above-mentioned, was only baniſhment from Syracuſe; however, he ordered them all to be gone before ſun-ſet [1].

Which occaſions great joy at Corinth and Syracuſe.

ICETAS, according to Plutarch, after this, being tired with his private ſtation, ſhewed an inclination to reinſtate himſelf, if poſſible, in his dominions; and, in order thereto, found means, in conjunction with Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, to ſtrike up another treaty with the Carthaginians. In conſequence of this freſh alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and took a ſtrong body of Greeks, of whoſe valour they had now a great opinion, for the firſt time, into their ſervice, intending to try their fortune once more in Sicily. Giſco, the brother of Hanno, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from baniſhment to command the troops deſtined for the new expedition. This news ſoon reaching Sicily, occaſioned freſh commotions there. The inhabitants of Meſſana, entering into an aſſociation againſt Timoleon, put four hundred of his men, left as a garriſon in that place, to the ſword; a detachment of mercenaries under the command of Euthymus the Leucadian, being drawn into an ambuſcade by the Carthaginian troops at Hieræ, were all cut off to man; and whilſt Timoleon was on his march to Calauria, Icetas, being reinforced by a Carthaginian party, made an incurſion into the territories of Syracuſe, carrying off a conſiderable booty, and, in contempt of Timoleon, paſſed

Icetas concludes another treaty with the Carthaginians.

[1] Plut. & Diodor. ubi ſup.

paſſed by Calauria itſelf, the place where that general was then poſted. However, he purſued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with ſome of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This Icetas perceiving, paſſed the river Damyrias with ſome precipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other ſide, put himſelf into a poſture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a diſpute ariſing amongſt Timoleon's officers, who could not agree which of them ſhould paſs the river firſt to attack Icetas, the general ordered them to caſt lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into Timoleon's robe, and the firſt that was taken out, and expoſed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a ſeal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon Icetas, who, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock, was put to flight, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, and purſued to the city of Leontium. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himſelf, his ſon Eupolemus, and Euthymus, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own ſoldiers to Timoleon. The two firſt were immediately executed, as tyrants and traytors, and the laſt murdered in cold blood. Icetas's wives and daughters likewiſe ſuffered death, after a public trial. Plutarch blames Timoleon (C) for not preventing this laſt execution, which, he

And is overthrown by Timoleon.

(C) We have already obſerved, that Timæus Siculus exalted Timoleon to a ſuperiority above the higheſt divinities, and that he was greatly cenſured for this by Suidas. The laſt author's words are to this effect: "If Calliſthenes deſervedly ſuffered "death for deſigning to deify Alexander, a prince infinitely more "illuſtrious than Timoleon, what did Timæus deſerve? &c." This paſſage ſeems to contradict moſt, if not all, of thoſe writers who have given us any account of Alexander's atchievments, viz. Juſtin, Q. Curtius, Plutarch, &c. who repreſent Calliſthenes as inflexibly determined not to deify Alexander, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the Perſians paid their kings; when many of his ſycophants, particularly Anaxarchus, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, theſe writers ſeem unanimouſly to agree, that he loſt Alexander's favour by his obſtinacy in this particular, and even at laſt was put to death by him. Now, in order to reconcile Suidas with theſe authors, it muſt be obſerved, that Timæus extolled Timoleon in his hiſtory; and therefore Suidas muſt intimate, that Calliſthenes had an intention to deify Alexander in his hiſtory of that prince, otherwiſe the com-

he inſinuates, that general might have done, had he interpoſed in the affair, and cenſures it as the only blot in his character; tho' we think his conniving at the murder of Euthymus, a brave man, who was put to the ſword by the Corinthian ſoldiers for ſpeaking with ſome contempt of them, ought to be looked upon as another of the ſame kind. After this, he moved with his forces towards Catana; and meeting Mamercus, gave him battle in the plains of the river Abolus. The diſpute was for ſome time warm and bloody; but at laſt the tyrant was overthrown, his army entirely diſperſed, and above two thouſand men left dead upon the field of battle. As the greateſt part of theſe laſt were auxiliaries ſent to Mamercus by Giſco, the Carthaginians themſelves ſuffered conſiderably in this action [m].

NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike preparations they were making at Carthage for the invaſion of Sicily, the ſenate

A peace concluded between Timoleon and the Carthaginians.

[m] Idem ibid.

compariſon is impertinent and abſurd. Admit this, and the paſſage in Suidas does not at all claſh with what the authors abovementioned have obſerved of Calliſthenes, becauſe it bears no relation to them as taking notice of that philoſopher's refuſal to adore Alexander, whilſt at the head of his army in Aſia. Arrian aſſures us, that Calliſthenes, out of a vanity peculiar to himſelf, declared, that Alexander ſhould in future ages be eſteemed as a god from the hiſtory he would write of him, and not from thoſe idle ſtories his mother Olympias impoſed upon the world. This comes up to the point, and ſeems to be what Suidas had particularly in view. As for that author's affirming, that Calliſthenes ſuffered death for his intention to deify Alexander in his hiſtory, no more can be meant by it than this, viz. he was put to death by that very prince whom in his hiſtory he intended to deify, which was a juſt puniſhment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great impiety. That this reconciliation is juſt, will appear from a peruſal of the paſſages referred to in Suidas and Arrian, as likewiſe from the drift and ſcope of Suidas's obſervation: we cannot therefore help expreſſing our ſurprize, that M. Bayle ſhould not have been able to diſcover the conſiſtency betwixt Suidas and the abovementioned hiſtorians (10).

(10) Suid. in Τίμαιος. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 7. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 5. Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. Plutarch. in Alex. & Arrian. l. iv. p. 165. Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1704.

nate had ſent embaſſadors to Timoleon to attempt ſtriking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he ſaw them in a condition to continue the war. The two laſt blows given their confederates diſpoſed them ſtill more ſtrongly to an accommodation, to which they found Timoleon not averſe, as he was apprehenſive of freſh troubles from Mamercus and others, againſt whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly ſettled on the following terms: That all the Greek cities ſhould be ſet free; that the river Halycus, or, as Diodorus and Plutarch both call it, the Lycus, ſhould be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities ſubject to the Carthaginians ſhould be allowed to withdraw, if they pleaſed, to Syracuſe, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and laſtly, that Carthage ſhould not for the future give any aſſiſtance to the remaining tyrants againſt the Syracuſans [n].

Hanno endeavours to make himſelf abſolute at Carthage.

ABOUT this time, one Hanno, who, according to Juſtin's account of him, was the moſt opulent and powerful citizen in Carthage, formed a deſign of ſubverting the conſtitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accompliſh this, he propoſed to invite the ſenators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and there, by mixing poiſon with his wine, to deſtroy them all, not doubting, but ſuch a tragical event would at once make him maſter of the republic. Though the ſcheme was carried on with great ſecrecy, yet it came to be diſcovered by ſome of his ſervants; but his intereſt in the city was ſo great, that the government did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime. The magiſtrates therefore contented themſelves with only preventing it, which they did by paſſing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on ſuch occaſions. Hanno, ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, was reſolved to have recourſe to arms, and for that purpoſe aſſembled all his ſlaves, and fixed upon a day a ſecond time to put his deſign in execution. However, he was again diſcovered; but, to avoid puniſhment, he retired with twenty thouſand armed ſlaves to a caſtle, that was very ſtrongly fortified, and from thence applied to the Africans, and the kin

[n] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

king of the Mauritani, for aſſiſtance, but without ſucceſs. He was afterwards taken priſoner, and carried to Carthage, where being ſeverely whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, that puniſhment might be inflicted on every part; and at laſt he was executed in the preſence of all the people, to deter others from ſuch flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a croſs gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, ſhared in his puniſhment. They were all ſentenced to die, that not a ſingle perſon of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. Plutarch mentions one Hanno as admiral of the Carthaginian fleet, in the beginning of the late war between Icetas and Timoleon, who, in all probability, was the very perſon Juſtin repreſents as ſo infatuated with ambition, eſpecially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of ſhew and parade. However this may be, ſince Juſtin makes him cotemporary with the younger Dionyſius, and Oroſius affirms this conſpiracy to have happened in the time of Philip king of Macedon, we think from hence we are ſufficiently authorized to place that event here [o].

Q. Curtius guilty of a miſtake.

We muſt likewiſe obſerve here, that Diodorus Siculus places Alexander's reduction of Tyre in the firſt year of the 112th olympiad, and Agathocles's deſcent on Africa in the third of the 117th; and conſequently that Q. Curtius muſt have been out in his chronology, when he makes theſe two events to have happened about the ſame time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this ſynchroniſm. What the laſt of theſe authors relates of the arrival of certain Tyrian embaſſadors at Carthage, to implore the aſſiſtance of that potent republic againſt Alexander, has a greater appearance of truth; ſince not only a good underſtanding, but a moſt cordial friendſhip, always ſubſiſted between Carthage and Tyre, and even at this time moſt of the inhabitants of the latter were tranſported to the former of theſe cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for ſo theſe two ſtates always called one another) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians in a moſt ſenſible manner, though, by reaſon of ſome domeſtic troubles, they were then incapable of ſending them any ſuccours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at leaſt thought it their duty to comfort them, on this melancholy occa-

[o] Juſtin. l. xxi. Plut. & Oroſ. ubi ſup.

occaſion, and therefore diſpatched to Tyre thirty of their principal citizens to expreſs their grief, that the bad ſituation of their own affairs would not permit them to ſpare any troops. The Tyrians, though fruſtrated of their hopes, did not deſpond, but took all the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board ſome veſſels, in order to ſend them to Carthage; by which being delivered from all apprehenſions of danger, with regard to what was the deareſt to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared againſt all events, and thought of nothing but making the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to repel the enemy. Curtius intimates, that the Carthaginians offered annually a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of Tyre, conſidering them as their protectors; and that when their embaſſadors came to Tyre on this occaſion, they perſuaded the Tyrians to ſtand it out to the laſt, promiſing powerfully to ſupport them. As this very hiſtorian obſerves, that the ſeas at that time were blocked up by the Carthaginian fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty ſuccours they ſpirited up the Tyrians to oppoſe Alexander's whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they ſhould be then engaged in ſo dangerous a war as that with Agathocles was, or be reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as they muſt have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of Carthage. He therefore ſeems not to be entirely conſiſtent with himſelf in this particular; for which reaſon, as well as upon account of Diodorus's ſuperior authority in the point before us, we muſt beg leave to diſſent from him, and look upon the arrival of the Carthaginian embaſſadors at Tyre, as coincident with the tranſactions of the period we are now upon [p].

The Carthaginians ſend Hamilcar Rhodanus to Alexander in order to diſcover that prince's intentions.

THE Carthaginians, hearing of the reduction of Tyre, and the great progreſs Alexander made in the eaſt, began to be under ſome apprehenſions for their own ſafety, as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundleſs as his ambition. But they were much alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himſelf maſter of Egypt, was advancing towards the weſt, and had built Alexandria upon the confines of Eygpt and Africa, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an in-

[p] Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

intention to unite Africa and Aſia under his dominion, and aſpire to univerſal monarchy. They therefore choſe one Hamilcar, (or, as Gellius intimates, Aſdrubal) ſirnamed Rhodanus, to ſound the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counſels. Being a perſon of wonderful addreſs, as well as great eloquence, though at the ſame time of great ſubtilty and art, he made it his utmoſt endeavour to inſinuate himſelf into Alexander's favour. Having obtained an audience by means of Parmenio, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, baniſhed Carthage, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country ſignal ſervice by communicating many important diſcoveries relating to Alexander's ſchemes. The manner of this communication being ſomewhat ſingular, we ſhall give it our readers from Gellius. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epiſtle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the cuſtom of that age, without any characters upon it, ſent them away as blanks. This the people of Carthage being before appriſed of, decyphered the contents; which could not have been eaſily done by others, had the diſpatches been intercepted, becauſe the manner of writing then was upon the wax itſelf, and conſequently the whole muſt have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that Alexander ever diſcovered the treachery of this Carthaginian, or even entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him; which is further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithſtanding his eminent ſervices, he was conſidered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at Carthage, by a ſentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful [q].

In the ſecond year of the hundred-and-fourteenth Olympiad, Thimbro, after he had aſſaſſinated his friend Harpalus in Crete, ſailed with a body of mercenaries to Cyrenaica, and being joined by ſome exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and paſſes there, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that country. Having

[q] Juſtin l. xxi. c. 6. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 3. Aul. Gell. noct. At. l. xvii. c. 9. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 6. Vid. & Æne. in Poliorcet. c. 31.

ving given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the Carthaginians, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well refuse them. This we learn from Diodorus; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by Ophellas, and delivered into the hands of Ptolemy, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians were not then at leisure to assist them.

The Syracusans elect Agathocles their general against Sosistratus.

A few years afterwards, Sosistratus, who had usurped the supreme power at Syracuse, having been forced by Agathocles to raise the siege of Rhegium, returned with his shattered troops to Sicily. But soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the sovereignty and quit Syracuse. With him were expelled above six hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the history of Syracuse. As Sosistratus and the exiles thought themselves ill treated, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the Syracusans recalling Agathocles, who had before been banished by Sosistratus, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on account of the known aversion he bore to that tyrant. The Carthaginians supplying Sosistratus with troops, he immediately assembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himself, and his six hundred adherents, justice. After the two armies approached one another, several marches and counter-marches, and even some skirmishes happened, each side striving to gain some notable advantage. Agathocles, in all these military movements and falsifications, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived some stratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the Syracusans; of which the following was one of the most remarkable [r].

Agathocles makes an attempt to surprise Gela, but is repulsed.

The Syracusan army having encamped near Gela, Agathocles, with a detachment of a thousand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead time of the night; but being instantly charged by Sosistratus with a strong body of troops, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three hundred men. All the rest now looke

[r] Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 3.

looked upon themſelves as loſt, though Agathocles behaved with great intrepidity and reſolution. However, having received ſeven wounds, being ready to faint for loſs of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to ſurround him, he ordered his trumpets to ſound a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the Carthaginians, who now imagined, that another party of the Syracuſans had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkneſs of the night did not permit them to diſcover the truth, they thought proper to put an end to the purſuit; and dividing their forces, poſted away to the places from whence the trumpets ſounded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time, Agathocles, at the head of his detachment, arrived ſafe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preſerved the ſeven hundred men that firſt entered, but ſeven hundred more that were ſent afterwards to his aſſiſtance [s].

Agathocles ſwears to do nothing at Syracuſe, to the prejudice of the democracy there.

THIS war did not continue long; for Soſiſtratus and the exiles being ſoon received again in the city, a treaty of peace was concluded between Carthage and Syracuſe. The Syracuſans now finding, that Agathocles began to exerciſe a ſovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take ſuch meaſures as plainly ſhewed, that he aimed at monarchy, had recourſe anew to Corinth for a general to command their forces. Accordingly one Aceſtorides was ſent them to fill this poſt, who, upon his arrival, found that Syracuſe could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as Agathocles was alive; and therefore formed a deſign of diſpatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in a the ſeventh volume of this work. But Agathocles by a ſtratagem eluded that attempt; and making his eſcape, raiſed a body of forces in the heart of the iſland, with which he prepared to attack Syracuſe. The Carthaginians being appriſed of this, were ſtruck with terror as well as the people of Syracuſe; and therefore, at the inſtigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal conſequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to ſwear in a ſolemn manner, that

[s] Idem ibid.

he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy [t] (D).

But breaks this oath, makes himself master of Syracuse, and concludes a treaty with the Messanians by the mediation of the Carthaginians.

NOTWITSTANDING the solemn oath he had taken, Agathocles still pursued the point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, at last raised himself to the throne of Syracuse. Not content with this, he proposed to turn his arms against the other cities of Sicily, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. Beginning therefore with Messana, he seized upon a fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise Messana itself. But missing his aim, he laid siege to the castle of Mylæ, which surrendered to him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon Messana; but the citizens, knowing what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed him in several attacks. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, being applied to, sent embassadors to him, complaining of such a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himself the whole power of Carthage, submitted to the terms prescribed him; and, in consequence of his peace with the people of Messana, concluded by the mediation of Carthage, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but restored likewise the castle of Mylæ to them. Upon which the Carthaginian embassadors, having happily executed their commission, returned back to Africa [u].

BUT

[t] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Justin. l. xxii Val. Max. l. vii. c. 4. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p.

[u] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 4.

(D) It appears from Diodorus and Justin, as this last author's text is emended by Sebisius, that these solemn oaths were usually taken in the temple of Ceres, and that at taking them the persons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddess. Juvenal and Virgil illustrate this point to satisfaction; Scheffer, Tanaquil Faber, and Gronovius, agree with Sebisius, but Vorstius differs from him; though the passage this last author produces from Plutarch, equally supports both opinions (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii. c. 2. Juvenal. sat xiv. 238. Virg. Æn. vii. 102. T. Liv. l. xx. Plaut. in rudent 5, 2, 49. Plut. in Dio. Fid. & Britan. formul. l. xiii.

But the reſtleſs ſpirit of Agathocles would not ſuffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of Gela, Meſſana, and Agrigentum, entered into a confederacy againſt him, and ſent to the Lacedæmonians for a general, not daring to truſt any of their own principal citizens, as ſuſpecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But obſerving that Acrotatus, who came from Sparta to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even Agathocles himſelf, they not only refuſed to act under his conduct, but even attempted to ſtone him. Hamilcar therefore, the Carthaginian general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between Agathocles and the confederate cities, propoſed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at laſt made upon the following conditions: Firſt, that the Carthaginians ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera; and ſecondly, that all the other cities dependent on the Syracuſans, ſhould be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it ſeems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that time greatly in the intereſt of the Carthaginians [w].

Several Sicilian cities enter into a confederacy againſt him, but at laſt make a peace with him by the mediation of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general.

Agathocles, finding his ſubjects diſpoſed to ſecond his ambitious views, ſhewed as little regard to this laſt treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the ſecond article of it, he firſt made war on the neighbouring ſtates, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the iſland. He was attended in theſe expeditions with extraordinary ſucceſs, inſomuch, that in the ſpace of two years he brought entirely under ſubjection all the Greek part of Sicily. This rapid progreſs alarmed the Carthaginians, who ſaw their territories there threatened with the ſame fate; eſpecially as the tyrant had ſtrengthened himſelf by many alliances, and, beſides a potent army, made up of his own forces and thoſe of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot and above three thouſand horſe, all excellent troops. On the other hand, Agathocles, being ſenſible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the Carthaginians, and that they were very angry with Hamilcar for being inſtrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the neceſſary preparations, not only to put himſelf into a good poſture of defence, but even to act offenſively, in caſe of a war with Carthage. Things being in this

Agathocles breaks this treaty, and prepares for a war with Carthage;

[w] Idem ibid. c. 5.

this situation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon commence [x].

And commits great depredations in the territories of the Carthaginians.

It is intimated by Justin, that Agathocles was at first supported by the Carthaginians, or rather by Hamilcar, their general in Sicily, nay, he assures us, that the tyrant effected the massacre above-mentioned by the assistance of five thousand Africans sent him by Hamilcar. After the reduction of the other parts of Sicily, he made incursions into the Carthaginian territories and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, Hamilcar not offering to give him the least disturbance. This highly incensed the people of those districts, who looked upon themselves as betrayed by Hamilcar; and therefore sent letters to Carthage, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct and Agathocles's tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with Carthage had been sacrificed and delivered up into the tyrant's hands. This greatly exasperated the senate; but as Hamilcar was invested with great power in Sicily, they judged it prudent to suspend their resentment till the arrival of Hamilcar, the son of Gisco. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him; but, for the reason just hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the suffrages that passed into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other Hamilcar came from Sicily. But the general, being surprised by death, escaped thereby the punishment prepared for him at Carthage; and Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between Agathocles and the Carthaginians [y].

He enters into a second treaty with the Messanians, and infringes it.

The last place that held out against Agathocles was Messana, whither all the Syracusan exiles had retired. His general Pasiphilus at first marched against it with an army; but having before received instructions from Agathocles to act as he should think fit for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he cajoled the inhabitants into a treaty. This Agathocles likewise infringed when in possession of the town, cutting off all such as had formerly oppos'd his government; for as he intended to prosecute the war against Carthage with the utmost vigour, he thought it a point

[x] Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup. [y] Justin. ubi sup.

a point of good policy to deſtroy, if poſſible, all his enemies in Sicily [z] (E).

The Carthaginians prevent his taking Agrigentum; notwithſtanding which, he ravages all the adjacent country, and takes ſeveral Carthaginian forts by ſtorm.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians arrived with a fleet of ſixty ſail at Agrigentum, and obliged Agathocles to deſiſt from an attempt upon that place, which a little before he had projected. But as they had not brought a ſufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the ſubjects of the Carthaginians, and took ſeveral of their forts by ſtorm. Whilſt he was thus employed, another Carthaginian ſquadron of fifty ſhips entered the great harbour of Syracuſe, and ſunk two tranſports, one of them an Athenian, which were all the veſſels then in port. The Carthaginians, according to their uſual cruelty, cut off the hands of all thoſe they found on board, though they had not offered them the leaſt injury, it being impoſſible for them to make any reſiſtance. This barbarity was ſoon retaliated by Agathocles upon the Carthaginians; for ſeveral of their galleys, having been ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet upon the coaſt of Italy, fell into his hands, when he ſerved all the priſoners taken therein in the ſame manner [a].

The Carthaginians aſſemble a powerful army to oppoſe him, and encamp near Himera.

The Carthaginians, being informed that Agathocles had pillaged their territories in Sicily, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, reſolved to aſſemble an army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received advice, that they had offered battle to a conſiderable body of their troops poſted upon the hill Ecnomos,

[z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 6. [a] Idem ibid.

(E) In the midſt of theſe troubles, Dinocrates aſſembled a large body of troops, which conſiſted chiefly of Syracuſan and Meſſanian exiles. Having a great antipathy to Agathocles, he ſent a conſiderable detachment under the command of Nymphodorus, one of his captains, to reduce the city of Centuripe, which was then garriſoned by that tyrant's troops; but Nymphodorus was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. Dinocrates ſent to the Carthaginians for aſſiſtance in this expedition; but whether or no he received any from them, Diodorus tells us not. However, Agathocles took from hence an occaſion of accuſing the Centuripians of having formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be diſaffected to his government (z).

(z) Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 6.

who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to purſue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the Sicilian expedition with two thouſand native Carthaginians, among whom were many perſons of quality, a thouſand Etruſcan mercenaries, as many ſlingers from the Balearic iſlands, and two hundred chariots, they tranſported them to that iſland, under the command of Hamilcar, as above-mentioned, to put a ſtop to the tyrant's conqueſts. The fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and thirty long ſhips, in the paſſage was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which Hamilcar loſt ſixty ſhips of war and two hundred tranſports, with a great number of men. Many perſons of the beſt families of Carthage were loſt by this diſaſter, which cauſed a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as uſual on ſuch melancholy occaſions. Hamilcar, notwithſtanding his loſs, being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, found upon a muſter, that his army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, deſigning to come to blows with the enemy as ſoon as a fair opportunity offered [b].

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians near Himera.

In the mean time, Agathocles, finding the Carthaginians much ſuperior to him, concluded, that many cities would join them, particularly that of Gela. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his galleys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians. To prevent the inhabitants of Gela from declaring againſt him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thouſand of the citizens to the ſword, threatening to uſe all others in the ſame manner, who did not immediately produce their treaſure. Having thus filled his coffers with wealth, and left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, he moved with his forces towards the Carthaginians; and poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence oppoſite to the enemy, there encamped. The Carthaginians had poſted themſelves upon the hill Ecnomos, on which Phalaris's caſtle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly ſtood; and Agathocles took poſt in another of that tyrant's caſtles, which from him was called Phalerios, upon the

[b] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 7.

the oppoſite height, being ſeparated from Hamilcar by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle ſhould be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vaſt carnage ſhould be made, neither ſide for a long time ſhewed any diſpoſition to begin the attack, both armies having a ſuperſtitious dread upon them. At laſt a party of Africans, by way of bravado, paſſed the river, and another of Agathocles's troops, to return the compliment, did the ſame; and this brought on a general engagement. For the Sicilians, driving off ſome cattle and beaſts of burden belonging to the enemy, were purſued by a Carthaginian detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the oppoſite bank, fell into an ambuſcade, that Agathocles, foreſeeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itſelf, was eaſily routed. This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs greatly encouraged Agathocles, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked Hamilcar with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he ſuſtained great loſs from the ſlingers of the Baleario iſlands, who (F) with ſtones of a large ſize broke to pieces the ſhields and armour of his ſoldiers, and deſtroyed him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a ſtrong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from Carthage, which entirely changed the face of affairs; for the Sicilians having before made their utmoſt efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of theſe ſuccours, and, almoſt as ſoon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were ſo hotly purſued, that all the plains of Himera were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then exceſſive, great numbers that were ready to periſh with thirſt, drank too copiouſly of the river-water, which was ſalt and brackiſh, and thereby loſt their lives. The Carthaginians

(F) Diodorus tells us, that all theſe Balearic ſlingers had been trained up in the art of ſlinging from their infancy, and conſequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with ſtones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the Carthaginians wreſted many victories out of the enemy's hands almoſt entirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from Lycophron, Diodorus, Vegetius, and others, when we come to the hiſtory of Spain (3).

(3) Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. & l. xix. c. 7.

ginians had five hundred men killed in this battle, but Agathocles at leaſt ſeven thouſand [c].

Upon which the people of Catana, Leontium, Tauromi-nium, Abacœnum, and Meſſana, ſubmit to them.

AFTER this defeat, Agathocles, collecting the ſhattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to Gela. He had not been there long, before ſome of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred Africans horſe into the place, all of whom to a man he cauſed to be cut off. The tyrant remained ſometime in Gela, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the ſiege of Syracuſe, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harveſt. Hamilcar, being informed, that Gela was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, ſupplied abundantly with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, did not think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himſelf with reducing the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of Camarina, Catana, Leontium, and Taurominium, ſent embaſſadors to him to implore his protection; as did ſoon after thoſe of Meſſana and Abacœnum, though they were before at variance amongſt themſelves. In ſuch perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole iſland hold the tyrant and all his adherents [d] (G).

And Agathocles ſhuts himſelf up within the walls of Syracuſe.

AGATHOCLES, finding the Carthaginian general not diſpoſed immediately to undertake either the ſiege of Gela or Syracuſe, repaired to the latter of theſe places; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the garriſon, and perfected all the works, he ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians followed him, and laid cloſe ſiege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would ſoon have put them in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland [e]

THE Carthaginians having cut off a great part of Agathocles's army, ſtripped him of his confederates, and got all Sicily,

[c] Idem ibid. & Juſtin. l. xxii. [d] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [e] Idem ibid. & Juſtin. ubi ſup.

(G) Juſtin intimates, that there was a ſecond action between Hamilcar, the ſon of Giſco, and Agathocles, before the Carthaginians laid ſiege to Syracuſe, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

(4) Juſtin l. xxii. c. 3.

Sicily, except Syracuſe, into their hands, the tyrant now found himſelf driven to a ſtate of deſperation. Being therefore abandoned by his allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a deſign of ſo bold, and, in appearance, ſo impracticable, a nature, that nothing but the ſucceſs with which it was attended, could juſtify the undertaking of it. This deſign was to transfer the war into Africa, and beſiege Carthage at a time when he himſelf was beſieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in Sicily. His project he communicated to no perſon whatſoever, but only told the Syracuſans in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the loſſes they had ſuſtained to that day. He then choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens of Syracuſe, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the firſt call, and the horſemen to carry each along with him, beſides his arms, a ſaddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permiſſion to all perſons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a ſiege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, Juſtin ſays ſixteen hundred, accepted of; but were ſcarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties poſted upon the roads for that purpoſe. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having ſeized upon the eſtates and effects of thoſe perſons who left the city, he raiſed a conſiderable ſum, which was intended in ſome meaſure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to ſupply his preſent wants, well aſſured that he ſhould find in the enemy's country whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. His forces being all embarqued, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuſe in his abſence, with forces and proviſions ſufficient to hold out

The Carthaginians puſh on the ſiege of that metropolis, and Agathocles, with a body of troops, ſets ſail for Africa.

(H) Polyænus relates, that vaſt numbers of Syracuſans having crowded on board the ſixty veſſels, of which Agathocles's fleet conſiſted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a deſperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom Agathocles, who looked upon them as cowards, ordered to be put to the ſword (5).

(5) Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

out a long ſiege; and taking with him his two ſons Archagathus and Heraclides, he went on board laſt himſelf, where he waited ſome time for a fair wind. All people were at a loſs to conjecture, what deſign he was going upon: ſome imagined his intention was to ſail to the coaſt of Italy or Sardinia, to plunder thoſe countries; others, that he propoſed ravaging that part of Sicily belonging to the Carthaginians; but moſt perſons agreed, that it was a deſperate project he had in view. As the Carthaginians had a much ſuperior fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch ſeveral days for an opportunity to ſet ſail. At laſt a large fleet of tranſports appeared laden with corn and other proviſions for Syracuſe. To intercept theſe, the Carthaginians put to ſea, and Agathocles no ſooner ſaw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewiſe hoiſted ſail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, ſoon got out in the main ocean [f].

And, after a flight engagement with the Carthaginian fleet, makes a deſcent there.

THE Carthaginians, ſeeing a ſquadron of ſixty galleys, (for ſo many did this of Agathocles contain) at firſt imagined, that the enemy's fleet was ſent to defend the tranſports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But obſerving that this ſquadron continued its courſe ſtrait forward, and was far before them, they immediately gave it chace, crowding all the ſail poſſible. However, Agathocles ſo beſtirred himſelf, that, night coming on, they loſt ſight of him; and in the mean time the tranſports, unexpectedly eſcaping the danger, plentifully ſupplied the city with corn and all other proviſions. The next day a moſt remarkable (I) eclipſe of the ſun happened, when

[f] Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 1. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. Oroſ. l. iv. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

(I) Diodorus and Juſtin both affirm this to have been a ſolar eclipſe; but Frontinus makes it a lunar one. The laſt author has, however, been corrupted in the paſſage referred to, ſo that the critics can ſcarce make ſenſe of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the antients believed the eclipſes of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it muſt be owned, that this notion, as well as ſome other points in judicial aſtrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

(6) Diod. Sic. Juſtin. & Frontin. in loc. citat. Vide & Peucerum de divinat. p. 661.

when the ſtars appeared every-where in the firmament, and the day ſeemed to be turned into night. As the Sicilians were not a little ſuperſtitious, this event ſtruck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a preſage of their approaching deſtruction. But Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his ſoldiers, by telling them, that if they had ſeen this before their departure from Sicily, it would have portended a diſappointment to them; but that as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of diſaſters to the Carthaginians, whoſe dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that theſe eclipſes always foretold ſome inſtant change; that therefore happineſs was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The Carthaginian admiral, finding that by purſuing two fleets at once, he had miſſed them both, and that Agathocles did not return, reſolved to purſue him cloſe, and prevent him from kindling the war in ſome other place. Having therefore ſailed ſix days and ſix nights ſteering his courſe towards Africa, he at laſt came up with the Sicilian fleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both ſquadrons had the coaſt of Africa in view, the Carthaginians made the utmoſt efforts to attack Agathocles before he could reach the ſhore; and on the other hand the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy, was no leſs active in his endeavours to land, before the Carthaginians could engage him. In fine, he had juſt began to execute his deſign, when part of the Carthaginian ſquadron coming up with his rear, a ſlight engagement enſued. The weapons chiefly made uſe of on this occaſion were bows and ſlings, the veſſels not being cloſe enough to grapple. As but a ſmall part of the Carthaginian fleet found it poſſible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, Agathocles gained the advantage; whereupon the Carthaginians, tacking about, ſtood off a little above the caſt of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the quarries, without any farther oppoſition [g].

Soon after his landing, he burns his ſhips.

AGATHOCLES, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and ſecured for the preſent his ſhipping by a breaſt-work or parapet, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to Ceres and

[g] Diod. Sic. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 12. ex. 9.

and Proſerpina, the guardians of Sicily. After this he ſummoned a council of war, compoſed of ſuch officers as were entirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were ſo cloſely purſued by the Carthaginians, he applied himſelf to the two goddeſſes, promiſing, upon his arrival in Africa, to conſecrate all the veſſels of the ſquadron to them, by reducing them to ſo many burning lamps; and that, ſince they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to diſtinguiſh themſelves on the preſent occaſion, declaring, that by the ſacrifices the gods promiſed great ſucceſs. He likewiſe obſerved, that the only way to draw the enemy out of Sicily was, to carry the war into their own country; that the Carthaginians were ſoftened and enervated by eaſe and luxury; that the Africans under their ſubjection, as well as the neighbouring ſtates, being highly incenſed at the Carthaginian inſolence, would join them on the firſt news of their arrival; that the cities of Africa were not fortified and built on mountains, as in Sicily, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldneſs only of their attempt would quite diſconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprize could redound more to their honour and advantage, ſince this would, if attended with ſucceſs, make them maſters of all the wealth of Carthage, and tranſmit ther names and fame to the lateſt poſterity. In fine, he deſired them not to be diſmayed at the loſs of their ſhips, ſince the two goddeſſes above-mentioned would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered theſe words, a ſervant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ſhip, and ſet it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a ſafe return home, the whole ſhore echoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. In ſhort, the ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of Africa; and not having been allowed time to reflect on the propoſal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment conſumed. This ſeems to have been one of the

moſt

moſt deſperate actions to be met with in hiſtory [h] (K).

The motives for his conduct.

THE motives for this aſtoniſhing point of conduct were various: Firſt, Agathocles was deſirous of putting his troops under a neceſſity of conquering, which he imagined might be done by the deſtruction of his fleet, ſince this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he conſidered, that he had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore, as the Carthaginians were maſters at ſea, they would infallibly poſſeſs themſelves of all his ſhipping, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in caſe he had left as many troops as were neceſſary to defend the fleet, he would have thereby ſo weakened his army, which was at beſt but inconſiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of courſe would have rendered himſelf incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diverſion. Theſe, with other reaſons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage, neceſſary to work up his troops to ſuch an unparallelled reſolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now conſidered themſelves as in the midſt of an enemy's country, ſeparated from their own by the vaſt ocean, without the leaſt hopes or means of eſcaping. Upon this a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded that tranſport of joy, which but a moment before had been ſo general in the army [i].

BUT to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, Agathocles marched inſtantly at the head of his troops againſt a place in the territories of Carthage, called the Great City, leaving

[h] Diod. Sic. Juſtin. Frontin. Polyæn. & Oroſ. ubi ſup.
[i] Diod. Sic. Juſtin. &c. ubi ſup. Vid. & Polyb. l. xxii. & Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iii.

(K) This conduct of Agathocles, how wild and extravagant ſoever it may appear to us at this diſtance of time, who are not ſo well acquainted with the ſprings and motives to it, nor the circumſtances of his and the Carthaginian affairs, was highly approved of by Scipio, as we learn from Polybius. That great general looked upon Agathocles as a very able commander, and took hints from ſome points of his conduct, which much facilitated the conqueſt of Carthage (7).

(7) Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

He advances towards Carthage, takes a place called the Great City, and gives the plunder of it to his soldiers.

ving the soldiers here again no time for reflection. The whole country, through which he passed, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect imaginable. On each side were spacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. The whole tract was likewise watered by beautiful streams, and full of towns adorned with stately palaces belonging to the nobility of Carthage, many of whom inhabited this particular province. As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty and abundance here appeared, and an immense quantity of wealth was amassed in every part. This inchanting scene raised the drooping spirits of the soldiery, who thought the possession of so fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore with intrepidity to the Great City, which, after a feeble resistance, they took by storm. As Agathocles was desirous of inspiring his troops with fresh courage, he abandoned the plunder of the place, which was very considerable, to them. That this was a town of importance, and called in the Punic language Samath, Sumeth, or Samatho, is in some degree probable from Alexander Polyhistor, Stephanus, and others [k].

He likewise takes Tunis, and levels this, as well as the above-mentioned city, with the ground.

From hence the tyrant moved with his army to Tunis, a city of eminence in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which being intimidated by so unexpected a visit, surrendered on the first summons. The troops would willingly have garrisoned both these places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got; but Agathocles would by no means listen to such a motion. He, with some difficulty, convinced them, that this was not consistent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient in their present circumstances. Being therefore determined, that his men should have no place to retire to in case of any misfortune, that they might place all hopes of safety in victory, he caused both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields [l].

In

[k] Diod. Sic. & Just. ubi sup. Alexand. Polyhist. in Libyc. l. iii. apud. Steph. de urb. & Bochart. Chan. l. ii. c. 12. [l] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians on board the galleys, that came up with Agathocles, juſt before he made his deſcent, expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing the Sicilian ſhips all on a blaze, imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they obſerved the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a puſh was intended to be made at Carthage itſelf. Hereupon they immediately ſpread a great number of hides upon the fore-caſtles of their ſhips, which was with them a conſtant ſignal of ſome impending public calamity. They alſo carried on board their own veſſels the iron beaks belonging to the Sicilian ſhips that had been deſtroyed, and diſpatched an expreſs to Carthage to give the ſenate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was ſo alarmed upon the firſt appearance of the enemy's ſquadron on the African coaſt, that, before his arrival, the news of his unexpected deſcent had reached Carthage, and thrown the whole city into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. They all concluded, that their army before Syracuſe had been defeated, and their fleet loſt; for that, in any other ſituation of affairs, it was poſſible for Agathocles to leave Syracuſe, and paſs over into Africa, they could not believe. The people haſtened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the ſenate aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might ſave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to beſiege. They had no army in readineſs to make head againſt the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were for ſending embaſſadors to Agathocles to propoſe an accommodation, and at the ſame time to diſcover the poſture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true ſtate of affairs, before any public ſtep was taken; and this opinion prevailed [m].

The Carthaginians are greatly alarmed at this motion.

Whilst the city was in this ferment, the courier ſent by the Carthaginian admiral arrived, and informed the ſenate of the deſtruction of the Sicilian fleet, and that Agathocles was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However he gave them to underſtand, that their troops in Sicily were all ſafe and in good condition; that they puſhed on the ſiege of Syracuſe with the utmoſt vigour; that the

Who however make preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

[m] Idem ibid. & Juſtin. ubi ſup.

body of forces under Agathocles was not very conſiderable; and that the advantage he had lately gained by ſea was attended with no other conſequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, ſo that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the ſenate ſeverely reprimanded the ſea-officers for their negligence, in ſuffering the enemy to make a deſcent, when they were maſters at ſea. It was now reſolved, that the citizens ſhould be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thouſand infantry, and a thouſand cavalry, with two thouſand armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to command the forces, notwithſtanding the grudges that had long ſubſiſted between their reſpective families, hoping that, laying aſide all private animoſities, they would jointly exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this, however, they were deceived; for Bomilcar, having long thirſted after arbitrary power, paſſionately wiſhed for an opportunity of ſubverting the republican form of government at Carthage; which believing the poſt above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the Carthaginians frequently brought falſe accuſations againſt their generals after the concluſion of a peace, and through envy put many of them moſt unjuſtly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that ſometimes, in order to avoid ſuch perfidious treatment, they either reſigned their commiſſions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this Bomilcar was an inſtance, as will more fully appear by-and-by [n].

Agathocles commits great ravages in Africa, and prepares to engage the Carthaginians.

In the mean time Agathocles committed great ravages, razing ſeveral caſtles, and burning many villages on his march, though his army did not conſiſt at moſt of above fourteen thouſand men. The Carthaginian generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence in ſight of his camp, and drew up their forces in battle-array. Hanno commanded the right wing.

[n] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

wing, ſupported by the (L) ſacred cohort; Bomilcar the left, making his phalanx very deep, ſince the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as uſual, in the van. Agathocles, on the other hand, made a proper diſpoſition of his forces, which were compoſed of Syracuſans, Samnites, Etruſcans, Celtes, and Greek mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his ſon Archagathus; the other at the head of the troops of the houſhold and a thouſand cuiraſſiers, oppoſite to the Carthaginian ſacred cohort, he commanded himſelf; and laſtly, the ſlingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were diſtributed in both wings to the beſt advantage. Finding ſeveral of his ſoldiers unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and caſes of ſhields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpoſe, and to carry thoſe before them, as if they had been real. By this ſtratagem, though none of the moſt refined, he impoſed upon the enemy, who were at ſome diſtance from him, and prevented the nakedneſs of his troops from being expoſed to their view°.

AGATHOCLES was in no ſmall conſternation, when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited, and under great apprehenſions of the enemy's horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he

And by a ſtratagem, together with Bomilcar's treachery, entirely overthrows them.

° Idem ibid.

(L) The ſacred cohort conſiſted of the ſons of ſenators, and the prime nobility, who ſeem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids-de-camps were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The preciſe number of this corps cannot be determined; but from Appian we may conclude, that it conſiſted of about four thouſand men. It was known to the Romans by the appellations ſacra cohors, ſtipatores, prætoriani, delecta cohors, and anſwered to the evocati and ablecti of that nation. In ſhort, it was a body compoſed of voluntiers of diſtinction, who might be looked upon as the general's guard and particular friends. Curtius intimates, that Amyntas had a guard of Macedonian youths ſomething reſembling theſe. For a further account of them, we muſt refer our readers to the authors cited in the magin (8).

(8) Diod. Sic. l. xx, Appian. in Libyc. Q. Curt. l. v. & Chriſt. Hendr. de rep. Carthag. l. ii. § 2. m. 1. c. 7. p. 424, 425.

he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe flying about the camp, and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting, but by the aſſiſtance of Minerva, to whom that bird was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they ſhould gain a complete victory. The firſt charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of Sicilian troops oppoſed to them did not only withſtand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced ſome of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the reſt back into the midſt of their own foot. This naturally threw the foot into confuſion, and occaſioned the defeat of the horſe; for theſe, finding themſelves deprived of their chief ſupport, were eaſily broken, and never afterwards made the leaſt attempt to rally. However, Hanno, with the ſacred cohort, which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into diſorder; but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the laſt. His death obliging the right wing to give ground, inſpired Agathocles and his troops with ſuch ardor, that they bore down all before them, though for ſome time they were moſt vigorouſly oppoſed by the enemy. Bomilcar, underſtanding that his collegue was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. Tho' therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being ſenſible, that he could not accompliſh the deſign he had in view, if the army of Agathocles were deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he ſhould be able to get the better of Agathocles whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he enjoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was ſo precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the Africans in their rear imagined, that all the reſt of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into diſorder; which being obſerved by Agathocles, he took advantage of this confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before

fore had done, whereby he gained a complete victory. The ſacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of Hanno, and courageouſly advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-ſoldiers, till they ſaw themſelves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. Then indeed they thought it proper to have ſome regard to their own ſafety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head againſt thoſe who purſued them; but not being ſupported by Bomilcar, they were either cut off, or forced to ſave themſelves by flight, after having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to Carthage, not having been purſued far by Agathocles, who returned back with great expedition to take poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his ſoldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich ſpoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanſhip, that carried twenty thouſand pairs of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the Sicilian priſoners, not doubting, but they ſhould fill all the dungeons in Carthage with them. Of the Sicilians, according to Diodorus, not above two hundred were ſlain, and about a thouſand Carthaginians, or, as others will have it, ſix thouſand. Juſtin makes the loſs to be pretty equal on both ſides; for he tells us, that two thouſand Sicilians, and three thouſand Carthaginians, fell in this battle. As Bomilcar quitted the field of battle without fighting, and Agathocles did not long continue the purſuit, it is probable, that the ſlaughter was not very conſiderable, and that both ſides ſuffered pretty much alike, eſpecially ſince the ſacred cohort behaved to the laſt with ſuch unparallelled reſolution. Juſtin likewiſe differs from Diodorus in his account of the ſtrength of the Carthaginian forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that hoſt to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it conſiſted only of thirty thouſand men. Be this as it will, the Carthaginians received a notable defeat, when they thought themſelves in a manner certain of victory; GOD, as our hiſtorian here obſerves, being pleaſed, by this inſtance, to let them know, that HE is the ſupreme diſpoſer and arbiter of events[p].

THOUGH

[p] Diod. Sic. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

The Carthaginians endeavour to appeaſe ſome deities, whom they imagined they had offended.

THOUGH the Carthaginians had ſuſtained no very conſiderable loſs in the late engagement, they were extremely diſheartened, believing the gods fought againſt them. They could not imagine it poſſible for Agathocles, after his whole army had been totally routed in Sicily, and he reduced almoſt to the neceſſity of ſurrendering his metropolis, to land in Africa, in ſpite of a powerful fleet, with the ſhattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interpoſition of ſome ſuperior being. Under the influence of this perſuaſion, they made it their firſt endeavour to appeaſe the offended deities, particularly Hercules and Saturn, whom they conſidered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had ſent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to Tyre, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector both of Carthage and its mother city. This cuſtom for many ages had been religiouſly obſerved; but their revenues at laſt growing immenſely large, they not only had omitted to raiſe the tenths ſacred to Hercules in proportion, but even diſcontinued their antient acknowlegment to that deity. For this ſacrilegious avarice they now imagined themſelves puniſhed; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confeſſion of their inſincerity, and ſent the golden ſhrines of their other deities to Hercules at Tyre, having a notion, that ſuch ſacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for Saturn, in antient times it was uſual to ſacrifice children of the moſt noble families to him, as has been above obſerved; but for many years paſt in theſe ſacrifices they had ſubſtituted children of mean extraction, ſecretly bought and bred up for that purpoſe, in the room of thoſe nobly born. This they now conſidered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honour due to him, and conſequently were conſcious of having given him juſt cauſe of offence. To expiate the guilt of ſo horrid an impiety, a ſacrifice of two hundred children of the firſt rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other perſons, in a ſenſe of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themſelves as victims, to pacify, by the effuſion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the ſentiments of the Carthaginians at this juncture, and ſuch the method, they apprehended, would prove the moſt effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad ſucceſs that attended their arms; though it is probable,

bable, that ſoon after, upon the diſcovery of Bomilcar's perfidious conduct, they admitted at leaſt of the concurrence of an inferior cauſe[q].

And recal Hamilcar from Sicily.

AFTER theſe expiations, the Carthaginians thought it not improper likewiſe to make uſe of human means for their preſervation; they therefore diſpatched meſſengers to Hamilcar in Sicily, with advice of what had happened in Africa, and expreſs orders to haſten over to the relief of his country. When the meſſengers arrived, Hamilcar commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the contrary, to give out amongſt the troops, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet deſtroyed by the Carthaginians. The ſenate of Carthage had ſent to Hamilcar by the meſſengers all the beaks of the Syracuſan ſhips, that this report might more eaſily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he had cauſed it to be propagated. Hamilcar therefore, in conſequence of theſe orders, immediately ſent the perſons newly arrived from Carthage to Syracuſe, to publiſh this melancholy news there, and at the ſame time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of the ſhips pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they did, ſummoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, ſince they could expect no ſuccours, their army and fleet in Africa being utterly ruined. At firſt this ſad account was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city; but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, diſmiſſed the meſſengers without any anſwer, and ſoon after expelled eight thouſand of their citizens, who ſeemed diſpoſed to an inſurrection. This threw every part of the city into the utmoſt confuſion, the women running about the ſtreets in a diſtracted manner, and every houſe being filled with outcries and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of Agathocles and his ſons; others the loſs of their friends, who were ſuppoſed to be cut off in Africa; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. But Hamilcar entertained the exiles with great kindneſs; and being informed by them of the deplorable condition the city was in, he reſolved to make a general aſſault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected eaſily to carry the place, as believing it to be almoſt deſtitute of

[q] Polyb. p 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3. Precen. Feſt. apud. Lactant. divin. inſtit. i. c. xxi. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, &c.

of troops to defend it, yet he first sent new deputies to Antandrus the governor, promising to spare him and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to assist; when, after much debate, Antandrus, being a man of a mean spirit and very unlike his brother, declared himself for a capitulation; but Eurymnon the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. Hamilcar, being apprised of the resolution the garrison had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afresh upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town without delay [r].

Who, upon this, raises the siege of Syracuse, and sends a detachment of five thousand men to Africa.

WHILST matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of Syracuse, whose rowers crowned with garlands, and singing the Io Pæan, made directly to the city. This vessel Agathocles caused to be built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with some his best rowers, under the conduct of his intimate friend Nearchus, dispatched it to Syracuse, to carry thither the agreeable news of his late victory. The Carthaginian guard-ships, discovering it, gave it chace so briskly, that it narrowly escaped falling into their hands; which it must infallibly have done, had not the Syracusans advanced to its relief, when it was within a dart's cast of the shore. Hamilcar, observing that the garrison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to rear up scaling-ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the Carthaginians mounted them without being discerned, and had almost possessed themselves of an entire part lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute ensued; but at last the Carthaginians were repulsed with considerable loss. Hamilcar therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such glad tidings had restored life and resolution to the Syracusans, drew off his forces from before the place, and sent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in Africa [s].

AGATHO-

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

AGATHOCLES, after his victory over the Carthaginians, finding no enemy to oppoſe him, reduced many forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Many cities likewiſe, either out of fear, or averſion to the Carthaginians, joined him, by which his army being conſiderably reinforced, he moved towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at Tunis. The firſt place he attacked was the New City; which he carried ſword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to Adrumetum, and laid ſiege to it. The Carthaginians, by degrees recovering from the conſternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progreſs Agathocles made, as alſo of his being ſupported by Elymas king of Libya, immediately aſſembled another army, and marched againſt Tunis. After a ſtout reſiſtance, they made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks ſo preſſed the town, that it was ſoon reduced to great extremity. Agathocles, receiving intelligence of the enemy's ſucceſs, left the greateſt part of his army to carry on the ſiege of Adrumetum, and, with a ſmall body of troops, privately poſted himſelf on the top of a mountain between Adrumetum and Tunis (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the Carthaginians. Here he ordered his ſoldiers in the night to make large fires, that the Carthaginians might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of Tunis; and, on the other hand, the garriſon of Adrumetum might be induced to believe, that a ſtrong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The ſtratagem anſwered both theſe views; for the Carthaginians raiſed the ſiege of Tunis hereupon with ſo much precipitation, that

Agathocles after his victory, reduces moſt of the places of note in the proper territory of Carthage.

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw ſuppoſes mount Zowaan, or Zag-wan, a conſpicuous mountain in the inland part of the ſummer circuit of the Tuniſeens, to have been the place from whence Agathocles was entertained with a view both of the country of the Adrumetines and Carthaginians. Solinus intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of Africa Propria; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it ſomething probable, that the Regio Zeugitana received its denomination from it (9).

(9) Dr. Shaw's geograph. obſervat. relating to the kingdom of Tun. c. 3. p. 184, 185. Solin. c. 27. Vide & Strab. l. x. p. 326.

that they left all their battering engines being them; and the Adrumetines were ſo intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. Thapſus he afterwards took by ſtorm, and reduced in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by compoſition. Juſtin intimates, that he put a great number of people to the ſword in this expedition; but as the contrary ſeems to appear from Diodorus, we muſt ſuſpend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author above-mentioned took this article from Timæus Siculus, who painted all the expeditions of Agathocles, and his whole life, in the blackeſt colours. Be that as it will, he made himſelf maſter of the whole territory of Carthage; but hearing that Elymas, king of Libya, in violation of the late treaty, had declared againſt him, he immediately entered Libya Superior, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the ſword a good part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This blow obliged the Libyan monarch to recal the body of auxiliaries he had ſent to aid the Carthaginians, and enabled Agathocles to march againſt that nation, who, he was acquainted, had formed the ſiege of Tunis a ſecond time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length encamped within two hundred ſtadia of the enemy, and commanded his ſoldiers not to make any fires at all. This prevented the Carthaginians from having any ſuſpicion of his approach; ſo that marching all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp; where meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering and laying waſte the adjacent country, he charged them with ſuch vigour, that two thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, many taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. The Carthaginians, being extremely mortified at this diſaſter, and receiving advice, that Elymas had been obliged to recal the troops ſent to their aſſiſtance, without waiting for Agathocles, abandoned the ſiege [t].

Hamilcar entirely defeated by the Syracuſans, and his head ſent to Agathocles in Africa.

It has been before obſerved, that Hamilcar ſent only a detachment of five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country: keeping therefore the main body of his forces together, he ſtill entertained hopes of obliging Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He ſpent ſome time in making himſelf maſter of ſuch cities as ſided with the Syracuſans; and after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, returned

[t] Diod Sic. ubi ſupra.

returned again to Syracuſe, hoping to ſurpriſe the city, by attacking it in the night. The Syracuſans were, before the approach of the Carthaginian army, reduced to ſome ſtreights; for Hamilcar had not only cut off all ſupplies of proviſions, that might have come to their relief by ſea, but likewiſe deſtroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the caſtle of Olympia or Olympieum, lying before the town. However, they were not diſcouraged, but took all the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence; and ſuſpecting Hamilcar to have formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city, they, by way of precaution ordered a body of three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe to take poſt in Euryalus, the citadel of Epipolæ (N). About midnight, Hamilcar advanced, at the head of a ſtrong party, to begin the attack, and was ſupported by Dinocrates, general of the horſe. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the Carthaginian forces, the other of the Greek mercenaries, which were followed by a confuſed multitude, compoſed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the ſake of plunder. The paſſes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for ſome time found it impoſſible to move forwards; and therefore the

(N) Diodorus here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and inſinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greateſt ſhare in bringing it to an happy concluſion. Agathocles, one of the greateſt captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by Hamilcar at the battle of Himera; and yet ſoon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconſiderable detachment ſent to Africa, and conſiſting then of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, was entirely defeated by a ſmall party of the routed enemy, ſupported only by the advantageous ſituation of the poſt they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this paſſage it appears probable, that the Carthaginian armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for ſuch an undiſciplined number of people muſt firſt greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confuſion; and then, not being able either to reſiſt or eſcape, be totally cut off. The Turks labour under the ſame inconvenience at this day, or at leaſt have done ſo till of late.

(10) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.

the barbarians, of which it consisted, quarrelling for the way, came at last to downright blows; which put the whole army into confusion. The Syracusans posted at Euryalus, taking advantage of this, made a sally, and after having terribly galled the Carthaginians with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. Hamilcar at first received the enemy with great resolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to sustain the shock of the enemy; but the Syracusans having seized upon the passes, and there not being room for so numerous an army as Hamilcar's to act, great numbers of the Carthaginian foot were trod to death by their own horse; and the confusion they were at first thrown into being heightened by the darkness of the night, one part of their army engaged the other; so that the rout became general, and the slaughter dreadful. Hamilcar therefore, being deserted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that an haruspex, or sooth-sayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that Hamilcar should sup the next night in Syracuse; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and, after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to Carthage[u].

The Agrigentines take several places from the Carthaginians and Syracusans.

THE day after this defeat, the Carthaginians rallied their shattered troops at some distance from Syracuse; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst themselves about the choice of his successor: the exiles and Greek mercenaries therefore pitched upon Dinocrates for their commander, and the Carthaginians vested with the supreme command of the national troops the Carthaginian officer

[u] Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7. sub init. & Oros. l. iv. c. 6.

officer who was next in dignity to the general. The Agrigentines, finding the Carthaginians and Syracuſans had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter were in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, judged this a favourable opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſovereignty of the whole iſland themſelves ; and therefore ſet on foot a conſiderable army for that purpoſe, appointing Xenodicus, one of their countrymen, general. This army was ſoon reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops from the city of Gela, which Xenodicus had found means to engage in the Agrigentine intereſt. He firſt made himſelf maſter of Enna, and then marched to Herbeſſus (P), that was defended by a Carthaginian garriſon. Upon his arrival there, he immediately cauſed it to be attacked. For ſome time the garriſon made a vigorous defence ; but at laſt the inhabitants declaring in favour of the beſiegers, the town, after a briſk action, was taken ; on which occaſion a great number

(P) That the cities of Enna and Herbeſſus were of Phœnician or Carthaginian extraction is apparent from the names themſelves. The former is undoubtedly a Greek corruption of Ennaam or Ennam, which, in Punic or Phœnician, imports the fountain of pleaſure, or the pleaſant fountain. The Greeks, having no words ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from Oriental proper names, in order to accommodate them to their own language, of which Maria, Gehenna, &c. are ſufficient inſtances (11). The authors referred to in the margin evince this etymon (12). The latter ſignifies in Punic or Phœnician, the mountain of the cave, or the hollow mountain ; and that the town of Herbeſſus ſtood upon ſuch a mountain, appears from ſeveral authors (13). We muſt not omit obſerving, that the word begins with an H, ſince Pliny (14) enumerates the Herbeſſenſes amongſt the inhabitants of thoſe cities, whoſe names begin with that letter ; nor that, in confirmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is called Le Grotto, or the caverns. From Polyænus we may infer, that the Greeks ſometimes pronounced only one of the words of which this town's name was compoſed, viz, Beſſa, or Veſſa, which greatly ſtrengthens Bochart's conjecture (15).

(11) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28. (12) Ovid. faſt. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Cic. ad Ver. 4. Claud. l. ii. (13) Bochart. ubi ſupra. Vide & Polyb. l. i. Diodor. Sic. l. xx. Thucyd. l. iv. c. 6. & Strab. l. vi. (14) Plin. l. iii. c. 8. (15) Cluver. & Fazel. de reb. Sic. Vide & Bochart. ubi ſup. ut & Polyæn. l. v. c. 1. ex. 4.

number of Carthaginians were killed, and above five hundred taken priſoners. In fine, the Agrigentines proſecuted this war with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time they wreſted many places of note both out of the hands of Agathocles and the Carthaginians [w].

The Carthaginians gain an advantage over the Syracuſans by ſea.

THE Syracuſans, in the mean time, being threatened with a famine, and underſtanding, that ſome veſſels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the Carthaginians had entertained no ſuſpicion of ſuch an attempt, the Syracuſans found an opportunity of ſlipping by them, and for ſome time purſued their courſe in queſt of the tranſports above-mentioned. But the Carthaginians, being apprifed of what had happened, purſued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of Hybla, immediately attacked them. At firſt the Syracuſans ſeemed to prepare themſelves for a warm engagement; but being ſoon driven on ſhore, they abandoned their ſhips, and taking ſhelter in the temple of Juno, endeavoured there to defend them againſt the Carthaginians. After a ſharp diſpute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the reſt were drawn on ſhore by the aſſiſtance of the garriſon of Hybla, who, upon the firſt news of the action, advanced to the relief of the Syracuſans [x].

The Carthaginians greatly dejected at the defeat of their army, and death of their general, in Sicily.

AGATHOCLES, having forced the Carthaginians to raiſe a ſecond time the ſiege of Tunis, and reduced all the places ſubject to them, prepared now to beſiege Carthage itſelf; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a poſt within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when Agathocles received advice of the defeat of the Carthaginian forces before Syracuſe, and the head of Hamilcar their general, who being taken priſoner in the action, had been put to death in Syracuſe, as above related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, Agathocles rode up to the enemy's camp, and ſhewing them the head, gave them an account of the total deſtruction of their army in Sicily. This threw the whole army into the utmoſt conſternation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. The barbarians, according to the cuſtom of the country,

[w] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 2. [x] Idem ibid.

country, proſtrated themſelves before the head of their prince; for Hamilcar at the time of his death, according to Diodorus, was one of the Carthaginian ſuffetes. In ſhort, they were ſo dejected at the firſt publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, Agathocles would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of Carthage, and put a glorious end to the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himſelf, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the Carthaginians [y].

A mutiny in Agathocles's camp.

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by Agathocles to ſupper, and heated with wine, reflected on the tyrant's conduct in the moſt opprobrious terms, uttering at the ſame time againſt him the moſt bitter imprecations. Agathocles, having a perſonal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his inſolence and ſcurrility into a jeſt; but his ſon Archagathus, highly reſenting ſuch infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, Lyciſcus charged Archagathus with inceſt, he being ſuſpected of an illicit commerce with Alcia, his father's wife. This incenſed Archagathus to fury and madneſs; ſo that loſing all moderation, he ſnatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing Lyciſcus with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceaſed, and many other ſoldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with tumult and confuſion. To theſe many officers, who were juſtly obnoxious to the tyrant's diſpleaſure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themſelves from all future apprehenſions of puniſhment, joined in exciting the troops to a revolt. The whole army was ſoon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of Archagathus or Agathocles, if he refuſed to deliver up his ſon into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls of Tunis, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the laſt expreſs, and ſurrounded him, and his ſon, with their whole body of guards. The Carthaginians appriſed of what had happened,

[y] Idem ibid. Vide & Chriſt. Hendr. in Carthag. l. ii. ſect. 1. p. 168.

diſpatched meſſengers to the Sicilian forces, promiſing them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their ſervice. Hereupon Agathocles, ſeeing himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, eſpecially as many of his officers had already cloſed with the enemy's propoſal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own ſoldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and inſulting enemy, deveſted himſelf of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor peaſant, appeared in the midſt of his troops. This ſtrange ſight ſo confounded them, that there was a deep ſilence all over the camp; which Agathocles taking advantage of, made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the moſt memorable events of his paſt life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the ſake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they, his fellow-ſoldiers, deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his ſword, as though his intention was to have killed himſelf upon the ſpot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thruſting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and deſiring him to reſume his purple robe, and other enſigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly diſappointed the Carthaginians, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the moſt conſiderable part at leaſt of the tyrant's army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the Sicilian camp. Agathocles therefore ſurpriſed a ſtrong body of the enemy, who had poſted themſelves cloſe by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in caſe the propoſal above-mentioned was liſtened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great ſlaughter. Thus Agathocles not only extricated himſelf out of a ſtrange difficulty, in which his ſon's imprudence had involved him, but likewiſe defeated the enemy, when they looked upon his ſituation as deſperate. However, the ring-leaders of the mutiny, and two hundred others, who bore Archagathus a grudge, went over in a body to the Carthaginians [z].

But notwithſtanding the tyrant's affairs took ſo happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he ſeemed to be upon the very brink of diſtruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny

[z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.

tiny might, in ſome meaſure, have been eſteemed as fatal to him, ſince it gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of recovering from the conſternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in Sicily, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could Agathocles have attacked the Carthaginian forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would, in all human probability, have eaſily defeated them, and made himſelf maſter of Carthage, had he directly followed his blow, without any reſiſtance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to ſhake off their panic, and make ſuch preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeſeen events, baffled all the tyrant's future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances with the African princes, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, inviting them to join in the common cauſe, and aſſiſt him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with ſo much haughtineſs, lorded it over them. This, together with the fame of his victories, had ſuch an effect upon the Numidians, that, immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the Carthaginians [a].

Which had a bad effect upon his affairs.

THE next year the people of Carthage, notwithſtanding their deplorable circumſtances, ſent an army into Numidia, to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the (Q) Zuphons, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. Agathocles being informed of this, and fearing to loſe the benefit of ſo ſeaſonable a diverſion, left his ſon Archagathus with part of his forces at Tunis, and with the reſt, conſiſting of eight thouſand foot and

A drawn battle betwixt Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

[a] Idem ibid.

(Q) The Zuphons were a hord or canton of thoſe Numidians, who either always perſiſted in their fidelity to the Carthaginians, or were the firſt who returned to their duty. It ſeems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, muſt have been named Zuphon, or Zupho, and ſituate not far from the frontiers of Africa Propria. It is impoſſible, however, to determine this ſituation with any tolerable degree of preciſion, eſpecially as none of the antient writers, except Diodorus in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. Cellarius, though an accurate author, has paſſed them over in ſilence (16).

(16) Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2.

eight hundred horſe, all choſen men, together with fifty African carriages, for the ſake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the Numidians. The Carthaginians, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the oppoſite bank of a deep, and ſeemingly impaſſable, river, in order to prevent a ſurpriſe; from whence they detached a body of light Numidian horſe, to obſtruct their march, and haraſs them by continual alarms. To keep theſe in play, Agathocles ſent out parties of his ſlingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battalia ready to receive him. Upon his firſt attempting to paſs the river, he was charged by a body of the Carthaginians with great fury, and loſt a conſiderable number of men; but his troops, notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance they met with, at laſt carried the oppoſite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Moſt of the Carthaginian troops were, after an obſtinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of Greek auxiliaries, under the command of Clinon, for a conſiderable time ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole Sicilian army, where they did great execution, though at laſt they thought proper to retire. Agathocles, not judging it expedient to purſue ſuch reſolute fellows, fell upon the Carthaginian camp in two places at once, but, by reaſon of its being ſtrongly fortified, was vigorouſly repulſed. Notwithſtanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his Numidian allies; but theſe, during the heat of the engagement, kept themſelves perfectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the Carthaginians, they durſt not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of Agathocles, which was at ſome diſtance, and defended but by a ſmall guard. This they plundered, after having put to the ſword, or taken priſoners, all that defended it; of which Agathocles being appriſed, he haſtened thither, and recovered part of the ſpoil. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, not only preſerved themſelves by this defection of the Numidians from Agathocles, but put their affairs in Numidia upon the antient footing [b].

THOUGH the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himſelf unable to carry on the war alone

[b] Idem ibid.

alone, he endeavoured to gain Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, then poſſeſſed of Cyrenaica, over to his intereſt. In order to this, he ſent Orthon, a Syracuſan, one of his intimate friends, as embaſſador to that prince. Ophellas had at this time a conſiderable army on foot, and was forming a project to enlarge his dominions. Agathocles therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition, by promiſing him the ſovereignty of Africa, if, by his aſſiſtance, he would enable him to ſubdue the Carthaginians. He ſuggeſted, that could he get rid of ſo troubleſome a rival, he ſhould eaſily reduce the whole iſland of Sicily, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that had he more extenſive views, Italy was near at hand, where he could make farther conqueſts; that being ſeparated from Africa by a large ſea, he had no intention to ſettle there; and that his laſt expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but neceſſity. Ophellas was entirely brought over by theſe ſuggeſtions, and, to ſuccour his new ally the more effectually, ſent to Athens for a body of troops. As he had married Eurydice, the daughter of Miltiades, who commanded the Greeks at the battle of Marathon, and was made free of the city, he obtained his requeſt, the Athenians not doubting but they ſhould ſhare with him and Agathocles all the wealth of the Carthaginians. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other ſtates of Greece, were then reduced by civil diſſenſions, and the immediate proſpect they had of conſiderable gain, made them exert themſelves on this occaſion with the greater alacrity [c]. *

Agathocles gains over Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, to his intereſt.

Ophellas, having finiſhed his military preparations, found his army to conſiſt of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, all regular troops, beſides an hundred chariots, and a body of ten thouſand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new

And cuts him off by treachery.

[c] Idem ibid. Juſtin. & Oroſ. ubi ſup.

* The battle of Marathon was fought in the 490th year before Chriſt, Ophellas joined Agathocles the 320th year before Chriſt: So that it ſeems improbable Ophellas could have married the daughter of Miltiades, who died ſoon after that battle. There ſeems to be ſome miſtake or overſight in the authors, their being no leſs than 179 years between the death of Miltiades and this battle.

colony. At the head of theſe forces he continued his march towards Agathocles for eighteen days, and then encamped at Automolæ (R), a city about three thouſand ſtadia diſtant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the Regio Syrtica, but found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremities, that his army was in danger of periſhing, for want of water, bread, and other proviſions. Beſides, they were greatly annoyed by ſerpents and wild beaſts, with which that deſolate region abounded. The ſerpents made the greateſt havock amongſt the troops; for being of the ſame colour with the earth (S), and extremely venemous, many

(R) This city ſeems to be the Automalax of Ptolemy, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of Cyrenaica. Apollodorus and Strabo call it Automala, Diodorus here Automolæ, and Stephanus Automalaca. It was ſituate, according to Strabo, at the bottom of the greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, at a ſmall diſtance from the Philænorum aræ, the Carthaginian frontier. None of the antients, except Diodorus, have told us how far it was from Cyrene, the capital of Cyrenaica. This laſt author here gives us to underſtand, that it ſtood on the borders of the Regio Syrtica, which agrees with the ſite aſſigned it by Ptolemy and Strabo, and that it was three thouſand ſtadia, or about three hundred and ſeventy-five miles from Cyrene; which ſeems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumſtance may be obſerved in the ſhort deſcription Diodorus here gives us of theſe ſerpents, or rather of the miſchiefs ariſing from thence to Ophellas's army, viz. that they were ſo exactly of the colour of that barren (18) ſoil, that the ſoldiers could not diſtinguiſh them from it. This certainly is a ſtrong preſumptive proof, that their whole ſubſtance muſt in a manner have conſiſted of that ſoil, and conſequently that they muſt have fed entirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the nature of the region itſelf, which, Diodorus ſeems to inſinuate, was void of every other kind of ſuſtenance. Further, it may be remarked, that theſe ſerpents were of a moſt malignant ſpecies of that animal; ſince Diodorus (19) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and deſtroyed a vaſt number of men; which ſeems to point particularly at the cherſydrus, one of the moſt noxious ſpecies of ſerpents, ſubſiſting,

(17) Ptol. geogr. l iv. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2. Apollodor. apud Steph. & Steph. Byzant. de urb. (18) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. (19) Idem ibid.

many of the ſoldiers trod upon them without ſeeing them, and were ſtung to death. At laſt, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached Agathocles, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from him, to the great terror of the Carthaginians, who apprehended the moſt fatal conſequences from this junction. Agathocles at firſt highly careſſed him, and adviſed him to take all poſſible care of his troops,

ſubſiſting, according to Nicander (20), upon duſt, and found, if Cicero and Ælian (21) may be credited, in vaſt numbers in the deſerts of Libya. Bochart has likewiſe proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the ſaraph, or, according to ſeveral authors, the ſerpent in which the devil beguiled Eve, was of this particular ſpecies; and that Arabia, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is alſo evinced by Herodotus, Mela, Lucan, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, together with ſcripture. Let all theſe particulars be admitted, and the literal ſenſe of a paſſage in the Moſaic hiſtory, which has been hitherto, for the moſt part, either allegorically taken, or not fully underſtood, will be thereby rendered moſt apparent and inconteſtable, viz. (24) *And the LORD GOD ſaid unto the ſerpent, Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattle, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go,* AND DUST SHALT THOU EAT ALL THE DAYS OF THY LIFE. This (25) ſeems alſo to be confirmed in the ſtrongeſt manner by the prophets Iſaiah and Micah. To what has been ſaid, we may add, if any thing is requiſite to be added to ſo clear a point, that ſeveral ſorts of animals live upon duſt, when they can meet with nothing elſe to eat, as we learn from (26) Ariſtotle, Bardeſanes in Euſebius, and others; and that though other ſerpents feed upon fiſh, frogs, herbs, &c. the cherſydrus, or ſaraph, lives only in ſuch places as the deſerts of Libya, Arabia, &c. where there is ſcarce a poſſibility of finding any other food than duſt or ſand to live upon (27).

(20) Nicand. in Theriac v. 372. Vide & Talmudic. in tract. de ſabbat. & Phil. c. 50. (21) Cic. de natur. deor l. i. Joſeph. antiq. l. ii. c. 7. Ælian. de animal. l. ii. c. 38. ſub fin. (22) Bochart. in hierozoic. part. poſt. l. iii. c. 13. p 422, 423. (23) Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. c. 109. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. Lucan. l. vi. Solin. c. 32. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. Num. c. 21. v. 6. Deut. c. 8. v. 5. (24) Gen. c. 3. ver. 4. Iſai. c. 65. v. 25. Mic. c. 7. v. 17. (25) Phil. c. 59. Plaut. in Caſin. act 1. Bardeſau. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. vi. Plin. l. x. Porta Cœli, fol. 22. c. Cardan. de variet. l. vii. c. 35. (26) Ariſtot. de animal. l. viii. c. 5. Piſid. in hexaëm. & Bochart. in hierozoic. part. prim. l. i. c. 4. p. 27. (27) Bochart. hierozoic. part. poſt. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 423.

troops, that had undergone ſo many fatigues (T); but making no ſcruple to commit the moſt enormous crimes, in order to promote his own intereſt, he reſolved upon his deſtruction. Obſerving therefore, that one day the greateſt part of Ophellas's (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his deſign in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that Ophellas was guilty of the blackeſt perfidy, ſince under the pretext of aſſiſting him as an ally, he had formed a ſcheme to deliver (X) him

(T) Diodorus (28) relates, that upon Ophellas's approaching the Regio Syrtica, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwixt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen Lamia, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her reſidence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, cauſed all thoſe of her ſubjects to be deſtroyed. This gave all the neighbouring Africans ſuch a frightful idea of her, that they made uſe of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkenneſs, according to our author, ſhe never made an enquiry into any of her ſubjects conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleaſed. For this reaſon ſhe was feigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monſter aſſigned her. That ſhe was an African (29), Euripides likewiſe aſſerts; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper African nations.

(U) According to Diodorus, Polyænus, Theophraſtus, and others, this prince's name was Ophelas, or Ophellas; but Juſtin calls him Apheilas, and others Opheltas. With theſe laſt Tanaquil Faber agrees, though the reaſon he aſſigns for this agreement ſeems to us not to have any great force in it, viz. becauſe Opheltas is a Lacedæmonian name, and conſequently more likely than Ophellas to be the name of a Cyrenean, ſince the Cyreneans were a colony of the Lacedæmonians. Now, this ſuppoſes Ophellas to have been a Cyrenean, and that Opheltas was a proper name peculiar to the Lacedæmonians; neither of which ſuppoſitions can be proved, but are both improbable; ſince the Lacedæmonians had few, if any, names, that we know of, peculiar to themſelves; and Ophellas was one of Alexander's captains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of Greece (30), probably of Macedon.

(28) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. (29) Eurip. apud Diod. Sic. ibid. (30) Plut. in Demet. Pauſan. in Corinth. Theophraſt. de plant. l. iv. c. 4. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 4. Juſtin. l. xx. c. 7. Vide etiam Bongarſium, & Tan. Fab. in Juſtin. loc. citat.

(X) him up to the enemy. Incenſed at this, the army fell with great ardor upon Ophellas, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppoſe them, was killed upon the ſpot; upon which Agathocles, by fair words and large promiſes, prevailed upon the Cyreneans, now deſtitute of a leader, to ſerve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Polyænus relates this event in a different manner from Diodorus; for he tells us, that Agathocles, being informed, that Ophellas was addicted to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, decoyed him by means of his ſon Heraclides, who yet preſerved himſelf inviolate, and put both him, and the greateſt part of his army to the ſword [d].

A great revolution like to have happened at Carthage.

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting, a great revolution had like to have happened at Carthage: Bomilcar, then poſſeſſed of the firſt employment in the ſtate, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the ſovereignty of that city, to which he had long aſpired. In order to facilitate the execution of this his darling deſign, he had ſent away all the moſt eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obſtruction, to ſerve in the Numidian expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his aſſociates, ſupported by a body of a thouſand mercenaries, he advanced from Neapolis to Carthage, and entered the city without oppoſition. As many citizens as he met with, he cut off, without regard to ſex or age; which ſtruck the whole city with incredible terror, every one imagining, that the town was betrayed.

[d] Diod. Sic. Juſtin. & Oroſ. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 4. Vide & Theophraſt de plan. l. iv. c. 4. Plut. in Demet. & Pauſan. in Corinth.

(X) Juſtin relates, that Agathocles endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with Ophellas, who frequently ſupped with him, by the moſt fawning addreſs, and the loweſt adulation; that Ophellas adopted the Syracuſan tyrant's ſon; and that this Cyrenean prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the precaution to guard himſelf againſt a ſurprize. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that, after this baſe and infamous action, Agathocles cajoled the Cyrenean army into his ſervice, and overthrew the Carthaginians in a pitched battle, with incredible ſlaughter, though at the ſame time he himſelf ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs. This laſt article, however, not agreeing ſo well with Diodorus, will hardly engage our aſſent to the truth of it (31).

(31) Conf. Juſtin. ubi ſup. cum Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2, 3.

betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at laſt his troops all met in the forum. However, when it was known that Bomilcar had been the occaſion of this diſturbance, and had moreover cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Carthage, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and, from the tops of the houſes, diſcharged whole vollies of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. The traitor, finding himſelf not able to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to Neapolis; but being cloſely purſued by the Carthaginians, who by this time had aſſembled a ſufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, there intending to make a vigorous defence, and ſell his life at as dear a rate as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general amneſty was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. The rebels ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, except Bomilcar their chief; but he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed on oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs in the middle of the forum, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs as from the roſtra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he demonſtrated in an hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus inſulted both his tortures and the authors of them, he expired, by his death delivering the Carthaginians from the moſt dangerous domeſtic enemy their ſtate had ever produced [c].

It is worthy obſervation, that Agathocles cauſed Ophellas to be murdered, and Bomilcar made the laſt flagrant attempt upon the liberties of his country, at the ſame inſtant of time, though neither of them was privy to the other's deſign. Had Agathocles been appriſed of Bomilcar's ambition, or of the diſorder and confuſion then in the town of Carthage, he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of it; for if the latter could have been ſupported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the Carthaginians entertained any ſuſpicion of Ophellas's impending danger, by joining him, or at leaſt ſending him a ſtrong rein-

[c] Diod. Sic. & Juſtin. ubi ſup.

reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown Agathocles, as in ſome meaſure appeared from the future courſe of this war; but the generals on both ſides being chiefly intent on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were content not to obſerve one another's motions, and by this means undeſignedly contributed to each other's preſervation.

Agathocles aſſumes the title of king of Africa, and takes Utica by ſtorm.

AGATHOCLES, now finding himſelf at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of Alexander's captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, aſſumed the title of king of Africa, intending ſoon to complete his conqueſts in that country, by the reduction of Carthage. However, for the preſent, his arms received a conſiderable diverſion from the Uticans; which prevented him from putting his deſign in execution. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with ſuch expedition to their city, that he ſurpriſed three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all priſoners. Theſe he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and expoſed them in ſuch a manner to the darts and arrows of the beſieged, that they could not repel his aſſaults, without deſtroying their own citizens, among whom were ſome of the prime nobility. He then ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, imagining they would be induced to this by the ſight of their friends and relations; but finding they valued their liberty more than theſe, he began the ſiege, and diſcharged ſuch vollies of ſtones and miſſive weapons from the engine abovementioned, that the beſieged were thrown into a great conſternation. At firſt they refuſed to defend themſelves for fear of deſtroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy to puſh on the ſiege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous reſiſtance they muſt ſoon fall into their hands, they betook themſelves to their arms, and in ſeveral aſſaults bravely repulſed them. At laſt Agathocles ſummoning all his courage, made a general aſſault upon the weakeſt part of the wall, and carried it; notwithſtanding which the Uticans for ſome time kept their poſts; but the tyrant's whole army forcing itſelf like a torrent into the town, and ſoon driving them, partly into the temples, and partly into their own houſes, they were all either put to the ſword or taken priſoners [f].

THE

[f] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

As likewiſe Hippo Diarrhytus.

THE tyrant, having hanged all the priſoners, plundered the town, and left a ſufficient garriſon in it, marched with his army to Hippouacra, or Hippo Diarrhytus, the Bizerta of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it ſtood. Before he could reduce this city, he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his galleys; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks cloſely for ſome days, he at laſt took it by ſtorm. Moſt of the people bordering upon the ſea-coaſts, and even thoſe inhabiting the inland part of the country, after this ſubmitted to him. The Numidians he found himſelf not able to ſubdue; however, many of their hords or cantons thought proper to conclude a treaty of peace with him [g].

Xenodochus defeated by Demophilus and Leptines.

IN the mean time, Xenodochus, general of the Agrigentines, having reſtored many of the cities in Sicily to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the ſubjects both of the Carthaginians and Syracuſans entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the iſland in favour of liberty. Animated by theſe hopes, great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an aſſociation, in order to extirpate tyranny. Agathocles, receiving advice of this from Demophilus and Leptines, the commanders of his troops in Sicily, was (Y) greatly alarmed, and therefore reſolved to return home; which, he thought, he might ſafely do for a while, as

[g] Idem ibid.

(Y) Juſtin affirms, that not Xenodochus, but the Carthaginians, obliged Agathocles to return to Sicily; and that the latter, after the death of Hamilcar, the ſon of Giſco above-mentioned, ſent another army to that iſland; nay, he farther ſeems to hint, that they had laid ſiege to his metropolis, before Agathocles's arrival there; and that this was the immediate cauſe of the tyrant's abandoning Africa in ſo precipitate a manner. But as this fragment of hiſtory is not taken the leaſt notice of by Diodorus, and even inconſiſtent with what Juſtin had himſelf before related, we are not diſpoſed to give over-much credit to it (32).

The ſame author likewiſe tells us, that Agathocles, after his arrival in Sicily, expelled the Carthaginians from thence, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. But as this directly contradicts Diodorus Siculus, we have not thought proper to inſert it in the body of the hiſtory (33).

(32) Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 8. ſub init. cum Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2, 3.

(33) Conf. Juſt. ubi ſup.

as his affairs on the continent were in a very flouriſhing condition. Having therefore built ſome open veſſels, with fifty oars a-piece, and put two thouſand men on board, he ſet ſail for Sicily, leaving his ſon Archagathus governor of the conqueſts in Africa, and commander in chief of the forces there. Upon his arrival at Selinus, he found, that Demophilus and Leptines had not only aſſembled a powerful army, but likewiſe defeated Xenodochus in a pitched battle, and forced him to fly to Agrigentum, with the loſs of fifteen hundred men. After this victory, Agathocles advanced to Therma, a city poſſeſſed by a Carthaginian garriſon; which immediately ſubmitted to him. Cephalœdium, Heraclea, and other places, that had regained their liberty, he likewiſe reduced; but could not make himſelf maſter of the principal cities belonging to the Carthaginians[b].

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

ARCHAGATHUS, after his father's departure, greatly extended the conqueſts in Africa. He ſent Eumachus, at the head of a large detachment, to invade ſome of the neighbouring provinces, whilſt he himſelf, with the groſs of his army, obſerved the motions of the Carthaginians. Eumachus, falling into Numidia, firſt took the great city of Tocas, and conquered ſeveral of the Numidian cantons, that would not come into a ſtate of amity with Agathocles. Afterwards he laid ſiege to Phellina, and carried it; which was attended with the ſubmiſſion of the Aſphodelodians, a nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Ethiopians. From hence he marched to Maſchala, a city of great importance, built by the Greeks in their return from Troy, and inhabited by their poſterity for ſeveral ſucceeding ages, which opened its gates to him. Then he moved to Hippouacra, which, ſince its ſurrender to Agathocles, had revolted to the enemy, and made himſelf maſter of it. Laſtly, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Acris (Z), a free city, of great

Archagathus meets with great ſucceſs in Africa.

[b] Idem ibid. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. c. 8.

(Z) Neither the city of Trocas, nor thoſe of Phellina, Maſchala, Acris, nor yet the nation of the Aſphodelodians, though, according to our author, a very remarkable people, have been mentioned by Cellarius, whoſe work is yet held in the higheſt repute. They all ſeem to have had their ſituation in that part of Numidia contiguous to Africa Propria, and not far from Hippo Diarryhtus. It is probable thoſe auxiliary troops taken priſoners by

great opulence, which he gave up to the soldiers to be plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; after which he returned to the camp, loaden with the immense booty he had got in this successful expedition [i].

His general Eumachus penetrates into the more remote parts of Africa; but is soon obliged to retire with precipitation.

ELATED with such a run of good fortune, Eumachus resolved next to penetrate into the more remote parts of Africa on the side of Numidia; in order to which, having traversed the countries invaded last, and continuing his march, he arrived at a city called Miltine, and, at the first attempt, forced his way into it. But notwithstanding this first instance of success, the barbarians, immediately collecting their whole force, attacked him in the streets with such fury, that they obliged him to retire out of the town in great confusion, after he had lost a vast number of men. From hence he advanced to an high mountain, above two hundred stadia over, full of wild cats, but destitute of all kinds of birds, on account of the rapaciousness of these animals. Having passed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the Greek language Pithecusæ, from the apes (A), with which all the adjacent country

[i] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 3. Justin. l. xxii.

by Gelon in his engagement with the Carthaginians, which Frontinus calls Nigerrimi, were of this nation, the Melanogætuli, and even of the Nigritæ themselves; for that they all were not only known to, but likewise had an intercourse with, the Carthaginians, cannot well be doubted. As not only the cities abovementioned, but a vast number of others, taken notice of by Herodotus, Diodorus, Pausanias, Appian, &c. have been omitted by Cellarius, it were to be wished some learned man would give us a new edition of that author, which he might easily do, with very large additions (34).

(A) Diodorus tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had customs far different from those of the Greeks; that the apes here mentioned were very familiar with them, had admission into their houses, and received divine honours from them, in the same manner that dogs did from the Egyptians. He adds, that when these creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, butteries, &c. without any disturbance; that parents named their children after them, as the Greeks did after the gods; that whoever killed

(34) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. c. 3. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. ii. ex. 18.

country abounded. One of theſe he took by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground; which ſo terrified the other two, that they immediately ſurrendered; but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conqueſts, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation towards the ſea-coaſts [k].

The diſpoſitions of Archagathus and the Carthaginians.

HITHERTO Archagathus had been the favourite of fortune; but this laſt unhappy expedition of Eumachus occaſioned a very conſiderable alteration in the face of affairs. The Carthaginians, being informed of that general's ill ſucceſs, took courage, and reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner to recover their former loſſes. In order to this, they divided their forces into three bodies: one of theſe they ſent to the ſea-coaſts, to keep the towns there in awe; another they diſpatched into the Mediterranean parts, to preſerve the inhabitants there in their allegiance; and the laſt body they ordered to the Upper Africa, to ſupport their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewiſe for this conduct: by ſending ſuch a number of mouths out of the city, they ſuppoſed they ſhould, in ſome meaſure, reſtore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of proviſions: the city was ſo ſtrongly fortified, and lay ſo near the ſea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force; and therefore all ſuperfluous

[k] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

killed one of them, was ſure to ſuffer death, as a notorious atheiſt; and that for this reaſon, when any perſon behaved himſelf amongſt them with unuſual haughtineſs and inſolence, it was a proverbial expreſſion, Thou haſt drunk the blood of an ape. This proverb Eraſmus applies to thoſe who die a violent death. Two things may be inferred from Diodorus's relation: firſt, that the Africans gave theſe apes names, probably terms of honour and diſtinction, ſuch as the Egyptians and other nations conferred upon their gods; and ſecondly, that the Greeks applied the names of their gods to themſelves, particularly, as there is reaſon to believe, to their kings and heroes, as the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, &c. did. We ſhall treat more amply of this people, and their cuſtoms, in a proper place (35).

(35) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Eraſm in adag. p. 492.

ous hands were rather troubleſome than uſeful: by ſending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they ſhould not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewiſe encourage the neighbouring neutral princes to declare in their favour; and laſtly, they had reaſon to imagine, that, by ſuch a various diverſion, they ſhould draw the enemy's forces at a greater diſtance from the city, and conſequently give themſelves a little time to breath. They were not deceived in their views; for upon the departure of thirty thouſand ſoldiers out of the city, proviſions returned to their former price; their confederates abandoned the ſide which through compulſion they had been obliged to take; and the enemy were forced to draw their troops off from the neighbourhood of Carthage. Archagathus, being appriſed of the motions of the Carthaginians, divided his forces likewiſe into three bodies: one of which he ſent to obſerve the Carthaginian troops on the ſea-coaſts, with orders afterwards to advance into the Upper Africa; another, under the command of Æſchrion, one of his generals, he poſted at a proper diſtance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the enemy there and the barbarous nations; and with the laſt, which he led in perſon, he kept nearer Carthage, preſerving a communication with the other two, in order to ſend them ſuccours, or recal them, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require. Things being in this ſituation, Archagathus kept himſelf quiet in his camp, well pleaſed with the diſpoſition he had made, and with great impatience expecting the event [1].

The Syracuſans defeated by the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginian troops ſent into the heart of the country were commanded by Hanno, a general of great experience, who, being informed of Æſchrion's approach that way, laid an ambuſcade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off himſelf, with four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The reſt were either taken priſoners, or fled to Archagathus, who lay encamped above five hundred ſtadia from the place where this action happened. Himilco, who commanded the Carthaginian forces in the Upper Africa, having advice of Eumachus's march, immediately put himſelf in motion, and at laſt took poſt in a town near that general's camp, with a reſolution to engage him. The Greeks,

[1] Idem ibid.

Greeks, tho' much incommoded by the ſpoils taken out of ſeveral cities, which they carried with them, drew up their army in battalia, and prepared to attack the enemy. Himilco left part of his army in the town, with orders to ſally out upon the Greeks as ſoon as they ſaw them purſue him. Advancing then at the head of his other forces, he fell upon them with great fury: but ſoon after his men betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, as tho' they were in the utmoſt conſternation. Eumachus, puffed up with this ſuppoſed advantage, permitted his troops to purſue them with ſo much eagerneſs, that they fell into diſorder; which being obſerved by the forces in the place, they ruſhed out in an inſtant upon them, and at the ſame time the other body facing about, the Greeks were ſo diſheartened, that they endeavoured to retire to their camp; but finding their retreat cut off by the body that iſſued out of the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. Here being ſurrounded by the Carthaginians, and in great want of water, they were almoſt totally deſtroyed; for of eight thouſand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horſe only forty, had the good fortune to eſcape, the reſt either periſhing of thirſt, or being put to the ſword [m].

Agathocles upon receiving this bad news, leaves Sicily.

ARCHAGATHUS, receiving the melancholy advice of theſe two defeats, and being rejoined by the remains of Æſchrion's army, ordered the detachments, he had ſent out to haraſs the enemy, to return with all ſpeed to the camp. This was a very neceſſary precaution; for after the defeat of Eumachus, Himilco moved with great expedition towards Archagathus, blocking up the paſſes, and ſecuring the country, all along as he advanced, from the enemy's incurſions; ſo that had not the above-mentioned detachments retired in time, purſuant to the order received, they muſt undoubtedly have been all cut to pieces. Himilco therefore cutting off all communication betwixt the Syracuſan army and the fruitful country of Africa on one ſide, and Atarbas, another Carthaginian commander, who lay encamped within forty ſtadia of Tunis, preventing any ſupplies coming to them by ſea on the other, the Greeks in a ſhort time were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. Many of their confederates, being ſtruck with terror at ſo diſmal a proſpect, deſerted them and went over to the enemy, who now hemmed them in on all ſides, and

[m] Idem ibid.

ſeemed ready to ſwallow them up every moment. Whilſt things remained in this melancholy ſituation, Agathocles received an expreſs from Archagathus, acquainting him with the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, and the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions the troops laboured under. Upon which Agathocles, leaving the management of the war in Sicily to Leptines, by a ſtratagem got eighteen ſail of Etruſcan ſhips, that came to his aſſiſtance, out of the harbour of Syracuſe; and then engaging the Carthaginian ſquadron lying off of that harbour, took five of their ſhips and made all the men therein priſoners. By this action he became maſter of the port, and ſecured the paſſage into it for the merchants of all nations; which ſoon produced a plenty of all things in Syracuſe, where famine before began to make great havock. Supplying himſelf therefore with a ſufficient quantity of neceſſaries for the voyage he was going to undertake, he immediately looſed from Syracuſe, and ſet ſail for Africa [n].

Upon his arrival here, he tooſt a review of his forces (B), and found them to conſiſt of ſix thouſand Greeks, as many Celtes, Samnites, and Etruſcans (C), beſides ten thouſand Africans,

[n] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(B) Juſtin relates, that Agathocles, upon his arrival in Africa, found a mutiny in the army, which aroſe from a want of payment of the arrears due to the troops. In order to bring them back to their duty, he made them a florid ſpeech, wherein he told them, "That they ought to ſeek their pay from the enemy; "that as they would all of them have a hand in obtaining the "victory, ſo they ſhould all partake of the ſpoil; that if they "would but exert themſelves vigorouſly for a ſhort time, the war "might be brought to an happy concluſion, and Carthage re-"duced; in which caſe there would be riches enough to ſatisfy "their moſt avaricious deſires." The ſame author adds, that by this ſpeech having appeaſed all commotions, and calmed the minds of the ſoldiery, he ſoon after gave the enemy battle; but being defeated, the troops again grew very clamorous for their pay; which, together with the bad ſtate of his affairs, obliged him, and his ſon Archagathus, by night to abandon Africa (36).

(C) From this paſſage, as well as from many more that might be produced, it appears, that the Etruſcans at this time made ſome figure

(36) Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 8.

Africans, who had perſevered in their fidelity to him, notwithſtanding the diſaſter that had befallen him, and fifteen hundred horſe. As he found his troops reduced almoſt to a ſtate of deſperation, and conſequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle; which he did accordingly. The Carthaginians, though they had the advantage of numbers, having collected all their forces into one body, and were encamped upon an eminence that was almoſt inacceſſible, thought proper to decline the challenge, not being willing to put all to the iſſue of a battle with men who were grown deſperate, but believing, that by lying ſtill in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, and protracting the time, they could ſtarve the enemy to a ſurrender, and conſequently make themſelves maſters of their camp without ſtriking a ſtroke [o].

And, upon his arrival in Africa, offers the enemy battle.

AGATHOCLES, perceiving the enemy's deſign, and finding he could not long continue in that camp, reſolved at all events to force them to a battle. Moving therefore at the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with ſuch bravery, that he made a conſiderable impreſſion upon it, and might poſſibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries baſely deſerted him, and taken to their heels almoſt upon the firſt onſet. The Carthaginians, as much animated by this cowardice as the Grecks were diſmayed, redoubling their efforts, ſoon forced the tyrant to retreat with great precipitation to his camp; whither they purſued him very cloſely, doing great execution in the purſuit. The Carthaginians ſpared the Africans in this action, in order to win the affections of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the Greeks, beſides the priſoners they took, they put above three thouſand of them to the ſword [p].

He attacks the Carthaginian camp, but is entirely defeated.

THE next night, the Carthaginians ſacrificed all the priſoners of diſtinction, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods for the victory they had given them. Whilſt they were in the midſt of this ſolemnity, the wind, ſuddenly riſing, carried the flames to the ſacred tabernacle, near the altar, which they entirely conſumed, as well as the general's tent, and thoſe of the principal officers adjoining to it.

A diſaſter happens in the Carthaginian camp.

[o] Idem ibid. & Juſtin. l. xxii. c. 8. [p] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

figure by ſea; and that they, as well as many other nations of Italy, were afraid of the Carthaginian power, which induced them frequently to aſſiſt the Greeks of Sicily againſt that nation, both by ſea and land.

it. This occaſioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was heightened by the great progreſs the fire made; for the ſoldiers tents conſiſting of very combuſtible materials, and the wind blowing in a moſt violent manner, the whole camp was almoſt entirely laid in aſhes; and many of the ſoldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, were burnt to death. Some of thoſe who made their eſcape out of the flames, met with as unhappy a fate; for after Agathocles had received the laſt blow, the Africans, as in all reverſes of fortune that people cloſed with the ſtrongeſt ſide, deſerted him, and were at that very inſtant coming over in a body to the Carthaginians. Theſe the perſons above-mentioned took to be the whole Syracuſan army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being ſoon noiſed through the Carthaginian army, a dreadful confuſion enſued; ſome betook themſelves to their heels, others fell down in heaps one upon another, imagining the enemy was at that inſtant coming upon them; and laſtly, others engaged their comrades, miſtaking them for the enemy. In fine, five thouſand men loſt their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the reſt thought proper to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of Carthage; neither could the appearance of the day itſelf, for ſome time, diſſipate thoſe terrible apprehenſions they were under [q].

And another in that of Agathocles.

At the ſame time an accident, ſomething reſembling this, happened in the Greek camp. The African deſerters, obſerving the great confuſion the Carthaginians were in, and not underſtanding the meaning of it, were ſo terrified, that they thought proper to return to the place from whence they came. The Syracuſans, ſeeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an inſtant cried out, To arms. The flames aſcending out of the Carthaginian camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confuſion. The conſequence of this panic was much the ſame with that above-mentioned; for coming to blows one with another inſtead of the enemy, they ſcarce recovered their ſenſes upon the return of the light. This inteſtine fray was ſo bloody, that it coſt Agathocles four thouſand men [r].

The

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

THE laſt diſaſter, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themſelves ſuffered more than the Syracuſans on the like occaſion, quite diſheartened Agathocles. His mind being now filled with melancholy reflections, he conſidered himſelf as deſerted by the Africans; as not having a ſufficient number of troops to contend with the Carthaginians; and laſtly, as in danger of being aſſaſſinated by his own ſon, and therefore reſolved to quit Africa. As he knew the Carthaginians were maſters at ſea, and was perſuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms conſiſtent with his ſafety, but take ample vengeance of him for the ravages he had made in their country, he concluded, it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape in a public manner, and therefore ſet his head to work to find out ſome method of ſlipping away privately. This he at laſt, though with great difficulty, effected. But as the manner of his eſcape, which more properly appertains to the hiſtory of Sicily, than that of Carthage, has been already related by us at large, we muſt refer our readers for farther ſatisfaction on this head to a former part of this hiſtory [s].

Who ſoon after abandons Africa.

AFTER Agathocles's departure, his two ſons fell a ſacrifice to the wild fury (D) of the ſoldiers, who immediately put them to death; and chuſing leaders from amongſt themſelves, concluded a peace with the Carthaginians upon the following terms: Firſt, that the Greeks ſhould deliver up all the places they held in Africa, receiving from them three hundred talents. Secondly, that ſuch of them as were willing

Agathocles's troops cut off his two ſons, and conclude a peace with the Carthaginians.

[s] Diod. Sic. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. Vide & Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 311.

(D) Juſtin ſays, that the Syracuſan troops, being appriſed of Agathocles's flight, were in as great a conſternation, as if they had all been actually ſurpriſed by the enemy; that Archagathus, being ſeparated from his father, and loſing his way by the darkneſs of the night, was taken by a Sicilian party, and carried to the camp; that he was put to death by Arceſilaus, one of his father's intimate friends; and that, before the fatal ſtroke was given, Archagathus aſked him, How he thought Agathocles would treat the children of Arceſilaus, who bereaved him of his children? To whom the other replied, that it was enough for him, that his children ſurvived thoſe of Agathocles. In other points, this author almoſt entirely agrees with Diodorus Siculus (37).

(37) Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 8. ſub fin.

ing to ſerve under the Carthaginians, ſhould be kindly treated, and receive the uſual pay. And thirdly, that the reſt ſhould be tranſported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. Theſe articles were agreed to, and punctually obſerved by the Carthaginians; in conſequence of which, all thoſe troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded, met with a moſt kind reception; but the cities, which, in hopes of relief from Agathocles, refuſed to ſubmit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garriſons obliged to cultivate thoſe parts of the country they had before laid waſte and deſtroyed. This war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the Carthaginians, who, by the laſt treaty, ſettled their affairs upon the antient footing, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, and notwithſtanding the Syracuſan army had brought them to the very brink of deſtruction [t].

Our hiſtorian here finely obſerves, that ſeveral moſt remarkable traces of a divine providence appeared through the whole courſe, and at the concluſion, of this war: Agathocles was routed in Sicily by the Carthaginians, and loſt the greateſt part of his army; his affairs there were almoſt deſperate, and his capital upon the point of ſurrendering to the enemy: notwithſtanding which, with a very inconſiderable body of men, he, at this perillous juncture, invaded Africa, defeated the Carthaginians, and reduced them almoſt to the ſame unhappy circumſtances his own troops laboured under at Syracuſe. In Sicily he loſt every thing, but his metropolis, which the enemy thought themſelves ſure of; but in Africa he poſſeſſed himſelf of all places, except Carthage, which, for ſome time, he cloſely beſieged. By which remarkable ſteps, Providence made it apparent, that it is equally eaſy for the Supreme Being in a moment to elevate the moſt afflicted ſtates, and depreſs the moſt powerful. After the tyrant, in the height of his proſperity, had murdered Ophellas, in violation of all the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality, Providence diſtinguiſhed itſelf likewiſe in a moſt extraordinary manner: his affairs in Africa from that inſtant began to decline; the very month, and day of the month, on which he treacherouſly murdered Ophellas, and brought over his army, he loſt both his ſons and his army; and laſtly, as he had moſt perfidiouſly aſſaſſinated

[t] Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 3. Juſt. l. xxii. c. 8. ſub fin. Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 312, & 313, &c.

ſinated his friend, the very troops this friend commanded, afterwards cut off his two ſons. As Diodorus made theſe obſervations for the ſake of thoſe perſons, who are too apt to ſlight, or not duly attend to, ſuch uncommon inſtances of an over-ruling power, we thought we could not properly omit them [u].

Which is ratified by Agathocles,

NOTWITHSTANDING peace was concluded betwixt the Syracuſan troops in Africa and the Carthaginians, yet the treaty was not ratified by Agathocles till the year following. That prince, being reduced to great ſtreights by Dinocrates, who began to aſpire to the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the Carthaginians. This obliged him to purchaſe a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but conſented to have an additional article inſerted in it much to the advantage of the Carthaginians, viz. that all the cities they formerly poſſeſſed in Sicily ſhould be reſtored to them; which being immediately executed, the Carthaginians left him at liberty to purſue his deſigns in Sicily; and, to facilitate the accompliſhment of them, ſent him three hundred, or, as Timæus Siculus will have it, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, beſides two hundred thouſand medimni, or five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat [w].

Agathocles meditates another war with Carthage.

AGATHOCLES, having defeated Dinocrates, and re-eſtabliſhed his affairs at Syracuſe, paſſed over into Italy, where he ſubdued the Brutii, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From hence he paſſed over to the Lipari iſlands, in order to raiſe contributions; which he did to the value of an hundred talents of gold, plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtripped the temples, and then ſet ſail for Syracuſe, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. Diodorus ſeems to intimate, that Sicily, for a conſiderable time after this, enjoyed the ſweets of peace, but that at laſt the implacable hatred Agathocles bore the Carthaginians prevailed upon him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the Carthaginians by the laſt war, had made themſelves maſters of the ſea, they were abundantly ſupplied with all the neceſſaries and elegancies of life, and eaſily ſecured their country from all foreign invaſions. Agathocles therefore fitted out a ſquadron of two hundred galleys, in order firſt to prevent the

exporta-

[u] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [w] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 4.

exportation of corn and other proviſions from Sicily and Sardinia to Africa, and afterwards to tranſport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt a ſecond time the conqueſt of it. But this, as well as the other projects he had formed, fell to the ground by his death, an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of Syracuſe [x].

And dies. Th: Syracuſans, being much agitated by civil diſſenſions, and invaded by the Carthaginians, call Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to their aſſiſtance.

AFTER the death of Agathocles, Mænon, who had poiſoned him, uſurped the ſupreme authority at Syracuſe. This he did by murdering Archagathus, and bringing over the army to his intereſt. The Syracuſans, however, reſolved to have a ſtruggle for their liberty, and therefore raiſed another army, giving the command of it to Icetas, with orders to attack Mænon. In the mean time, Mænon, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to engage Icetas, induſtriouſly avoided fighting, and applied to the Carthaginians for aſſiſtance. That people, always intent upon fomenting diviſions in Sicily, in order to enlarge their own acquiſitions there, readily granted his requeſt; and joining him with a ſtrong body of troops, obliged the Syracuſans to conclude a peace with them upon their own terms, to recall the exiles, and, as a ſecurity for their punctual obſervation of the treaty, to deliver them four hundred hoſtages. Soon after, Icetas ſeized upon the government at Syracuſe, and ruled there with an abſolute ſway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of prætor. In the mean time, the rebels and Syracuſan exiles, in conjunction with the Agrigentines, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted from him, advanced, under the conduct of Phintias, to Hybla, where they were attacked and defeated by Icetas. That general, greatly puffed up with this victory, engaged the Carthaginian army upon the banks of the river Teria, but was overthrown with incredible ſlaughter, and forced to fly to Syracuſe. In Icetas's abſence, one Thynion had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power there; but being oppoſed by Soſiſtratus, who had the ſame aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. Thynion maintained himſelf in the iſland with a body of ten thouſand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; ſo that for ſome time Syracuſe was nothing

[x] Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. xxi. in excerptis Rhodomani. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. ii. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 6.

thing but a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter. The Carthaginians, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, reduced moſt of the cities ſubject to Syracuſe, and inveſted the capital itſelf with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of fifty thouſand men. Thynion and Soſiſtratus, finding the Carthaginians to puſh on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that, in all probability, they would ſoon make themſelves maſters of the city, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, united their forces againſt the common enemy, and diſpatched meſſengers to Pyrrhus, then at Tarentum, entreating him to come over to Sicily, and deliver the Greeks there from the barbarians, who threatened them with utter deſtruction. That prince received theſe meſſengers very favourably, and, ſending Cyneas (E) before-hand to conclude a treaty with Thynion and Soſiſtratus, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in Tarentum, under the conduct of Milo, embarqued with his army for Sicily. He took with him a conſiderable number of elephants, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, and the tenth day after he had looſed from Tarentum, arrived at Locri; from whence ſteering his courſe for Sicily, he, in a few days, landed at Taurominium, and upon his arrival, was joined by Tyndarion, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to Catana, and from thence marched to Syracuſe at the head of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, all his own troops, beſides the Sicilian auxiliaries that joined him, attended by a fleet of two hundred ſail. The Carthaginians, then carrying on the ſiege of Syracuſe, having detached thirty of their beſt veſſels to bring in a freſh ſupply of proviſions, did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an engagement with Pyrrhus's fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; ſo that he entered Syracuſe without

(E) Cyneas was a famous orator, and an hearer of Demoſthenes. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus looked upon himſelf as more obliged to Cyneas's eloquence for many of his conqueſts, than to the force of his arms. The author laſt mentioned calls him Cineas; but we chuſe rather to follow Juſtin, who calls him Cyneas. Pauſanias countenances us herein; for he takes notice of one Philabrus, an Eretrian traitor, the ſon of Cyneas. This, together with the word κύνεη, an helmet, from whence the proper name itſelf is apparently derived, ſeems to put the point beyond diſpute. Tanaquil Faber himſelf was of our opinion (37).

(37) Plut. in Pyrrh. c. 28. Liv. l. xxxiv. Pauſan. Achaic. p. 415. Bern. & Tan. Fab. in Juſt. l. xviii. c. 2.

without oppoſition. Soon after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of that important place, embaſſadors arrived from the Leontini, who had joined with Thynion and Soſiſtratus in preſſing the king of Epirus to come and take upon him the defence of their reſpective ſtates, offering to deliver up their city into his hands, and to join his forces with a body of four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. Many other cities followed the example of Syracuſe and Leontium. In ſhort, Pyrrhus, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his inſinuating and affable behaviour, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the Sicilians in general, that he doubted not ſoon having them all entirely at his devotion, and conſequently flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſpeedily deveſting the Carthaginians of all their acquiſitions in Sicily [y].

The Carthaginians offer the Romans aſſiſtance, which is attacked by Pyrrhus, in conſequence of a treaty juſt concluded between them; which the Romans decline accepting of. They afterwards offer their mediation for accommodating all differences between the two powers.

We muſt not omit obſerving, that before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, the Romans were not unacquainted with the deſigns of that ambitious prince. In order therefore to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any attemps he might make, or at leaſt to deter him from making any ſuch attempts, they renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their ſide, likewiſe were under ſome apprehenſions of his invading Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagement of mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either of the contracting powers ſhould be attacked by Pyrrhus. As it was particularly ſpecified therein, that the Carthaginians ſhould ſend a ſufficient naval force to the relief of the Romans, upon the firſt notice of a rupture with the king of Epirus, as ſoon as they heard he had made a deſcent in Italy, they ordered for that purpoſe a fleet (F) of an hundred and twenty ſail, under the command of Mago. That officer, in an audience he had of the ſenate, upon his arrival at Rome, told the conſcript fathers, that his principals

[y] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. & l. xii. apud Laur. Rhodoman. Plut. in Pyrrh. Pauſan. l. i. Juſtin. l. xviii. Dionyſ. Halicar. ant. Rom. l. xii. in excerptis Valeſii.

(F) Valerius Maximus, in the place cited, makes this ſquadron to have conſiſted of an hundred and thirty ſail. Poſſibly the particular number of ſhips, with which the Carthaginians were to aſſiſt the Romans, might be ſpecified in a ſubſequent treaty, ſince the epitomizer of Livy mentions a fourth treaty concluded between the two republics after the battle of Aſculum (38).

(38) Val. Max. in loc. citat. Liv. epit. l. xiii.

principals had heard with great concern of the hoſtilities Pyrrhus committed in Italy; adding, that he was ſent by his republic to offer them a foreign force, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The ſenate, after receiving him with proper marks of diſtinction, returned thanks for this obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at the ſame time thought proper to decline accepting it. Diodorus tells us, that, notwithſtanding this, the Carthaginian fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, ſailed to Rhegium; which place they battered for ſome time with incredible fury, but were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. They deſtroyed, according to this author, a vaſt quantity of timber, and other materials for ſhipping, in that port, and then put to ſea with their ſquadron, to obſerve the motions of Pyrrhus. Mago, ſome days after his departure from Rome, repaired to Pyrrhus's camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for accommodating all differences betwixt him and the Romans, but in reality to ſound him, and diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. The Carthaginians at that time were afraid, leſt either Pyrrhus, or the Romans, ſhould concern themſelves with the affairs of that iſland, and tranſport forces thither for the conqueſt of it. And indeed this ſeems to have been the real motive for their ſending a fleet to aſſiſt the Romans, rather than a deſire to be punctual in the obſervance of their engagements, which they were never famous for, this being inconſiſtent with that ſubtle and intriguing genius, which diſcovered itſelf in every remarkable point of conduct of the African republic [z].

Pyrrhus's great progreſs in Sicily.

As ſoon as Pyrrhus had ſettled his affairs at Syracuſe, Leontium, and the other places that had ſubmitted to him, he began to move with his army towards Agrigentum, which was then poſſeſſed by a Carthaginian garriſon, under the command of Phintias. Upon his march he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the Carthaginians, and were come to a reſolution to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on their frontiers, he was met by Soſiſtratus, at the head of eight thouſand Agrigentine foot, and eight hundred horſe, nothing at all inferior in military ſkill and

[z] Juſtin. ubi ſup. c. 2. Polyb. l. iii. c. 25. Dio l. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchelii. Valer. Max. l. ii. vii.

and bravery to the Epirots themſelves. Soſiſtratus likewiſe prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly ſupplied with darts, arrows, all other kinds of arms, and engines of battery, from Syracuſe, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, and reduced Heraclea, which was for ſome time defended by a party of Carthaginians. After this, the Azones, Selinuntines, Halicyæans, Egeſtines, and others, made their ſubmiſſion to him; in fine, the Carthaginians found, that this conqueror ſoon deprived them of all their allies, made himſelf maſter of many of their towns without the leaſt oppoſition, and was determined to make the Libyan ſea, on the ſide of Greece, the boundary of their dominions [a].

Takes Eryx by ſtorm, and lays ſiege to Lilybæum.

PYRRHUS, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, advanced to Eryx, a fortreſs defended by a numerous Carthaginian garriſon, and of ſuch natural ſtrength, that it was almoſt inacceſſible. This place, with ſome difficulty, he inveſted, and, after bringing his battering rams to the walls, formed the ſiege of it. The garriſon for ſome time made a vigorous defence; but at laſt Pyrrhus, making a general aſſault, entered the breach his rams had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all poſterity, after the example of Hercules, he was the firſt who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the Africans, with his own hand. However, he met with ſuch a reſiſtance, that his ſucceſs was dubious, till a freſh reinforcement of his troops ſupported him in the attack, and then he eaſily carried the town. Panormus, Erƈta, and moſt other places of note, were either taken by ſtorm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the firſt ſummons; ſo that now the Carthaginians had no town left in Sicily but Lilybæum, to which Pyrrhus laid ſiege with all his forces [b].

But is obliged to raiſe it.

LILYBÆUM was a maritime city of great ſtrength, eſteemed by the Carthaginians as one of the keys of Sicily. They had therefore raiſed many outworks for its defence, drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-ſide, and fortified it in the beſt manner poſſible. The Carthaginians, being maſters of the ſea, landed a ſtrong body of troops here, juſt as Pyrrhus was going to form the ſiege of the

[a] Diod. Sic. Plut. Dion. Hal. Juſtin. ubi ſup. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 316, 317, &c.

[b] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

the place; but being greatly alarmed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, they ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms, offering him either a large ſum of money, or to abandon all their conqueſts in Sicily, except Lilybæum. But he, puffed up with his great ſucceſs, and ſpirited up by the Sicilians, who were ſenſible, that they could enjoyno tranquillity, as long as the Carthaginians had any footing in the iſland, anſwered them, that the only means to obtain what they deſired, was to leave Sicily entirely to the Greeks. Upon this the Carthaginians broke off the negotiation, and Pyrrhus repeated his aſſaults with the utmoſt fury; but the town being well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, ſituated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous garriſon, the Carthaginians repulſed him in every attack, and, at the end of two months, obliged him ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege [c].

NOTWITHSTANDING this repulſe, Pyrrhus began to entertain thoughts of attacking the Carthaginians in the very heart of their dominions, and therefore made all the neceſſary preparations to transfer the war into Africa. As he wanted ſeamen for this expedition, he obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with ſailors and mariners, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank, who had any experience in naval affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. This, with ſome other arbitrary proceedings, ſo diſguſted the Sicilians, that they began to look upon him as a tyrant, and the cities in general conceived ſuch an averſion to him, that ſome of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, his avowed enemies. In conſequence of this, there was ſuch a general deſertion amongſt the Sicilian troops in his ſervice, moſt of whom went over to the Carthaginians, that he ſoon found himſelf attended only by his Epirot phalanx; which obliged him to lay aſide all thoughts of any farther military operations, either in Sicily or Africa. The Carthaginians, being informed of this ſudden revolution, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to their army in Sicily, in order to recover their antient conqueſts

Notwithſtanding which, he entertained thoughts of invading Africa, but is obliged to drop that deſign.

[c] Idem ibid. & Plut. in Pyrrh.

conquests there, whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape [d] (G).

He returns to Italy.

THAT prince therefore, meditating a return to Italy, embarqued with the remains of his troops on the vessels he brought to Sicily, being attended by a large additional number of Sicilian transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to Appian. With his fleet he set sail for Rhegium, but was met at sea by the Carthaginian squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being defeated, he had seventy of his ships sunk, and most of the rest so shattered, that they were rendered entirely unfit for service; so that he arrived at Locri, with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to Tarentum. The Carthaginians after this reduced the Sicilian towns before in their possession with as much celerity as Pyrrhus had conquered them, and settled their affairs in Sicily upon a firmer footing than ever. It is said, that Pyrrhus, when he was on the point of setting sail, cried out to his men, at the sight of that wealthy country he was going to abandon, "What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans! a prediction which was soon afterwards verified. What happened to this prince after his arrival in Italy, it is unnecessary to touch upon here, since an ample relation of this has been already given in other parts of our history [e].

Hiero declared general of the Syracusan army, and prætor of Syracuse.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Carthaginians so easily dislodged the Epirots from their part of Sicily, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the Syracusans and the Mamertines. After Pyrrhus's departure, the former, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near Mergana,

[d] Idem ibid. & Dion. Hal. apud Vales. Vide & Liv. epit. l. xiii.

[e] Appian. Samnit. in excerptis Valesii. Plut. in Pyrrh. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. Univer. hist. vol. vii. p. 316, 317, &c. vol. ix. p. 566; 567; &c. Vide & Flor. l. i. c. 18. & in eum. Salmas. atq; Freinshem. Eutrop. Rom. hist. brev. l. ii. Lucium Ampelium in lib. mem. c. 28. aliosq; plur.

(G) Justin will have it, that Pyrrhus defeated the Carthaginians in several pitched battles whilst in Sicily, and gave them a notable overthrow just before his departure out of the island; but as Diodorus seems to clash with this account, no great stress is to be laid upon it (39).

(39) Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3.

na, a quarrel aroſe betwixt the ſoldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this, the ſoldiers elected Artemidorus and Hiero for their leaders, and veſted them with an almoſt abſolute authority. Hiero, tho' then very young, had all the good qualities to be wiſhed for in any prince; and having, by the addreſs and management of his friends, got poſſeſſion of the city, ſoon ſuppreſſed the contrary faction. Far from being elated with his good fortune, he held the reins of government in ſo gentle and ſlack a manner, that he gained the hearts of all men; inſomuch, that the Syracuſans, though highly diſſatisfied with the ſoldiery for aſſuming the right of chuſing their own generals, received him as prætor, without the leaſt conteſt; nay, according to Juſtin, they unanimouſly confirmed him in the command the army had conferred upon him, inveſting him with all the civil and military power during the inter-regnum. He is repreſented by the antient hiſtorians as a conſummate hero and moſt amiable prince; as one who, by the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, without ſhedding of blood or hurting one ſingle citizen, calmed the minds of the people of Syracuſe, and reconciled the different factions, which then miſerably diſtracted that unhappy ſtate. He made his firſt campaign under Pyrrhus, and ſo improved in the art of war by the direction of that great general, that he was looked upon as the beſt commander in his army. The Syracuſan forces under his command, deſtined to act againſt the Carthaginians, after the departure of Pyrrhus, being moſt excellently diſciplined, obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over them, and even in a ſhort time grew formidable to them [f].

As for the Mamertines (H), the other enemy the Carthaginians

[f] Polyb. l. i. Juſtin. ubi ſup. c. 4.

(H) Alſius gives us the following ſhort hiſtory of the Mamertines: The whole country of the Samnites having been viſited with a terrible peſtilence, Sthenius Mettius, prince of that people, aſſembled all his ſubjects, and told them, that Apollo in a dream had aſſured him, that they ſhould be delivered from the plague, provided they would make a vow to offer up to him all the produce of the next ſpring; which they immediately complying with, the plague ceaſed. Some time after it broke out again amongſt them, and made great havock; upon which conſulting Apollo, they were informed by him, that the return of the peſtilence was owing to the non-obſervance of their vow, ſince

A brief account of the Mamertines.

thaginians had to deal with in Sicily, they were originally a body of Campanian mercenaries, that Agathocles took into his ſervice. Being tempted with the beauty and opulence of Meſſana, they formed a deſign to make themſelves maſters of it by ſurprize, which took effect in the following manner: Theſe troops, being denied by the Syracuſans the right of giving their votes at the election of magiſtrates, immediately had recourſe to arms; which threw the city into great confuſion; but ſome perſons of diſtinction interpoſing, it was at laſt agreed, that the Campanians ſhould evacuate Sicily within a limited time, and carry off all their effects along with them. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to Meſſana, in order to embarque for their native country. Here they met with a moſt friendly and kind reception from the citizens; in return for whch favour, they in the night either expelled or aſſaſſinated all the men, took the women to their own uſe, and ſeized upon the city. After they had divided the lands and riches of the unhappy Meſſanians amongſt themſelves, they called the city Mamertina, and aſſumed to themſelves the name of Mamertini, that is, martial or warlike people, from Mamers, a word, which, in their language, being a dialect of the Oſcan, ſignified Mars, the (I) god of war. As they ſince they had not ſacrificed to him the children born in the ſpring above-mentioned; but that if they ſhould baniſh all of them that were then living, and grown up, they would be delivered a ſecond time from that dreadful evil. They immediately followed this advice of the god; and the men thus baniſhed retiring to Sicily, came into that part of the iſland called Taurominitana, or Regio Taurominitana. The Meſſanians, being at that time engaged in a bloody war, deſired their aſſiſtance; which having obtained, they overcame all their enemies, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for the ſervice done them, made them free of their city. As the republic of Meſſana was now grown more powerful by the coalition of two different nations, the Meſſanians propoſed aſſuming a new name, and, in order to this, caſt the names of twelve of the gods into an urn, by way of lots, reſolving to take that which came out firſt. This happened to be Mamers; ſo that they were from that time called Mamertines (40).

(I) We are informed by Feſtus, that, in the Oſcan tongue, Mamers ſignified Mars, the god of war. Scaliger obſerves, that Mamers.

(40) Alſius in lib. de prim. bel. Pun. apud Sext. Pomp. Feſt. in voce Mamertini. Strab. l. vi. Vide & Joſ. Scalig. caſtigat. in Sext. Pomp. Feſt. p. 82. edit. Par. 1593.

they were a bold and reſolute nation, they in a ſhort time reduced many of the neighbouring ſtates, and extended their conqueſts to the middle of the iſland. By the aſſiſtance of the Roman garriſon at Rhegium, which, under the command of one Decius a Campanian, had ſeized upon that city in the ſame infamous manner that the Mamertines had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſana, they ſoon became very powerful, and made frequent incurſions both into the Syracuſan and Carthaginian territories, plundering the country, and laying moſt of the towns and villages under contribution. The Romans, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of Decius and his accomplices, for the flagrant violation of public faith they had been guilty of, attacked the city of Rhegium, took it by ſtorm, and put to the ſword all the garriſon, except three hundred men, whom they carried to Rome; and after having ſcourged them with rods, in conformity to the Roman cuſtom, beheaded them publicly in the forum. The Mamertines, being thus deprived of their main ſupport, could not long defend themſelves againſt the attacks of Hiero, who, on account of their repeated depredations, and for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, declared war againſt them. As that prince's troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cutting off all communication betwixt the Mamertines and the neighbouring ſtates, encamped on (K) the river Longanus, where he put himſelf in a poſture to receive the enemy, in caſe they ſhould think proper to venture an engagement with him [g].

[g] Polyb. l. i. Appian Samnit. & Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerptis Valeſii.

mers, Mavors, and Mars, amongſt that people, denoted valiant. It has likewiſe been ſuppoſed, that the word Mars comes from amarus, or the Hebrew מרר amaritudo; and this notion is countenanced by the epithets πικρὸς, δεινὸς, ἄγριος, βλοσυρὸς, δήϊος, σχέτλιος, λυγρὸς, ἀμείλικτος, durus, torvus, rigidus, &c. which are frequently applied to him. Scaliger, in his notes upon Varro, thinks that Mars, by reduplication, becomes Mamers (41).

(K) Diodorus Siculus calls this river Loitanus; but we apprehend this to be a corruption of Longanus, the name given it by Polybius,

(41) Sext. Pomp. Feſt. in voce. Mamers. Joſ. Scalig. de cauſ. ling. Lat. c. 69. Idem in not. ad Var. de ling. Lat. Vide & Iſidor. Hiſpalenſ. orig. l. viii.

They are attacked and defeated by Hiero, who, after this action, is proclaimed king of Syracuse.

THE Mamertines, finding all the avenues leading to their capital city guarded by the enemy's detachments, and themselves reduced to great ſtreights by Hiero's poſſeſſing himſelf of ſo commodious a camp, were obliged to run the riſque of a battle; and therefore drawing their forces, which conſiſted of eight thouſand foot and ſome horſe, out of Meſſana, under the command of Cios, they encamped on the oppoſite bank, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to paſs the river. In the mean time, Hiero ſent a choice detachment, conſiſting of two hundred Meſſanians and four hundred picked ſoldiers of his own troops, with orders to take poſt on the hill Thorax, and then wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear, whilſt he himſelf, with the groſs of his army, charged them in front. The action for ſome time was ſharp and bloody, both ſides behaving with undaunted reſolution; but at laſt Hiero having gained an eminence near the river, which, being a very advantageous poſt, enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, the detachment poſted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, and they having with much difficulty already ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the Syracuſan army, the Mamertines immediately gave ground, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. The Syracuſans purſued them ſo cloſely, that they put every man of them to the ſword, except Cios (L), who having received many wounds

Polybius. We own, the generality of MSS. of the former author have ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ; but this cannot ſtand in competition with the great authority of Polybius. Beſides, upon viewing the words ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ and ΛΟΙΓΑΝΟΣ together, we ſhall find, that nothing can be conceived more eaſy than ſuch a corruption; for ΓΓ ΙΤ in the middle of theſe words, the letters on which the true reading depends, reſemble one another ſo nearly, that it is the eaſieſt thing in nature to miſtake the former for the latter. Cellarius, by taking notice only of Polybius's name, ſeems to have been entirely of our opinion (42).

(L) Diodorus tells us, that Cios aſſembled his ſoothſayers, and conſulted them, before he joined battle with Hiero. Upon viewing the ſacrifices narrowly, they unanimouſly declared, that he ſhould lodge that night in the enemy's camp. This prediction of the entrails he took as an infallible token of victory, and therefore engaged the Syracuſan army with great alacrity and courage, but had the misfortune to meet with the fate here mentioned. However, being brought a priſoner into Hiero's camp, the prediction was

(42) Polyb. l. i. Vide & Cellar. in Sicil.

wounds in the engagement, fainted through loſs of blood, and being taken priſoner, was brought half-dead to Hiero's camp. Hiero, being a prince of ſingular humanity, ordered all poſſible care to be taken of that general, and his wounds to be dreſſed by the moſt ſkilful ſurgeons in his army; but Cios, ſoon after ſeeing his ſon's horſe brought into the camp by a party of Syracuſans, immediately concluded he was killed, which threw him into ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he refuſed all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and choſe rather to fall by his own hand, than ſurvive a perſon ſo dear to him. This defeat, which Hiero gave the Mamertines in the plains of Mylæ, was the greateſt blow that people ever received; neither did they ever afterwards find it poſſible to re-eſtabliſh their broken affairs. The troops were ſo highly pleaſed with Hiero's conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of Syracuſe upon his arrival at that metropolis [h].

And is overreached by the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginians, being appriſed of the great victory Hiero had gained over the Mamertines, began to be uneaſy at the progreſs of that prince's arms; but their uneaſineſs was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the Mamertines had made ſome overtures to him for an accommodation, the principal of which was, that they ſhould put the city of Meſſana into his hands, provided he would engage to maintain the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. The Carthaginians endeavoured to traverſe this negotiation; but finding themſelves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a ſcheme to keep Meſſana out of the hands of the Syracuſans. In order to this, Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, amuſed Hiero, till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the Lipari iſlands, drew near Meſſana. The cunning African came to Hiero, advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, as it were to congratulate him on his late victory,

[h] Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. Polyb. ubi ſup.

was undoubtedly looked upon as fulfilled, though not in the ſenſe in which he underſtood it. By ſuch ambiguous anſwers both the oracles and haruſpices frequently impoſed upon thoſe who conſulted them (43).

(43) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.

but in reality with an intention to retard the march of his troops to Meſſana. In the mean time, an officer being ſent, at the head of a detachment, into the town, aſſured the Mamertines, that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the Syracuſans, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The Mamertines, being greatly weakened by the late overthrow, readily admitted the Carthaginian detachment, and by that means preſerved themſelves ſtill independent both of the Syracuſans and Carthaginians. Theſe two laſt powers, finding they had purſued wrong meaſures, afterwards entered into an alliance, and aſſembled their joint forces to form the ſiege of Meſſana. This obliged the Mamertines to call in the Romans to their aid; which gave riſe to the firſt Punic war, a particular account of which will be found in the following ſection [i].

[i] Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ibid.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, from the firſt to the ſecond Punic war.

The Carthaginians advance with a powerful fleet to Tarentum, when beſieged by the Romans; which gives great umbrage to that nation.

THOUGH the Carthaginians had entered into an alliance with the Romans a little before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and offered them powerful ſuccours againſt that prince, yet, even at this time, there reigned a mutual jealouſy and diffidence between the two ſtates. As their power was very extenſive, their political views and intereſts diametrically oppoſite, and both of them ſeemed acted by the ſame ſpirit of ambition, it was morally impoſſible but that, ſooner or later, a bloody quarrel muſt commence betwixt them. The Romans, proving ſuperior to Pyrrhus, as has been related, obliged him to abandon his Italian allies, whom, ſoon after his departure, they eaſily reduced [a]. The Samnites received ſo terrible an overthrow from the conſuls L. Papirius Curſor and Sp. Corvilius, ſurnamed Maximus, that,

[a] Flor. l. i. c. 18. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 91. Polyb. l. i.

that, from this time, they ceaſed to be a nation [b]. The Brutians and Lucanians were next obliged to ſubmit; ſo that only Tarentum remained to be chaſtiſed for incurring the diſpleaſure of the Romans. As that city had not only embroiled the Romans with their neighbours, but likewiſe deſtroyed one of their fleets, inſulted their embaſſadors, invited Pyrrhus over into Italy, and greatly exerted itſelf in aſſiſting him to execute the project he had formed againſt the Roman republic, they were reſolved to make it feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore the conſuls, immediately after they had conquered the Brutians and Lucanians, cauſed it to be inveſted [c]. Milo at this time commanded the Epirot garriſon in the citadel, and the Tarentines had poſſeſſion of the town. Theſe two parties, being then at variance, inſtead of taking proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſeemed to be under-hand contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power [d]. As the Carthaginians lay at that time with a ſtrong ſquadron of galleys, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the Epirots as enemies, it was ſuſpected, that the Tarentines had implored their aſſiſtance; and on the other hand Milo entered into a negotiation with the Romans, in order to put both the town and citadel into their hands; which at laſt he did, and that even by the conſent of the Tarentines themſelves [e]. The Carthaginians, being diſappointed of their aim, retired to their own coaſts; but the Romans were not a little chagrined at this ſtep, ſince they thereby diſcovered, not only that the Carthaginians intended to rob the republic of a city, which by right of conqueſt, belonged to it, but likewiſe that they meditated the conqueſt even of Italy itſelf. Beſides, could the deſign have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two ſtates. This therefore convinced the Romans, that the Carthaginians paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and conſequently that they could not be too much upon their guard againſt the attempts of ſo perfidious, as well as enterpriſing, a nation. That the Romans drew ſuch a concluſion from the conduct

[b] Flor. ubi ſup. Zonar. in annal. l. xiii. c. 6. p. 377, 378, 379. [c] Idem. ibid. & Liv. epit. l. xii. xiv. xv. &c. Oroſ. l. iv. Zonar. ubi ſup. [d] Liv. epit & Oroſ. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 92. Zonar. ubi. ſup. [e] Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 6. p. 379.

of the Carthaginians at this juncture, ſeems not only probable from the nature of the thing itſelf, but likewiſe from an obſervation of Cato [f] and Gellius; and therefore we may look upon it as a remote or pretended cauſe at leaſt of the firſt Punic war; and indeed this is allowed by Zonaras, as well as Lucius Ampelius, one of their own later hiſtorians [g].

The Carthaginians jealous of the growing power of the Romans.

THE Romans, ſoon after the reduction of Tarentum, made themſelves maſters of all the countries in Italy, from the remoteſt part of Etrutria to the Ionian ſea, and from the Tyrrhenian ſea to the Adriatic. This rapid progreſs of their arms gave a freſh alarm to the Carthaginians, who now conſidered, that the Romans had a very ſhort paſſage over to Sicily, and that the continent of Italy could not limit their ambition. They therefore began to look upon all their poſſeſſions in that iſland as very precarious, unleſs they could ſpeedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a conſideration as this muſt undoubtedly have encreaſed the jealouſy, and heightened the diſguſt already conceived in the breaſts of the Carthaginians, and had moſt certainly its proper influence in puſhing them on to a rupture with the Romans [h].

Decius Jubellius, with a legion of Campanians, ſeizes on Rhegium

THE inhabitants of Rhegium, being expoſed to the attempts of Pyrrhus, as well as the inſults of the Carthaginians, who, ſoon after the arrival of that prince in Italy, infeſted all the Ionian ſea, applied to the Romans for a garriſon to defend them from an invaſion. In compliance with their requeſt, a legion of Campanians was raiſed, the Romans at that time not being able to ſpare any of their own troops, on account of the war with Pyrrhus, and ſent under the command of one Decius Jubellius, a native of Campania, to garriſon that city. Theſe troops, for ſome time, did their duty perfectly well; but at laſt, in imitation of the Mamertines, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſana in a moſt perfidious manner, and, being of the ſame nation, aſſiſted theſe Campanians with a body of forces to accompliſh their deſign, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themſelves independent at Rhegium. To this they were ſtrongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place, and the elegancies the citizens abounded with.

As

[f] Cat. in orig. quart. apud Aul. Gel. in noct. Attic. l. x. c. 1.
[g] Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Vide. & Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 8. p. 382 [h] Liv. epit. Oros. Univerſ. hiſt. &c. ubi ſup.

As the Romans at that time had their hands full of the war with Pyrrhus, they thought this a favourable juncture to bring their project to bear, ſince nothing but the oppoſition which might be apprehended from that quarter could poſſibly obſtruct the execution of it. Decius therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the Rhegians had entered into a conſpiracy to deliver up the place to Pyrrhus, and betray the garriſon into his hands. In order to prevent this, he ſuggeſted there was a neceſſity of taking poſſeſſion of the town, and making an example of the conſpirators. To ſupport what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the particulars of the conſpiracy were related at large. This, together with a ſet ſpeech on the occaſion, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an inſtant to execute their general's orders. In the mean time, a perſon privy to the deſign, appearing, pretended to have certain news, that Pyrrhus had already made a deſcent on the territories of Rhegium, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conſpiracy. This ſerving as a ſignal to the Campanians, the train being already laid, they immediately took poſſeſſion of the city, divided amongſt themſelves all the plunder found therein, and put moſt of the men to the ſword [i].

NOT long after the perpetration of this horrid fact, Decius was expelled by the ſoldiery, and obliged to fly to Meſſana. There being ſeized by a violent pain in his eyes, he applied to a Rhegian phyſician for relief; who, reſenting the injuries offered his country, preſcribed him a plaiſter of cantharides, which totally deprived him of his ſight, and then made his eſcape. This we learn from Diodorus. But Appian intimates, that he was attacked by this diſorder at Rhegium, and ſent to Meſſana for a phyſician, not caring to truſt any of thoſe in the place where he reſided. The Mamertines ſent him one, eminent for his ſkill in the art of medicine, whom the laſt author inſinuates to have been a Rhegian; who, applying cauſtics to his eyes, adviſed him to keep them on till his return, which never happened; ſo that in a ſhort time he became ſtark-blind. Neither

The Romans retake Rhegium, and either put to the ſword, or behead, all the Campanians; which, together with the defeat given the Mamertines by Hiero, obliges this laſt people to receive a Carthaginian detachment into Meſſana.

[i] Polyb. & Val. Max. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. apud Valeſ. Liv. epit. l. xii.

Neither Polybius nor Dio take notice of any of theſe circumſtances; and therefore give us reaſon to believe, which is likewiſe conſonant to the fragment of Appian juſt referred to, that he did not depart from Rhegium, as Diodorus ſuggeſts, but met with the fate he deſerved either in that place or Rome, with his accomplices and companions. Be this as it will, as ſoon as the Roman republic was in a condition to take vengeance of this perfidious legion, ſhe ordered L. Genucius Clepſina to beſiege Rhegium with a powerful army. The Campanians, being reinforced by a ſtrong body of Mamertines, whom they had likewiſe aſſiſted in their wars with the Syracuſans and Carthaginians, made a vigorous defence; but the conſul, redoubling his attacks, at laſt took the place, and put all the garriſon to the ſword, except three hundred men, who were carried to Rome, and there puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity. They were whipped with rods in the middle of the forum, had their heads ſtruck off, and their bodies remained, by the ſenate's order, uninterred. Appian relates, that Decius, being detained in cloſe cuſtody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himſelf; but whether this happened at Rome or Rhegium, he ſays not. In the mean time, the Mamertines, having ſuſtained a prodigious loſs, not only by the ſlaughter of their troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Campanians, but likewiſe by the deſtruction of their faithful ally, who had hitherto greatly contributed to ſupport them againſt all their enemies, and receiving about the ſame time the terrible defeat from Hiero above-mentioned, found themſelves upon the point of ſubmitting to the Syracuſans. Some of the principal citizens, to prevent this, applied to the Romans for ſuccours, who, for certain reaſons, not being diſpoſed to ſupport them at that conjuncture, the Carthaginian faction in Meſſana admitted a Carthaginian detachment into the town, which immediately took poſſeſſion of the citadel. The Roman party, highly incenſed at ſuch a point of conduct, hereupon reſolved to ſend a ſecond time to their friends for ſpeedy relief. This ſtep of the Carthaginians therefore muſt be allowed to have been the immediate cauſe of the firſt Punic war [k].

As

[k] Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Appian. & Dio. Caſſ. in excerptis Valeſ. Vide & Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Rhodom. Polyb. ubi ſup. &c. Zonar. ubi ſup. p. 382, 383. Oroſ. l. ii c. 3. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7.

As for the motives which prompted the Carthaginians to this war, we have juſt hinted at them: a deſire of ſecuring and enlarging their acquiſitions in Sicily; the neceſſity of humbling a proud rival, whoſe intereſts in every reſpect claſhed with theirs; a reſolution to preſerve the dominion of the (A) ſea, and that extenſive trade they then enjoyed; theſe, we ſay, were undoubtedly the principal motives, which prevailed upon them to engage in this famous quarrel. The Romans likewiſe, in all probability, were influenced by reaſons of much the ſame kind: a thirſt after empire, an abhorrence of the Carthaginian genius, a fear that ſo falſe a friend would get a footing in Italy; in fine

Some of the principal motives which induced both the Carthaginians and Romans to undertake the firſt Punic war.

(A) That the Carthaginians were, for ſeveral centuries, extremely powerful by ſea, cannot be diſputed; nay, if John Tzetzes may be credited, they came as far with their fleets as the Thracian Boſphorus, where they carried on a naval war with the Byzantines. However, this we cannot believe, as being entirely unſupported by any other author. That ſcholiaſt's words are, Ὁμοίως δέ τυτοις καὶ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ καὶ Βυζάντιοι, διά πλειαρίυ σκαλμοῦς τινας διενεχθέντες, δεινῶς ἐναυμάχησαν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρω. Tzetzes, in the place referred to, obſerves how common a thing it is for neighbouring ſtates to quarrel, and that even about trifles; and, amongſt others, brings the diſpute betwixt the ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ and the Βυζάντιοι, in the paſſage before us, as an inſtance of it. As therefore the Carthaginians and Byzantines could never have been looked upon as neighbours, the paſſage under conſideration wants undoubtedly to be amended; which will be done to ſatisfaction, if for ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ we read ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ; ſince the people of Chalcedon or Calchedon were moſt certainly neighbours to the Byzantines, and ſometimes embroiled with them. That the people of Chalcedon were neighbours to the Byzantines, is evident from the ſituation aſſigned that city by Stephanus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo; ſince, according to theſe authors, it ſtood over-againſt Byzantium, on the oppoſite ſhore. In order to ſupport our emendation farther, it may be not improper to obſerve, that tho', in printed books, for the moſt part, we find the name of this city to be ΧΑΛΚΗΔΩΝ, yet, in antient coins, which are of much greater authority, it is always exhibited ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ, and the people named ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ, or, in the Doric dialect, ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΟΙ. This is ſo ſtrong a proof of the error of the printed books, and many MSS. in this particular, that Hardouin has corrected the MSS. and printed editions of Pliny, and Seguin thoſe of Strabo, by the help of theſe coins. Spanheim likewiſe looks upon ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ

fine, a notion, that their political views were entirely repugnant to thoſe of the Carthaginians, diſpoſed them to a rupture with that people. That the poſſeſſion alſo of the fertile iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia, which, they imagined, muſt of courſe fall to the victor, had great weight with the Romans, in determining them to enter upon a war with Carthage, is extremely probable, and even acknowledged by ſome of their own writers[l]. The firſt Punic war, according to Polybius, laſted twenty-four years[m], and was carried on chiefly by ſea, both ſides ſtruggling hard for the dominion of that element. As Sicily, the object of this diſpute, was an iſland, ſuch a contention was very natural. We ſhall now proceed to give a brief account of the principal tranſactions of every campaign, in order of time as they happened[n].

The Roman faction in Meſſana call to Rome for ſuccour againſt the Carthaginians.

THE Roman faction in Meſſana, upon the admiſſion of a Carthaginian garriſon into the citadel, diſpatched freſh deputies to Rome, to ſollicit aſſiſtance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the poſſeſſion of Meſſana to the Romans, and, in the moſt moving terms, implored their protection. The conſcript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this requeſt would deſtroy the uniformity of their conduct, and make them loſe the high character they had gained by the ſevere

[l] Flor. & Lucius Ampel. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Dionyſ. Halicar. ant. Rom. l. ii. & Polyb. ubi ſupra. [m] Polyb. ubi ſup. [n] Vide Zonar. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. Eutrop. l. ii. Oroſ. l. iv. Auguſt. de civ. Dei, 3, 18. Auct. vir. illuſtr. 37. & ſeq. Polyb. ubi. ſup. Sil. Ital. l. vi. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Appian. in Libyc. Val. Max. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. plurim.

to be indiſputably the true name; which together with the authority of Memnon in Photius, Juſtellus, &c. fixes the point we are inſiſting on beyond contradiction. (1).

(1) Joh. Tzetz. ſchol. in Heſiod, ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. a. p. 83. ed. Dan. Heinſii, ex officin. Plantin. Raphelengii, 1603. Plin. l. v. Steph, Byzant. de urb. Tacit l. xii. c. 63. Strab. l. vii. p. 221. & l. xii. p. 387. Appian. in bell. Mithrid. p. 367. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 5. Claudian. ver. 176. Pet Seguin. p. 145. Jo. Hard. in Plin. Ez. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. numiſm. ant. & in orb. Rom. exercit. ii. c. 18. p. 459, 469. Memn. apud Phot. in biblioth. cod. ccxxiv. p. 381. edit Hœſchelii. Juſtel. in cod. can. eccleſ. &c. Vide & Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 25.

ſevere puniſhment lately inflicted upon the perfidious Campanian legion, were for ſome time in ſuſpenſe what courſe to take; but afterwards conſidering what vaſt territories the Carthaginians poſſeſſed in Africa and Spain; that they were maſters of a great part of Sicily, Sardinia, and the other iſlands lying on the coaſt of Italy; that they had a deſign on Italy itſelf, which they would moſt certainly put in execution, if they could entirely reduce Meſſana, and ſeize upon the whole iſland of Sicily; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehenſions for their own ſafety, and therefore appeared diſpoſed to ſupport the Mamertines. This diſpoſition was ſoon turned into a reſolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoveriſhed by the late wars, and propoſing to themſelves no ſmall advantage from an invaſion of Sicily, to which likewiſe they were ſtrongly excited by thoſe who expected the command of the armies deſtined for that ſervice, were very eager from the beginning for an attempt to deliver Meſſana. The ſenate therefore decreed, that this enterpriſe ſhould be undertaken; and in conſequence of this decree, which was likewiſe confirmed by an ordinance of the people, Appius Claudius, one of the conſuls, received orders to attempt a paſſage to Sicily, at the head of a powerful army.

THE conſul, being obliged to ſtay ſome time longer in Rome, where his preſence was then neceſſary, on account of ſome affairs of moment, commanded one Caius Claudius, a legionary tribune, and a perſon of great intrepidity and reſolution, to advance with a few (B) veſſels to Rhegium. The conſul ſends C. Claudius, a legionary tribune, to act in his ſtead.

(B) Zonaras calls theſe veſſels triremes; but in this he not only contradicts Polybius, but himſelf. For Polybius aſſerts, that neither quinqueremes nor triremes were in uſe amongſt the Italians before the firſt Punic war; and as for Zonaras himſelf, he aſſures us, that the Romans were entirely ignorant of every thing relating to the building and equipping of fleets before the commencement of their firſt quarrel with Carthage. We are told by ſome writers, that a Carthaginian galley, venturing too near the ſhore, was ſtranded, and taken by the Romans; and that, after the model of this galley, the Romans built many of thoſe veſſels, of which their firſt fleet was compoſed. This muſt have been a trireme; ſince, according to Polybius, their firſt fleet conſiſted of quinqueremes and triremes. And Aurelius Victor gives us to underſtand, that the firſt Carthaginian quinquereme, which fell into

gium. Claudius, upon his arrival there, obſerving the Carthaginian ſquadron to be infinitely ſuperior to his own, and abſolute maſters of the ſtreights, thought it would be little inferior to madneſs to attempt at that time tranſporting any forces to Sicily; and therefore contented himſelf, for the preſent, with watching the enemies motions. However, he ſoon after, in a ſmall boat, boldly croſſed the ſtreights himſelf, and had a conference with the Mamertines; but finding that people awed by the Carthaginian garriſon in the citadel, he returned to Rhegium, without having been able to prevail upon them to accept of the Roman protection. Notwithſtanding which, in a little time, he received advice, that the Mamertines, being deſirous of expelling the Carthaginians, and recovering their former abſolute independency, were in motion; upon which he ventured a ſecond time to Meſſana, and aſſured the Mamertines, that the ſole view of his republic was, to reſtore them to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and preſerve them in that ſituation. Then addreſſing himſelf to the Carthaginian officers there preſent, he, with an air of dignity, told them, that they either ought immediately to abandon the place, or aſſign a reaſon for their continuance in it. The Mamertines, being under ſome reſtraint, by reaſon of the Carthaginian troops, which had taken poſt amongſt them, were ſilent; and the Carthaginians, being, in effect, maſters of the place, would not vouchſafe him an anſwer. Directing himſelf therefore to the latter, he told them, they had reaſon to be ſilent, ſince the iniquity of their conduct would not admit of a vindication. And as for you, Mamertines, added he, your ſilence I take to be a full proof of your paſſion for liberty; ſince, if you were diſpoſed to be ſlaves to ſuch imperious maſters, nothing could hinder you from declaring for them. The Mamertines, animated by the tribune's boldneſs, applauded his ſpeech, and ſhewed their readineſs to receive the Roman ſuccours. Claudius, having thus happily gained his point, departed to the oppoſite ſhore, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions

into the hands of the Romans, was taken by Appius Claudius, in his paſſage from Meſſana to Rhegium (2.)

(2) Zonar. in annal. l. viii. c. 8. p. 381. edit. Car. du Freſne, Pariſ. 1686. Polyb. l. i. Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. 37. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 110.

poſitions to tranſport a body of forces to Meſſana without delay °.

THE Carthaginians, being informed of the reſolution taken at Rome to aſſiſt the Mamertines, ſent a body of forces and a ſtrong ſquadron of galleys, under the command of Hanno, to Sicily. That general, receiving intelligence, that Claudius had ſet ſail from Rhegium with a (C) ſmall Roman fleet, and was ſteering towards Meſſana, in

The Romans land in Sicily, and poſſeſs themſelves of Meſſana.

° Polyb l. i. Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vir. illuſtr. 37, Liv. epit. l. xvi. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 324. & vol. xii. p. 103. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8, 9. Oroſ. ubi ſup. c. 7.

(C) That the Romans were not entirely unacquainted with the art of navigation before the time of the firſt Punic war, is apparent from hence, that they were contiguous to the Etruſcans, a nation (3) very powerful by ſea many centuries before this war, from whom they muſt undoubtedly have received ſome knowledge of ſea affairs; nay, they had conquered Etruria, and conſequently made themſelves maſters of the Etruſcan power both by ſea and land, before the commencement of the 1ſt Punic war. It is true, the Etruſcan power, particularly by ſea, had been declining many years before the Romans reduced Etruria; but conſidering how celebrated the Etruſcans had been (4) for the figure they made by ſea in former ages, we cannot ſuppoſe them entirely void of ſhipping, when conquered by the Romans. Beſides, ſeveral very antient Roman coins, prior to the firſt Punic war, if not as old as the regal government, plainly prove the Romans not to have been abſolute ſtrangers to the art of conſtructing ſhips in earlier ages, ſince different parts of ſhips are viſible on the reverſes of theſe (5) coins. On the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that, till the period above-mentioned, the Romans were much more intent upon rendering themſelves formidable by land, than by ſea; neither is it at all natural to believe, that they ſhould have entertained any thoughts of building and equipping a fleet of any force, before they had formed a deſign of attacking the dominions of ſome rival ſtate, ſeparated from

(3) Diod. Sic. l. v. & l. xi. Palæphat. n. 21. Strab. l. v. Athen. deipnoſoph. l vii. p. 296. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Iſidor. l xviii. c. 4. & l. xix. c. 1. Draco Corcyreus & Menodatus Saimus apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. xv. Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 81, 82, 83, 84. edit Florent. 1723. Vide & Phil. Bonarot explic. & conject. ad mon. op. Dempſt. addit. p. 51. edit. Florent. 1726. (4) Herodot. l. i. Thucyd. l. i. ſub init. & auctor. jam citat. (5) Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xiii. c. 3. Anton. Auguſtin. archiepiſc. Tarracon. antiquit. Roman. & Hiſpanar. in num. vet. dial. i. p. 5. B. Latine edit. ab And. Schotto. Antwerp. 1617. Vide & Voluſium Metianum in lib. de aſſe.

in order to throw a body of troops into that place, immediately went in queſt of him; and coming up with him near

from their own by the watry element; and ſo we find, in fact, it happened. After having premiſed this, we think we may venture to allow a poſſibility of reconciling Polybius with himſelf, in his relation of the manner and period, wherein the Romans firſt endeavoured to fit out a fleet. That the Romans applied themſelves to commerce long before the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the two firſt treaties they concluded with the Carthaginians, and from ſeveral other incidents taken notice of in the Roman hiſtory, as we have elſewhere obſerved; but then it is probable, that, for the moſt part at leaſt, they traded in Italian bottoms, making uſe of the ſhips of their allies, who are expreſly mentioned in thoſe treaties, on ſuch occaſions. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they generally, if not always, as we are inclined to believe they did, applied to their allies for ſhips of war and naval ſuccours, whenever they wanted them. This is evident from Juſtin and Polybius, to omit other authors, from whom it appears, that, in the treaty concluded with Carthage near the time of Pyrrhus's coming to Italy, it was ſtipulated, that the Carthaginians ſhould aſſiſt the Romans with a ſquadron, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by that prince; and that, in the beginning of the firſt Punic war, Claudius could not paſs over to Sicily, till he was ſupplied with ſhips by the Tarentines, Locrians, and Neapolitans. That the Romans never equipped a fleet of any conſequence before this war, or even had any quinqueremes or triremes amongſt them, likewiſe farther appears from their being totally ignorant of the art of rowing and navigating thoſe veſſels, which they found themſelves obliged to learn firſt upon land; nor indeed is it poſſible to conceive, that they ſhould have had any ſquadron of note before they had theſe galleys, ſince the chief ſtrength of fleets, in the age we are now upon at leaſt, conſiſted in ſuch galleys. The Romans therefore might have had a few coaſting veſſels, and rude galleys or biremes, of their own, in the times preceding the firſt Punic war; but they never croſſed the ſeas with any ſquadron of quinqueremes or triremes till now, as appears from Polybius, Livy, and others. Polybius therefore, in his account of the firſt fleet the Romans fitted out, muſt be underſtood as ſpeaking of theſe ſhips only. And indeed that the Romans were totally ignorant of the conſtruction of this ſort of veſſels, and that they were not uſed in any part of Italy before the firſt rupture of the Romans with the Carthaginians, may be certainly inferred from the expreſs words of that excellent hiſtorian (6).

(6) Polyb. l. i. & l. iii. Juſtin. l. xviii. Liv. epit. l. xvi. & Flor. l. ii. c. 2. &c.

near the coaſt of Sicily, attacked him with great fury. He had ſcarce begun the attack, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which daſhed many of the Roman veſſels in pieces againſt the rocks, they not being ſo capable of riding out a ſtorm as the Carthaginian, and did their ſquadron infinite prejudice; inſomuch, that Claudius, finding himſelf engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. He was therefore totally defeated, moſt of his ſhips taken, others deſtroyed, and he himſelf obliged to retire with great difficulty to Rhegium. Hanno, either to pique the Romans in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to Meſſina, reſtored all the veſſels he had taken from Claudius, who, when the Carthaginian deputies arrived, was refitting his fleet. Theſe deputies, upon their arrival, propoſed a treaty of peace to the tribune; which being rejected, they had ſome warm expoſtulations with the Romans, whom they accuſed of a violation of former treaties, declaring, that the Carthaginians would never ſuffer the Romans to be maſters of the ſtreights betwixt Italy and Sicily, nor even to waſh their hands in them. This, for the preſent, cut off all hopes of a pacification, ſo that Claudius reſumed his military preparations with the utmoſt vigour; which having completed, and narrowly obſerved when the wind and tide favoured him, he weighed anchor a ſecond time, and, eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginian ſquadron poſted to intercept them, got ſafe into the port of Meſſana. The Mamertines having ſurrendered the town to him, Hanno thought proper to retire into the citadel; but at the deſire of Claudius, and the heads of the Mamertines, he had a conference with them, when he was perfidiouſly arreſted by one of the legionaries, at the command of the Roman general, and detained a conſiderable time priſoner. This ſtep greatly intimidated the Carthaginian garriſon, and, with ſome ſucceeding perſuaſions and menaces intermixed, induced them to ſurrender the citadel to Claudius. Hanno, being afterwards releaſed, went to Carthage, to juſtify his conduct; which having the misfortune not to do to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate, he was, by their order, immediately crucified. Polybius tells us, that his countrymen ſuſpected him guilty either of cowardice or treachery; but that he really deſerved ſuch an imputation, does not appear from any point of his conduct. On the contrary, the cowardice of the Carthaginian

Carthaginian garriſon, when deprived of their commandant, and the perfidiouſneſs of Claudius, ſeem to have been the true cauſes of the loſs of the citadel. Nothing can be inferred to his prejudice from the cruel and ignominious death he met with, ſince that was a fate common to the moſt famous Carthaginian generals when unſucceſsful [P].

The Carthaginians and Syracuſans lay ſiege to Meſſana.

THE Carthaginians, being determined at all events to diſlodge the Romans from Meſſana, raiſed a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpoſe, appointing another Hanno, the ſon of Hannibal, commander in chief of theſe forces. This general, landing his troops at Lilybæum, invited Hiero, king of Syracuſe, to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and then marched to Selinus, near which city he encamped; from whence, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, he advanced to Agrigentum, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel there. The Agrigentines were eaſily prevailed upon to declare for the Carthaginians; and Hanno, upon his return to the camp at Selinus, found embaſſadors from Hiero, who had orders to concert with him the proper meaſures for driving the Romans out of Sicily. Purſuant to the plan of operations Hanno and Hiero had laid down, thoſe two generals marched with their united forces to Meſſana, and immediately inveſted the town. Before they beſieged the place in form, they ſummoned the Roman garriſon to ſurrender; which they refuſing to do, Hanno put all the Italian ſoldiers in the Carthaginian ſervice to the ſword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the Romans, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The Carthaginians pitched their tents at Senes (D), a town in the neighbourhood

[P] Polyb. ubi. ſup. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Vide & Juſtin. atq; Diodor. paſſ.

(D) The Greek name of this place in Polybius is ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, in Diodorus ΕΓΝΕΙΣ, which Rhodomanus tranſlates cubilia. Whether the word is a proper name, or an appellative emphatically uſed, cannot now be determined, ſince none of the old geographers have taken any notice of a place known by this name in the neighbourhood of Meſſana. However this may be, it is probable, that the words uſed by Polybius and Diodo-

dorus

hood of Meſſana, and poſted their fleet near the promontory (E) Pelorus, to prevent any ſupplies coming by ſea; whilſt Hiero encamped on the hill Chalcidicus, in order to cut off all communication betwixt the beſieged and the neighbouring country. The Romans, being appriſed of theſe motions, diſpatched the conſul Appius Claudius himſelf, at the head of a powerful army to Rhegium; who, upon his arrival there, ſent embaſſadors to Hiero, conjuring him, by the antient friendſhip betwixt the Romans and him, to deſiſt from the ſiege he had undertaken, promiſing at the ſame time, that not the leaſt damage ſhould be offered to his territories. Hiero anſwered, that the Mamertines had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſana in the moſt villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of Gela and Camarina, and treated the inhabitants with unheard-of cruelty; that therefore ſuch a neſt of banditti ought to be entirely extirpated; that the Romans could not, without a manifeſt deviation from their pretended equity, take them under their protection; and that in caſe, contrary to expectation, this ſhould happen, the world would naturally conclude, that they were not

rus (7) were originally the ſame, though afterwards rendered different by the careleſſneſs and inattention of tranſcribers. The great affinity betwixt the letters [ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, ΕΥΝΕΙΣ] of which they conſiſt, ſince H is often written in MSS. |-|, one ſide of which might be eaſily defaced by length of time, and the letter thereby miſtaken for a Υ, and the two initial letters in many MSS. being nearly the ſame, gives good ground for ſuch a ſuppoſition.

(E) It is ſomething ſurpriſing, that ſo learned a man as Rhodomanus, in his Latin verſion of Diodorus, ſhould tranſlate the word ΑΚΡΑ here "arx", which ſignifies a fort or citadel; whereas it ought to have been rendered promontorium, a cape or promontory. It is true, ΑΚΡΑ anſwers to both the ſignifications of arx and promontorium; but that, in this place, it ſhould be confined to the latter, is evident from Polybius, who intimates, that the Carthaginian fleet lay near cape Pelorus or Peloris, and lined the coaſt. That this cape or promontory was called Pelorias, the name Diodorus here uſes, appears from Ovid and Solinus; which proves Diodorus exactly to correſpond with Polybius. It muſt therefore be allowed, that here is a ſecond inſtance produced, to which many others might be added, of Rhodomanus's inaccuracy in his above-mentioned verſion (8).

(7) Polyb. & Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. (8) Idem ibid. Solin. c. 5. Ovid. faſt. ver. 479. See likewiſe this vol. p. 98. not. (M).

influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and juſtice, as they would have mankind believe, but ſwayed by ambition, their aim being not to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, but to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Sicily [q].

And are defeated by the conſul Appius Claudius.

THE conſul, having received this anſwer, reſolved to paſs over into Sicily with all poſſible expedition; but, to conceal his deſign, gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterprize, before he had conſulted the ſenate. This ſtratagem was of ſignal ſervice to him, ſince the Carthaginian ſquadron poſted to oppoſe his paſſage would undoubtedly have been too ſtrong for him, had they been appriſed of his reſolution; but this report reaching their ears, they guarded the ſtreights with leſs care and vigilance. In the mean time, Appius, going on board a (F) galley, built unſkilfully and in great haſte, pretended to coaſt along the ſhore in his way to Rome; but as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached, with ſome tranſports, the neareſt coaſts of Sicily, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy. He had no ſooner landed, but he took a view of both the enemies armies and their fleet; and finding them vaſtly ſuperior to his own, that they puſhed on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and that, in all probability, the town muſt ſoon capitulate, unleſs their camps could be forced, which could not be done without a great effuſion of blood, he reſolved

[q] Polyb. ubi ſup. Diodor. Sic. in. excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchelii. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 275. edit. Par. 1652.

(F) Aurelius Victor intimates, that this Claudius, who was ſurnamed Caudex, and the brother of Appius Claudius Cæcus, or "the blind", croſſed the ſtreights firſt in a ſmall fiſher-boat, with a few tranſports attending him, in order to diſcover the diſpoſition of the Mamertines, and reconnoitre the enemy; which having done, he returned to Rhegium in the ſame veſſel, and had the good luck to take a Carthaginian quinquereme, with a body of foot, in his paſſage, on board of which he ſoon after tranſported a Roman legion to Meſſana, following himſelf with his whole fleet, and the reſt of the land-forces. This general is ſaid likewiſe by the ſame author to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Volſinians; which doubtleſs induced the ſenate to give him the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the Carthaginians and their allies in Sicily (9)

(9) Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. 37.

reſolved to make another effort to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties. In order to this, he diſpatched miniſters a ſecond time both to Hiero and the Carthaginians, with freſh propoſals for a peace, purely, as it ſhould ſeem, to amuſe them, till he had received a reinforcement from Rome, and was able to attack them with a better proſpect of ſucceſs; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, and finding, notwitſtanding the inequality of numbers, that he muſt either conquer or die, he firſt attacked the Syracuſans, and that with ſuch intrepidity, that tho' for ſome time they defended themſelves with great bravery, putting the Roman cavalry into diſorder, he defeated them, and entered Meſſana in a triumphant manner, loaden with their ſpoils. Following his blow, he fell immediately upon the Carthaginians, whoſe camp was at ſome diſtance from that of the Syracuſans, as has been before obſerved; who, being ſurpriſed by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, were put to the rout, and, for the moſt part, either cut to pieces, or diſperſed. The Romans, however, in all probability, would not have bought theſe advantages at ſo cheap a rate, had Hanno and Hiero oppoſed them with their united forces, as in good policy they ought to have done; but Hiero, finding that the Romans landed their troops without any oppoſition from the Carthaginian fleet, immediately concluded, that Hanno kept a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy, and therefore was afraid of repoſing too great a confidence in him; in conſequence of which diſtruſt, Hiero decamped haſtily in the night, after the late advantage Claudius had obtained over him, though he was not in the leaſt obliged to it, ſince the Romans could not force his camp. The enemy had hereby thrown into their hands an opportunity of attacking the Carthaginians with their whole ſtrength, and gaining a moſt ſignal victory over them. This is the account given us by Polybius; but Zonaras relates that event differently. According to him, the Carthaginian camp was ſo ſecured by the ſea and a moraſs, that it was acceſſible only by one avenue, which, being a narrow paſſage, and fortified by a ſtrong wall, the Romans found it impoſſible to enter. After a furious aſſault, they were beaten off by a ſhower of darts, and forced to retire with great loſs. The Carthaginians, thinking themſelves now ſure of victory, purſued the legionaries to the walls of the town; but the latter, having drawn the enemy out of their impregna-

ble camp, faced about with great bravery, and in their turn repulſed them with ſuch ſlaughter, that they never durſt appear afterwards, as long as Claudius continued in Meſſana. Claudius afterwards, finding no enemy to make head againſt him in the field, ravaged the enemy's territories in a dreadful manner, making excurſions to the very gates of Syracuſe; nay, if Zonaras may be credited, he laid ſiege to that place, though the Syracuſans defended themſelves with ſuch valour, that he had no proſpect of reducing it. They cut off abundance of his men in the ſallies they made, and in one of them had taken him priſoner, had he not luckily juſt before propoſed ſome terms of peace to Hiero, which prevented the garriſon from puſhing matters to the laſt extremity. As Hiero was inwardly a well-wiſher to the Romans, he did not ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed at the conſul's overtures; but the campaign being almoſt at an end, and Claudius leaving the iſland ſoon after, the negotiation was ſuſpended till the following year. Thus the Carthaginians not only loſt Meſſana, but almoſt all poſſibility of recovering it. Thoſe of them that eſcaped the late carnage took ſhelter in the neighbouring fortified towns, expecting to be put in a condition of acting offenſively the following ſpring. As for Claudius, having left a ſtrong garriſon in Meſſana, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he paſſed over to Rhegium, and from thence purſued his journey to Rome [r].

The Romans detach Hiero from the Carthaginian intereſt, and enter into a negotiat on with him.

AFTER the conſul's departure, Hiero and the Carthaginians, drawing together a body of regular troops, reduced many towns that had fallen to the enemy. But the ſucceeding conſuls, Manius Octacilius Craſſus and Manius Valerius Flaccus, tranſporting to Sicily two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries and ſix hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered moſt of thoſe places. They firſt laid ſiege to Adranum, and took it by ſtorm. Afterwards they advanced to Centuripe, and encamped before it. While they were making preparations for an attack, there arrived embaſſadors in the camp from the Alæſinians (G), who deſired

[r] Polyb. & Diodor. ubi ſup. Auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. ex. 37, & ſeq. Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 4. ex. 11. Vide etiam Eutrop. l. ii. Oroſ. ubi ſup. & Sil. Ital. l. vi.

(G) The Greek word, in all the printed and manuſcript copies of Polybius, is ΑΑΙΣΙΝΟΙ, in which, through the neglect of

red to be taken under the protection of the Romans; and about ſixty-ſeven other towns followed their example. The conſuls, animated by ſuch a rapid progreſs, moved with all their forces towards Syracuſe, the capital of the iſland, with an intention to form the ſiege of that city. Their approach ſcattered terror thoughout the iſland, and ſo intimidated Hiero, who now plainly diſcovered the great ſuperiority of the Romans in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts of renewing the negotiation, which Claudius's ſudden departure out of Sicily had broken off towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. As the treaty concluded betwixt the Romans and Hiero did not a little contribute to the declenſion of the Carthaginian power, we ſhall beg leave here to touch upon a few particulars relating to that remarkable event, as well as to Hiero himſelf, which have been omitted in all former parts of this work [s].

Hiero comes to an accommodation with the Romans.

AFTER Pyrrhus's precipitate retreat, the Carthaginians became on a ſudden ſo powerful in Sicily, that the Greek cities there thought themſelves in danger of being ſpeedily over-run by that nation; nay Polyænus intimates, that there was an actual war betwixt theſe two powers, and that the Carthaginian admiral, by a ſtratagem, gained a conſiderable advantage over Hiero. This induced Hiero to court the friendſhip of the Romans, looking upon them as the only power that could give a check to the towering projects of the Carthaginians, and defeat their ambitious deſigns. He therefore ſent a ſupply of troops and proviſions to the Roman forces then employed in the ſiege of Rhegium, which enabled them to reduce that place, and conſequently rendered them more capable of ſupporting him, whenever he ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. This was the baſis of that good underſtanding, which ſubſiſted for ſo long a time between the two powers, though it at firſt met with a ſhort interruption. The Carthaginians, ever jealous of the neighbouring ſtates, and now particularly ſo of the Ro-

[s] Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 9. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. l. xvi. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt Rhodoman. l. xxiii. Oroſ. ubi ſup.

or ignorance of tranſcribers, [A] has been omitted. This is ſo apparent, that we think it ſufficient juſt to have taken notice of it.

mans, took umbrage at this harmony, as plainly discovering the drift of it. In order therefore to traverse it, they prevented Hiero from possessing himself of Messana, made it a pretext for a quarrel with the Romans, and pretended to take the Mamertines under their protection. Hiero, finding the Romans not willing to act in favour of the Mamertines, upon the first application of that people to them, and that the Carthaginians, at the same time they entered the citadel of Messana, expressed a desire of being upon good terms with him, thought it agreeable to his interest to enter into an alliance with the latter; which he accordingly did, and, in conjunction with them, declared war against the Romans. This brought on the action above-mentioned between Hiero and Claudius, wherein the former being defeated, fled to Syracuse, looking upon himself as betrayed by the Carthaginians, because their fleet had not hindered Claudius from landing his troops in Sicily. The Carthaginians could never afterwards make a friend of that prince; so great an aversion did he, from this period, conceive to them. Claudius, pursuing Hiero to his capital city, besieged him therein; which still made him more desirous of abandoning the Carthaginians, and which he undoubtedly then had done, since Claudius proposed an accommodation to him, had not the plague broke out in the Roman army, which, together with a famine and the vigorous defence of the besieged, obliged the consul to draw off, and, as it should seem, precipitately to leave the island. However, the next year matters took another turn: the Romans, in the beginning of the campaign, conquered a good part of Sicily almost without opposition, advanced, at the head of their legions, to the gates of Syracuse, and invested the town. At the same time, according to Philinus (H), they besieged Echetla, a fortress in the dependency of Syracuse. The Syracusan nobility, having now a prospect of nothing but a long train of calamities, entreated their sovereign to make over-

(H) This Philinus we have already had occasion to mention as a very partial historian; but Polybius likewise represents him as one absolutely inconsistent with himself, and guilty of the greatest absurdities. A certain author, whom we have before taken notice of, thinks, from the corrupted proper name Philinus, that he was the same person Cornelius Nepos tells us wrote the history of Hannibal. From hence, and some MSS. of Nepos, it seems to follow, that he was called by Cicero, Silenus.

But

overtures for a peace to the Roman generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a deſire falling in with Hiero's natural ſentiments, he readily complied with it; ſo that diſpatching embaſſadors immediately to the Roman camp, a treaty of friendſhip and alliance was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Many things concurred to diſpoſe the Romans to facilitate ſo ſalutary a work; but it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that, by the concluſion of this treaty, they got, according to Eutropius, two hundred talents of ſilver, or, as Diodorus will have it, an hundred and forty thouſand drachmas, a plentiful ſupply of proviſions through the future courſe of this war, and found themſelves enabled to reduce their army in Sicily to two legions. For an account of the particular articles of this treaty, we muſt refer our readers to the hiſtory of Syracuſe [t] (I).

THE intereſt both of Hiero and the Romans rendered an accommodation neceſſary: the Romans could not have carried on the war with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs for want of proviſions, ſince the Carthaginians, being maſters at ſea, could eaſily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off

Which the Carthaginians endeavour to obſtruct, but in vain.

[t] Zonar. ubi ſup. p. 379, 380. Eutrop. hiſt. Rom. l. ii. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 4. Liv. Fior. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Philinus apud Polyb. l. i. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 332.

But both theſe notions are overthrown by Diodorus Siculus, who, in agreement with Polybius, calls him Philinus; and tells us, that he was an Agrigentine, and wrote the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war, without entering at all into his character. Had this been duly attended to, it might have prevented ſome miſtakes in Hendreich, Voſſius, and others (10).

(I) Eutropius intimates, that Hiero concluded a treaty of peace with the Romans in the third year of this war. But the other authors we have cited, or at leaſt the majority and beſt of them, have placed that treaty in the ſecond campaign, and therefore we have choſen to follow them (11).

(10) Univ. hiſt. vol. xvi. chap. 37. ſect 3. in not. (N). ſub. fin. Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hæſch. Cic. de. divin. l. i. Voſſ. de. hiſt. Græc Hendr. in. catal. auctor. Vide & Voſſium. atq; not. var. ad Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p. 604. edit Lugd. Bat. 1734. (11) Eutrop. l. ii. (12) Virg. Æn. v. ver. 718. & Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4. de ſign. c. 33. Ennius apud Lactant. l. i. c. 22. Dio. l. liv. Vide & Velſer. antiquit. l. v.

off all ſupplies, that might have come from the coaſts of Italy, as they actually did the laſt year, which reduced the Romans to the extremities hinted at above. And, on the other hand, Hiero found the Carthaginians not able to protect his dominions, nor himſelf in a capacity to make head againſt the conſuls. If Livy, Zonaras, Eutropius, and Syncellus, may be credited, he received ſeveral overthrows from the Romans ſince the breaking out of this war, which in all probability, muſt have entirely exhauſted him. The peace concluded at firſt was not perpetual, but only for a term of fourteen years. The Carthaginians endeavoured by all poſſible means to obſtruct the negotiation, but without any effect. With this view it was, that Hannibal the Carthaginian general, advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to Xiphonia, giving Hiero to underſtand, that he was in a condition to ſupport him; but hearing that every thing was ſettled, he thought proper to retire [u].

The Romans reduce ſeveral towns in Sicily.

THE Carthaginians, being thus deſerted by their ally, found themſelves obliged to bear the whole burden of the war, which yet they believed themſelves capable of doing. They were ſo far from being diſpirited on this occaſion, that they reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, to drive the Romans out of Sicily, and even to oblige king Hiero to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous garriſons in all their frontiers, perfected the works of their fortified towns, and ſent officers, with large ſums of money, to make levies in Liguria, Gaul, and Iberia. The Romans in the mean time, marching into the Carthaginian territories, laid ſiege to Adranon and Macella, which they carried on with great vigour, but were repulſed in all their aſſaults, and at laſt forced to riſe from before them. However, they met with better ſucceſs at Segeſta (K), which, having been founded by Æneas, or at leaſt

[u] Liv. Eutrop. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Geor. Syncel. in chronogr. p. 275. Polyb. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(K) According to Servius, this city received its name from one Aceſtes, a Trojan, whom Æneas left in poſſeſſion of it at his departure from Sicily. Ennius calls this Aceſtes Æneas's hoſt, and conſequently intimates him to have been one of the Aborigines of Sicily. The inhabitants of it, from their firſt acquaintance with the Romans, looked upon them as their kindred and relations, and always moſt heartily eſpouſed their intereſt. Before that time,

leaſt one of his Trojan companions, and conſequently related to the Romans, opened its gates to the conſul, after having maſſacred the Carthaginian garriſon. The people of Aliena did the like. Hilara, Tyrata, and Aſcela, were carried ſword in hand. As for the Tyndarites, they propoſed ſubmitting upon the firſt appearance of the Roman army, had they not been prevented by the Carthaginians, who upon the firſt intelligence of their deſign, carried off the principal citizens as hoſtages, and conveyed all the proviſions and military ſtores in the place to Lilybæum. After this, the conſuls retired to Rhegium, where they took up their winter-quarters [w].

THE next campaign, the Carthaginians appointed Hanno commander in chief of all their forces, who made Agrigentum, as being the moſt commodious for that purpoſe by its ſituation, a place of arms, and fixed there his principal magazine. The conſuls L. Poſthumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, being appriſed of this, advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and, after having blocked it up for ſome months, beſieged it in form. As this ſiege happened in the middle of harveſt, the Carthaginian garriſon, obſerving great numbers of the enemy diſperſed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous ſally, cut many of them to pieces, and had almoſt forced their intrenchments; but were

They defeat the Carthaginians, and take Agrigentum.

[w] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oroſ. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide & Pomp. Feſt. in voc. Segeſta.

time, it is probable, they had an averſion to the Greeks, as being of Trojan extraction; and therefore might very naturally court the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians on all occaſions, as we find ſometimes they did. Afterwards, when they became ſubject to Carthage, they undoubtedly were very faithful to that ſtate; but, at the commencement of this war, preferred the Romans to that nation, for the reaſon above aſſigned. That cities frequently, in antient times, were denominated after great men, is a truth obvious to all perſons moderately verſed in the knowledge of antiquity (12).

(12) Virg. Æn. v. ver. 718. & Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4. de ſign. c. 33. Ennius apud Lactant. l. i. c. 22. Dio, l. liv. Vide & Velſer. antiquit. l. v.

were at last beat back into the town. In the mean time, Hannibal, the son of Gisco, who commanded in the place, finding the Romans to push on the siege with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated expresses to Carthage, with an account of his distress. Hereupon Hanno received orders to attempt raising the siege; in order to which, he first marched to Heraclea, within twenty miles of Agrigentum, and from thence to Erbessa, where posting himself, he so streightened the Roman army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions, as having no prospect of any supply. Though that army at first, according to Diodorus, consisted of an hundred thousand men, most of whom were Sicilians, not a fourth part of them now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy situation. This induced the consuls now to think of attacking Hanno, though they had before declined an engagement, when that general had made a motion, as though he intended to offer them battle, and even defeated their cavalry. Having then plenty of provisions, and being strongly intrenched, they imagined themselves able to starve the garrison to a surrender; and therefore, as their army, through the great fatigues they had undergone during the siege, was not near so numerous as the Carthaginian, they judged it prudent to avoid a battle; but being now reduced to great distress, they braved the enemy; who, suspecting some ambuscade, did not shew the same disposition to fight The Romans, however, reaped considerable advantage from this conduct; for Hiero, finding the Carthaginians superior to his new allies, had delayed supporting them in the manner he was obliged to by the last treaty; whereas at this time, seeing the tables turned, he supplied them in great abundance with all kinds of provisions. Many Sicilian cities likewise, animated by the same event, sent deputations to the Romans, and joined them with a good body of forces. Hanno, observing this, and believing Hannibal, sallying out of the town in the heat of the action, would fall upon the rear of the enemy, advanced some time after into a plain near the Roman camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time, the Roman generals, by way of precaution, had posted proper detachments to repulse any sally the besieged might make, and, upon Hanno's approach, sent privately another body to attack the Carthaginian rear.

As

As ſoon as this diſpoſition was made, the Roman army, moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and towards evening a bloody engagement enſued. But the Romans behaved with ſuch bravery, that, notwithſtanding the obſtinate reſiſtance they met with, they carried the day, and entirely routed the Carthaginians, putting to the ſword vaſt numbers of their men, and killing ſome of their elephants. Hannibal, during the engagement, ſallied out with the beſt part of the garriſon; but being repulſed by the troops the conſuls had poſted at all the avenues to the city, he was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Immediately afterwards making his eſcape, he abandoned the place to the Romans; and Hanno fled, with the broken remains of his army, to Heraclea. The ſiege of Agrigentum continued ſeven months, the Romans loſing thirty thouſand foot and five hundred and forty horſe before the town[x].

Proceedings of the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily the beginning of this campaign.

THE Carthaginians, greatly chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of their arms the preceding campaign, attributed it as uſual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immenſe ſum of money from Hanno, by way of fine, but likewiſe deprived him of his commiſſion, appointing Hamilcar to command the forces in his room. Hannibal, an officer of good repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from Hamilcar to ravage the coaſts of Italy, that he might draw the conſuls that way, and, by ſuch a diverſion, enable the land-forces to attack more ſucceſsfully the Roman conqueſts in Sicily. But the Romans had taken ſuch care to guard their coaſts, by poſting detachments in proper places to prevent the enemy from making a deſcent, that this deſign was rendered abortive, and the conſul C. Duilius landed two legions in Sicily without oppoſition. Upon his arrival there, he advanced to Myttiſtratum (L), and laid ſiege to that fortreſs; but, notwithſtanding the large train of battering-engines he had with him, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege,

[x] Zonar. ubi ſupra.

(L) This Town Diodorus calls Myſtratus, Polybius Myttiſtratum, Zonaras Mutiſtratus, Stephanus Byzantinus Ameſtratus, and Silius Italicus Amaitra. Pliny mentions the Mutuſtratini, which were undoubtedly the inhabitants of it. Both from the name and the

ſiege, and retire with great loſs. In the mean time, Hamilcar, ſuſpecting a body of Gallic mercenaries in his army of a deſign to deſert to the enemy, becauſe they had lately mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to ſtorm a town defended by a Roman garriſon, of which, by means of his ſpies, he gave the Romans private intelligence, that they might receive them in a proper manner. The Romans, thus informed of their approach, laid an ambuſcade for the Gauls; into which falling, and not being ſupported by Hamilcar, they were all cut off to a man. Frontinus ſeems to relate this event differently, intimating, that the Gauls, amounting to four thouſand men, were ſent to pillage the country, and that they ſold their lives at a dear rate. The conſul, being ignorant of Hamilcar's view in this point of conduct, looked upon the action as a ſignal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for a freſh attack upon the Carthaginian territories. But the Romans receiving now a blow by ſea, he was recalled to command the fleet, and conſequently, for ſome time, obliged to ſuſpend the operations by land [y].

Boodes takes a Roman ſquadron of galleys; and the Romans in their turn, beat Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral.

THE Romans, obſerving that the coaſts of Italy lay expoſed to the depredations of the Carthaginian fleets, which made frequent deſcents upon them, whilſt Africa enjoyed all the ſweets of peace, were reſolved to attack the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part, and, in order to this, to equip a fleet capable of coping with any the Carthaginians could fit out againſt them. This was a bold undertaking in a nation, who were almoſt totally ignorant of ſea-affairs, and ſuch a ſtrange phænomenon, that it induced Polybius, according to his own relation, to write the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war. We ſhall therefore make it our buſineſs here to touch upon all the moſt material circumſtances relative to ſuch an extraordinary attempt, that have hitherto eſcaped us.

[y] Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi ſupra. Zonar l. viii. c. 10. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. in epit. 17. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 16. ex. 3.

the ſituation aſſigned it by ſome of the above-mentioned authors, the Sicilian town at preſent called Miſtretta ſeems to anſwer to it (13).

(13) Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyb. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Plin. l. iii. c. 8. Sil. Ital. l. xiv. ver. 267.

us. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, being deſirous of deſtroying the Roman navy in its infancy, by his emiſſaries, found means to decoy Cneius, or, as Polybius calls him, Caius, Cornelius Scipio, with ſeventeen new-built galleys, to the port of Lipara. Upon his arrival there, the Carthaginians, who had ſent before a ſquadron into that harbour under the command of Boodes, begged for peace in the moſt ſuppliant manner, pretending to ſubmit to whatever conditions the Romans ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. At the ſame time they acquainted him, that the Carthaginian commodore was ſo extremely indiſpoſed, that he could not poſſibly come on board his galley, or that otherwiſe he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in perſon; and therefore entreated him to honour Boodes with his company, in order to ſettle a firm and laſting peace between the two nations. The credulous Roman, giving ear to this propoſal, was detained priſoner by the perfidious Carthaginian, and his whole ſquadron taken after a faint reſiſtance. The Roman ſquadron was ſent from the reſt of the ſhips to Meſſana, to reconnoitre the coaſts, and give direction there for the reception and ſecurity of the grand fleet; of which Hannibal, who was then at Panormus, receiving intelligence, immediately detached twenty galleys, under the command of Boodes, who made themſelves maſters of the Roman veſſels in the manner above-mentioned. Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginian commodore at firſt made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the Romans; but finding them in a poſture to give him a warm reception, he judged it more convenient to have recourſe to the artifice already related. The ſame author adds, that the legionary tribunes on board the Roman fleet, attending the conſul, were likewiſe taken, and all of them ſent priſoners to Carthage; and that, after this, the ſeventeen galleys ſurrendered, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Soon after Hannibal himſelf committed great ravages on the coaſts of Italy, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty galleys, to take a view of the Roman naval forces there; but was attacked in his turn, loſt the beſt part of his ſhips, and with great difficulty made his eſcape. This ſomething raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the Romans, who were not a little dejected at the loſs they had before ſuſtained [z].

NOTWITH-

[z] Diod. Sic. Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 5. Vide. & Ennium in annal. 6, 7. cum not. Hieron. Column. accurat. Heſſel. Amſt. 1707.

Duilius the consul gains another most signal victory over him.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defeat, the Carthaginians, being one of the most powerful nations of the world by sea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the Roman fleet, which was but in its infancy. The Romans, on the other hand, dreaded the naval force of the Carthaginians, though they had gained an advantage over Hannibal, especially as they had lost one of their consuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order therefore to make head against the enemy upon the watery element, the senate ordered the remaining consul, C. Duilius, immediately to leave Sicily, and take upon him the command of the squadron then in the streights of Rhegium. This he did, and engaging the Carthaginians, by the help of the corvus, a machine which we have already described at large from Polybius, entirely defeated them [a]. Some authors intimate, that the manus ferreæ, or harpagones, a grappling instrument, were a machine different from the corvi [b] (M), and of great service to the Romans in this action. Others maintain, that they were the same, or at least, that the former appertained to the latter [c]. For our part, we think it evident from Curtius, Pliny, and others, that the manus ferreæ (N) were more antient than the corvi, and of Tyrian

[a] Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi sup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illust. 38. Eutrop. l. ii. [b] Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Curt. l. iv. pass. Vide & Freinshem. in Flor. l. ii. c. 2. atq; Liv. l. xxx. c. 10.

[c] Flor. & auct. vit. vir. illust. ubi. sup. S. Jul. Frontin. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 24.

(M) To what has been already said of the corvus, we shall only add, that the chevalier Folard has obliged the world with a learned and curious dissertation upon it. Domincius Machanæus, in his folio upon Cornelius Nepos, likewise has given us a minute description of it, which is extracted chiefly from Polybius. This we mention purely for the sake of our curious and inquisitive readers.

(N) Zonaras intimates, that the manus ferreæ, or harpagones, were fixed to the ends of long poles, and that with them the Roman grappled and brought-to the enemies ships. Livy gives us much the same account of them, and tells us, that the Carthaginians likewise made use of them in their naval engagements with the Romans; which seems a sufficient proof, that they were not the corvi, since this was invented by Duilius. Scheffer thinks that these manus ferreæ, or harpagones, were iron hooks fixed in the

Tyrian extraction, and conſequently known to the [d] Carthaginians themſelves; though at the ſame time we believe they were much improved by the corvi. As the Roman veſſels were vaſtly inferior to the Carthaginian in lightneſs and activity, the corvus was invented to remedy that defect. Hannibal, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his ſeptireme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and got off in a ſmall boat. The reſt of the Carthaginian galleys ſoon after came up with the Romans, but met with the ſame fate the others had done before. The loſs of the Carthaginians in this double engagement is variouſly related by the Roman hiſtorians; but the moſt authentic account of it is the inſcription on the baſis of the columna roſtrata (O) of Duilius, ſtill preſerved at Rome, and which may be ſeen in a former part of this work. As for Hannibal, having before fled from Agrigentum, he would moſt certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at Carthage, had he not, by an inſtance of Punic ſubtilty, avoided the impending danger.

However,

[d] Liv. ubi ſup. vide & Scheffer. in Mil. nav. l. xi. c. 7.

the heads of poles, which, by the aſſiſtance of a chain faſtened to the maſt, were thrown down with great force upon the enemies veſſels; which they penetrated in ſuch a manner, that nothing could diſengage them; ſo that they hoiſted them in the air, and then daſhed them upon the water with ſo great violence, that they were frequently ſunk. The Greeks called this machine ἁρπάγη, according to Heſychius (14).

(O) The naves roſtratæ, from whence Duilius's pillar was called columna roſtrata, were veſſels ſo denominated from the Latin word roſtra, ſignifying the beaks of ſhips. Theſe beaks, in figure reſembling thoſe of birds, conſiſted of braſs, and ſerved not only to cut the water in ſailing, but likewiſe to damage the enemies ſhips in an engagement. This is not only apparent from the figure of theſe veſſels in the columna roſtrata of Duilius, and on antient coins, but likewiſe from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius. The Romans and Carthaginians both made uſe of ſuch veſſels. It is likely they were of eaſtern extraction. The Carthaginians, as Silius ſeems to intimate, had them from their anceſtors the Tyrians and they from the Sidonians (15).

(14) Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. Scheffer. ubi ſup. Heſych. in voc. ἁρπάγη. (15) Iſidor. l. xix. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Polyb. l. i. c. 50. Sil. Italic. l. xiv.

However, the ſenate thought proper to remove him from the command of the ſea-forces. This we learn from Oroſius and Zonaras; but, according to Polybius, he was continued in that poſt, and the ſame campaign crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another diſgrace from the Romans [e].

Hamilcar ſurprizes the Syracuſans, and reduces ſeveral towns in Sicily.

FORTUNE, however, did not entirely abandon the Carthaginians. Their arms in Sicily were attended with a good run of ſucceſs after the departure of Duilius; for though the Romans, in conſequence of their late victory, obliged the Carthaginians to raiſe the ſiege of Segeſta, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried the town of Macella by aſſault; yet Hamilcar, whoſe head-quarters were then at Panormus, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time, a diſpute aroſe in the Roman camp between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which came to ſuch a height, that a ſeparation ſeemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themſelves between Paropus and Thermæ (P). A general, much leſs vigilant than Hamilcar, would naturally have taken advantage of ſuch a diſſenſion; the Carthaginians therefore, ſurpriſing them near the ſpot of ground they had choſen to encamp upon, before

[e] Aurel. Vict. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Polyb. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 115. not. (F). Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hœſchel.

(P) Salmaſius, depending upon the authority of Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, places the city here mentioned by Diodorus in the ſouthern, or rather ſouth-weſtern, part of the iſland, in the neighbourhood of Selinus. Beſides this, there was another of the ſame name, founded by the Carthaginians upon the ruins of Himera, which we have already given a deſcription of. That the Termini of the modern Sicilians ſtands upon the ſame ſpot of ground, which the antient Thermæ Himerenſes, or, as Diodorus calls it, Therma, occupied, is evident from Gruter and Marius Aretius. Cicero likewiſe, and Pindar's ſcholiaſt, both take notice of this laſt city; which we could not entirely paſs over in ſilence, as being of Carthaginian extraction (16).

(16) Strab. l. vi. p. 189. P. Mel. l. ii. c. 7. Plin. l. iii. c. 8. Salmaſ. in Solin. c. 5. p. 80. Cic. in Ver. ii. c. 35. Schol. in Pind. Olymp. xvii. ſub fin. Diod. Sic l. xiii. Marius Aretius in chorograph. Sicil. & inſcript. apud Gruter. p. 433. n. 6. Apollodor. apud Strab. ubi ſup. p. 188. Thucyd. l. vi. ſub init.

before they could intrench themſelves, put four thouſand, according to Polybius, or, as Diodorus will have it, ſix thouſand, of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. After this blow, Hamilcar made himſelf maſter of Camarina and Enna, and fortified Drepanum, ſurrounding it with a wall. Here he likewiſe depoſited the moſt valuable part of his baggage and other effects, Then advancing to Eryx, he almoſt razed that antient city, leaving only a ſmall part of it ſtanding to cover the famous temple of Venus Erycina, ſuppoſed to have been built by Æneas; and carried the inhabitants to Drepanum. This he did to prevent the Romans from taking poſt in that fortreſs, in caſe the citizens ſhould be diſpoſed to invite them thither. In ſhort, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and had made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, had not Florus, the Roman general, after Duilius was gone to Rome, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this ſucceſs was not laſting, as we ſhall ſee immediately [f].

HANNIBAL, according to Polybius, after the defeat off of Mylæ, returned to Carthage; where being reinforced by a good number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to ſea again, ſteering his courſe for the coaſt of Sardinia. He had not been long in one of the harbours of that iſland, probably Calaris, now Cagliari, but he was ſurprized by the Romans, who carried off many of his ſhips, and took great numbers of his men priſoners. This ſo incenſed the reſt, that they ſeized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate ſucceſſor, does not appear. The Romans, however, reaped no other advantage from this action, than ſhewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and a little diminiſhing the naval power of their rival. Had Hannibal eſcaped death for the preſent, it is probable he would have met with it at Carthage; ſince it was looked upon there as the higheſt crime in a general to be unſucceſsful. Nothing further material happened either this campaign, or the following, if we will give credit to Polybius [g].

Hannibal ſurpriſed by the Romans, and crucified by his own men.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the following campaign, Hamilcar put his troops into winter-quarters at Panormus, poſting proper detachments at the principal avenues to the city,

The progreſs of the Romans in Sicily.

[f] Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi ſup. [g] Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſupra.

ty, to prevent a ſurprize. In the mean time, C. Aquilius Florus, the Roman general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, and offered the enemy battle: but finding that they would not ſtir out of the town, and that he was not ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of the place, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he moved with his army to Hippana, and took it by aſſault. From thence he marched to Mytiſtratum, a fortreſs which the Romans had twice ineffectually beſieged, and ſat down before it. Florus here made his approaches ſo ſlowly, either through the bad diſpoſition of the ground, or the bravery of the Carthaginian garriſon, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However, early the next ſpring, his ſucceſſor, A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Zonaras calls him, A. Attilius Latinus, joining the army before Myttiſtratum with a ſtrong body of forces, puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the Carthaginian garriſon abandoned the town in the night, and the wives and children of the citizens, by their outcries and lamentations, obliged them to open the gates to the Romans. The ſoldiers, enraged at the obſtinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the Carthaginians, at firſt put all they met, without diſtinction to the ſword; but the conſul cauſing a proclamation to be made, that every Roman ſoldier ſhould poſſeſs all the perſons and effects of thoſe he took priſoners, the ſlaughter ceaſed. However, the city itſelf was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves. The conſul next attacked Camarina, and, in his march thither, was near being cut off with his whole army, by a ſtratagem of Hamilcar, as has been already related; but found it ſo ſtrong, and defended by ſo numerous a garriſon, that he could not make himſelf maſter of it, till he received a large train of battering-engines and other ſupplies from king Hiero. After theſe arrived, the Romans ſoon carried the town, and treated the inhabitants in the ſame manner they had done thoſe of Myttiſtratum. The conſul afterwards ſeized upon Enna by treachery, and maſſacred the Carthaginian garriſon. Sittana he took by ſtorm; and Camicus, a caſtle belonging to the Agrigentines, was betrayed to him. Other places, of leſs importance, ſurrendered of courſe; ſo that the Carthaginians began to loſe ground conſiderably, notwithſtanding their late ſucceſſes. The Romans, looking upon Camicus as a poſt

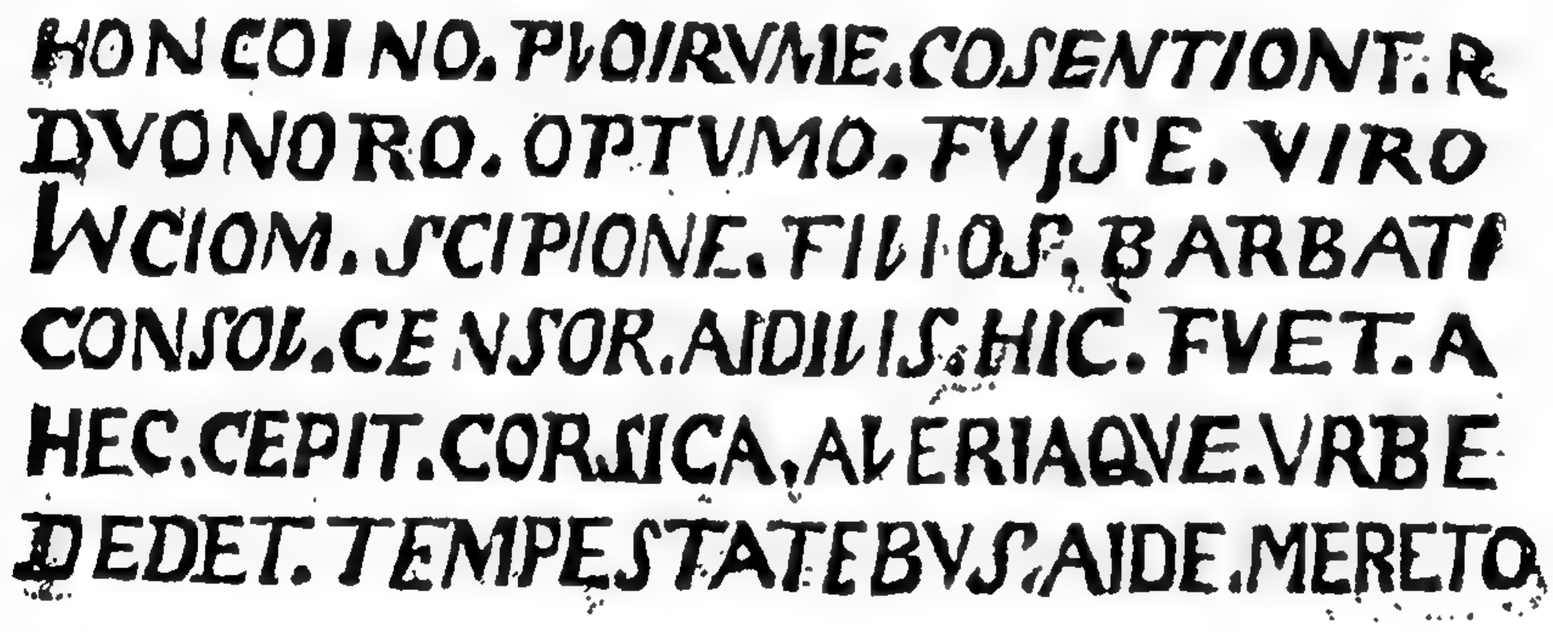
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of conſequence, left a conſiderable party of men to defend it; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of Erbeſſus, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, made preparations to ſit down before Lipara with all their forces [h].

In the mean time L. Cornelius Scipio, Florus's colAs likewiſe in Sardinia and Corſica.
legue, ſailed, with the ſquadron under his command, towards Sardinia and Corſica, two iſlands in the Tyrrhenian ſea, ſubject to Carthage, and ſo near one another, that, at a great diſtance, they ſeemed to be but one iſland. The conſul firſt made a deſcent in Corſica, and took Aleria, or, as Zonaras calls it, Valeria, by ſtorm; upon (Q) which the

[h] Polyb. ubi ſup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. p. 387. Diod. Sic l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Aurel. Vict. ſive. auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. in Attil. Collatin. 38. Liv. epit. l. xvii. Eutrop. l. ii. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 7.

(Q) About the year 1615, a ſtone was dug up near the Porta Capena in Rome, with the following inſcription upon it, commemorating the event here mentioned. This ſtone is five palms four inches long, and two palms ten inches broad.


HONCOINO.PLOIRVME.COSENTIONT.R
DVONORO.OPTVMO.FVISSE.VIRO
LVCIOM.SCIPIONE.FILIOS.BARBATI
CONSOL.CENSOR.AIDILIS.HIC.FVET.A
HEC.CEPIT.CORSICA.ALERIAQVE.VRBE
DEDET.TEMPESTATEBVS.AIDE.MERETO

Hunc plurimi conſentiunt Romæ
Bonorum optimum fuiſſe virum
LUCIUM SCIPIONEM. Filius Barbati,
Conſul, cenſor, ædilis hic fuit,
Hic cepit Corſicam, Aleriamque urbem;
Dedit Tempeſtatibus ædem merito.

"Moſt people agree, that of all the good men in Rome this
"Lucius Scipio was the beſt. He was the ſon of Scipio ſur-
"named Barbatus, as likewiſe conſul, cenſor, and ædile. He
"took the city of Aleria, and conquered Corſica; and built a
"temple for the Tempeſts, as he had great reaſon to do.

From this moſt remarkable inſcription, which, in point of antiquity, is ſcarce inferior to that on the baſe of the columna roſtrata of Duilius, ſince the action here referred to happened in the

the other towns ſubmitted, that being the only place of ſtrength in the whole iſland. As the Carthaginians had a ſtrong

the year of Rome 494, the year after Duilius got his naval victory, may be drawn the following obſervations:

1. That the L. Scipio mentioned here was not the L. Scipio ſaid by Livy to have been made conſul in Etruria, but another, the ſon of Barbatus, who ſubdued Corſica, A. U. C. 494.

2. That he was the ſame perſon with him, who, according to the Capitoline Tables, triumphed over the Corſi, Sardi, and Carthaginians.

3. That either the MSS. of Livy, or the Faſti Captitolini, muſt be out, when the firſt affirm, that Scipio Barbatus's prænomen was Publius, and the laſt, that Lucius Scipio, who triumphed over the Corſi, Sardi, and Carthaginians, at the time aforeſaid, was the ſon of L. Scipio.

4. That a vacancy or hiatus in the Capitoline Tables may be from hence ſupplied; ſince from the inſcription it appears, that this L. Scipio muſt have been, in all probability, Duilius's colleague in the cenſorſhip A. U. C. 495. From whence it follows, that Onuphrinus Panvinius is guilty of a miſtake, when he makes Cn. Scipio Aſina to have been Duilius's collegue in the cenſorſhip the year above-mentioned.

5. That a paſſage in Ovid may be hereby explained, which, before the diſcovery of this inſcription, was not underſtood:

Te quoque, Tempeſtas, meritam delubra fatemur,
Cum pœne eſt Corſis obruta claſſis aquis.

Some authors imagined this to point at the tempeſt Claudius Nero the conſul met with in the year of Rome 551, in which, according to Livy, his fleet was near being deſtroyed; others, to one that attacked Marcellus; and laſtly, others, to one in which Metellus's ſquadron was almoſt loſt; whereas it undoubtedly alludes to one, that L. Scipio, at the time we are ſpeaking of, met with on the coaſt of Corſica, wherein he very narrowly eſcaped deſtruction.

6. That of courſe L. Scipio was attacked by ſuch a tempeſt on the coaſt of Corſica, in which his whole fleet was in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt; and that, upon account of his deliverance therefrom, he built a temple, which he dedicated to the Tempeſts, i. e. to the deities preſiding over them.

7. That the Romans looked upon tempeſts as deities, or at leaſt imagined they had deities preſiding over them, and therefore paid them divine honours.

8. That the name of the principal fortreſs in Corſica was Aleria, and not Valeria, as we find it in all the MSS. of Zonaras; and

a ſtrong fleet of galleys on the coaſt of Sardinia, they were in no great pain for that iſland. Upon Scipio's moving that way, they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired upon his approach. But, upon his entering the port of Olbia, the appearance of the whole Carthaginian ſquadron, then riding at anchor there, was ſo terrible, that he thought proper to ſheer off, without putting his deſign in execution. A further inducement to him not to undertake the conqueſt of Sardinia at this preſent juncture, was his not having a ſufficient body of legionaries on board to attack the Carthaginians by land. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength on that ſide, he had not taken the neceſſary meaſures to render that expedition ſucceſsful, and therefore found himſelf obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner; but ſome authors give us to underſtand, that ſoon after, having been furniſhed with a larger body of land-

and that therefore theſe MSS. may be emended by this inſcription.

9. That many obſervations relating to the antient language of the Romans and Latins, laid down by Feſtus, Quintilian, and others, are confirmed by the words it contains.

10. That, in antient times, ſome letters of the Roman and Latin alphabet, at leaſt, were borrowed from the Etruſcans, ſince Ⅎ and Ϛ apparently belong to that nation; at leaſt, that the Etruſcans had letters in their alphabet, which, in figure, correſponded with ſome of the Roman and Latin letters. This is confirmed by the legends on ſeveral conſular coins.

Many other concluſions might be drawn from hence, which we have not time at preſent to touch upon. It is not improbable, that the ſtone, on which this inſcription was found, belonged to Scipio's tomb, and that he was buried not far from the Porta Capena (17).

(17) Liv. l. x. l. xxx. & alib. paſſ. Ovid. faſt. l. vi. Feſt. Pomp. in voc. Duonum, & voc. Topper, ut & Carm. Saliar. in qu. videre eſt Duonus Ceruſus, i. e. Bonus Creator. M. Fab. Quinctil. l. i. c. 4. & 7. l. ix c. 4. & alib. Vide & Joſ. Scalig. in Sext. Pomp. Feſt. lib. de verb. ſign. caſtigat. p. 209, 210. Tab. Eugubin. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. apud Demp. de Etrur. regal. vol. i. edit. Florent. 1723. Phil. Bonarot. ad monum. Etruſc. op. Dempſt. addit. explic. & conject. ſect. 41. p. 85---88. ed. Florent. 1726. Anton. Fran. Gorii muſeum Etruſcum, paſſ. ed. Florent. 1737.

land-forces, he returned, and (R) reduced Olbia. Other places of leſs note, upon the reduction of that town, fell to him; but he could not make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. However, according to Eutropius, he carried off with him a vaſt number both of the Corſi and Sardi priſoners [i].

The Romans by a ſtratagem, give the Carthaginians a blow in Sardinia.

HAMILCAR being informed the year following, that the Romans had a deſign upon Lipara, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the conſul. This was done in ſo private and unexpected a manner, that the citizens, though ſtrongly inclined to the Romans, found themſelves incapable of making any reſiſtance. The conſul, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was repulſed by Hamilcar, at the head of the garriſon, with the ſlaughter of a great number of men. At the ſame time Sulpicius, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered ſeveral days about the coaſt of Sardinia, made a deſcent there, and completed the reduction of that iſland. According to Florus, by razing the city of Caralis, or Carala, the capital of the iſland, he ſo terrified the Sardi, that they ſubmitted to him. Zonaras informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between Sulpicius and the Carthaginians; but that afterwards Attilius, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of impoſing upon the Carthaginian admiral, by means of ſome deſerters, whom he bribed to aſſure him, that the Romans intended to land in Africa. Upon this, according to the ſame author, the Carthaginian ſquadron, having been before driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the ports of Sardinia, looſed immediately, though in the night, and ſet ſail for Africa;

[i] Polyb. Liv. Zonar. ubi ſup. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 7. Eutrop. l. ii. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 162.

(R) Hanno, who had behaved with ſo much bravery in Sicily, commanded in Olbia, and was killed in one of the attacks. We muſt own ourſelves guilty of a miſtake in a former part of this work when we cite Valerius Maximus to prove, that the Roman conſul honoured Hanno's body with a noble funeral; ſince that author, in the place referred to, ſpeaks of Hannibal in the ſecond Punic war, who ſhewed great humanity on ſuch an occaſion to the body of Tiberius Gracchus (18.)

(18) Comp. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xii. p. 117. with p. 247. of the ſame volume. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

Africa; but were attacked by Sulpicius, who, being apprifed of the intelligence given them, had poſted himſelf in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or ſunk, by favour of the night, moſt of their ſhips. The good ſucceſs of this ſtratagem encouraged the Romans now in good earneſt to prepare for an expedition to Africa, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate Sicily, and procure them a peace upon their own terms [k] (S).

The Romans and Carthaginians both meet with diſaſters in this maritime war.

THE next year, from Zonaras it ſeems probable, that the Roman forces in Sicily, under the command of A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Livy will have it, Calatinus, who, on account of his great ſervices, was continued general there, with the title of proconſul, beſieged Lipara a ſecond time, though they had been routed by the Carthaginians towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. C Attilius Regulus, one of the new conſuls, who had the command of the fleet allotted to him, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coaſts of Sicily, in the firſt of which he loſt nine galleys; but in the other routed the Carthaginian

[k] Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 12, 13. Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi ſup.

(S) Zonaras and Oroſius make Hannibal to have been the Carthaginian admiral at this time, and, if we remember right, are the only authors who tell us, that he had his commiſſion taken from him for the ill ſucceſs he met with in his engagement with Duilius. Aurelius Victor indeed agrees with them in relation to Hannibal's eſcaping puniſhment by a ſtratagem; but ſays not a word of his being deprived of his command. Zonaras and Oroſius therefore being modern, in compariſon of Polybius, whom they contradict in this particular, and unſupported by any antient writer in what they advance as to the point before us, we have choſen to follow the laſt hiſtorian, when he affirms, that Hannibal was continued in his command of the fleet, and crucified ſoon after by his own men. Beſides, it ſeems improbable, that, if he had been diſcarded on account of his ill conduct, or ill ſucceſs, which the ſuperſtitious Carthaginians looked upon as very ominous, the ſenate of Carthage ſhould have afterwards employed him, eſpecially as they might naturally have ſome apprehenſions of his conduct's being influenced by his reſentment. Zonaras and Oroſius therefore ought to give way to Polybius in the preſent caſe. Oroſius intimates, that he was ſtoned to death by his troops. (19).

(19) Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. in Duil. 37. Polyb. l. i. & Zonar. in loc. citat. Oroſ. l. iv. Vide Liv. epit. l. xvii. aliosq; Roman hiſtoric.

Carthaginian ſquadron, ſinking ten, and taking eight of their veſſels, with all their crews. The other conſul, about the ſame time, laid waſte the iſland of Malta; which is a good proof, that the Carthaginians were then in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe advantages ſtill farther excited the Romans to attack the African republic in the very heart of its dominions [l].

They both prepare for a deciſive engagement.

As neither of the late actions had been deciſive, both parties made ſuch vaſt and expeditious preparations, that the enſuing ſummer, the ninth year of this war, they had collected their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of Sicily, as well as the dominion of the ſea, and, in conſequence thereof, that of Carthage itſelf. The conſuls, L. Manlius Vulſo and C. Attilius Regulus, who were elected purely on account of their diſtinguiſhed merit, with the Roman fleet under their command, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty galleys of different ſizes, had their rendezvous at Meſſana. From thence, ſtretching their line along the coaſt towards cape Pachynum, after having doubled that cape, they ſailed directly to Ecnomus, where they took their land-forces on board. About the ſame time, the Carthaginian ſquadron, compoſed of three hundred and fifty ſail, arrived at Lilybæum, the only place they had left in Sicily, except Panormus, and a few towns of leſs note in that neighbourhood. They did not ſtay long here, but, purſuing their projected courſe, took up their ſtation at Heraclea Minor, where they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to give the enemy battle [m].

The diſpoſition of their fleets.

The Romans, in order either to engage the enemy by ſea, or make a deſcent upon their territories in Africa, had taken care to put on board the galleys the very flower of their land-forces. The grand ſquadron conſiſted of four diviſions, the firſt of which was called the firſt legion, and the firſt fleet; the ſecond and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth went by the name of triarians, a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of ſoldiers, who were always the choiceſt troops, and formed the corps de reſerve amongſt the Romans. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty ſoldiers; ſo that the whole united force on board amounted to near an hundred and forty thouſand men.

The

[l] Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Oroſ. l. iv. ubi ſup.
[m] Polyb. & Eutrop. ubi ſup. Dio. Caſs. in excerptis Valeſii.

The firſt diviſion was poſted on the right, the ſecond on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in ſuch a manner, as with them to form a triangle, the vertex of which was the two admiral-galleys, wherein were the two conſuls, placed in the front of their reſpective ſquadrons. The triarians were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion; the baſe of the aforeſaid triangle, but extended beyond the two angles there. The tranſports, with the horſes and baggage on board, lay between the two laſt-mentioned lines, that is, between the third diviſion and the triarians, this being judged the beſt ſituation for them to be covered from any irruptions of the enemy. The combined naval and land-force of the Carthaginians muſt, according to Polybius, have exceeded that of the Romans; ſince he ſeems to inſinuate, that their troops, including the ſeamen, could not have been leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong. When the Carthaginians had obſerved the diſpoſition of the Roman ſquadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four ſmaller ſquadrons, which they drew up into one line. The three firſt diviſions, poſted to the right, ſtretched out far into the ſea, as though they had an intention to ſurround the Romans, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept cloſe under the ſhore, being diſpoſed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. Hanno, who had met with ſuch bad ſucceſs at Agrigentum, commanded on the right with the light veſſels, that could attack and retreat with great ſwiftneſs, and row nimbly round the galleys of the Romans. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral in the late action off of Tyndaris, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave ſufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement[n].

THE conſuls, obſerving the Carthaginian line to be very thin in the middle, cauſed it to be vigorouſly attacked in that part by their firſt and ſecond diviſions. The Carthaginians, at the firſt onſet, purſuant to the orders received from Hamilcar, retired with precipitation, hoping by this means to ſeparate that part of the Roman fleet, with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the Romans would purſue them with great ardor, and thereby give the groſs of their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining

The Carthaginians entirely defeated.

[n] Polyb. & Zonar. in annal. ubi ſup.

remaining Roman diviſions with great advantage. Accordingly the Romans, by their eagerneſs in the purſuit, left their comrades expoſed to the efforts of the enemy. The Carthaginians, that fled, perceiving this, immediately, upon a ſignal given from Hamilcar's galley, tacked about, and, with great bravery, made head againſt their purſuers; but, after a warm diſpute, the Romans, notwithſtanding the lightneſs and activity of the Carthaginian veſſels, by the aſſiſtance of their corvi and other grappling inſtruments, coming to a cloſe engagement with them, and being animated by the example of their officers, who expoſed themſelves as much as the meaneſt ſoldiers, worſted the enemy, obliging them to ſheer off. In the mean time, Hanno fell with great fury upon the triarians, whilſt that part of the Carthaginian ſquadron poſted on the left under the ſhore, attacked the tranſports and the third legion. Here were three ſea-fights at once, which continued for ſome hours with a vaſt effuſion of blood. In fine, Hanno on one ſide, and the fourth Carthaginian diviſion on the other, reduced the triarians, tranſports, and third legion, to the laſt extremity, forced many of them on ſhore, and had totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the corvi. But at laſt Manlius returning from the chace of the Carthaginian ſquadron already routed, and Regulus, with the ſecond legion, advancing to the relief of the triarians, the enemy were entirely defeated. The Romans loſt only twenty-four galleys in this action; but the Carthaginians had thirty ſunk, and thirty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened off of Heraclea Minor, Hamilcar ſent Hanno to make propoſals of peace to the Romans, chiefly with a deſign to amuſe the conſuls, and divert them from the African expedition they had in view. But the Romans rejecting theſe propoſals, the war continued with as much fierceneſs as ever; and the conſuls, ſoon after ſetting ſail for Africa with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at Clypea without oppoſition [o].

The Romans commit great ravages in Africa.

No words can expreſs the conſternation the Carthaginians were in, upon advice of the Roman army's landing in Africa. They very well knew, that the conſuls might march to Carthage without any obſtruction, and lay waſte all

[o] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Zonar. Lucius Ampel. ubi ſup. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 7.

all the fertile country as they advanced, which could not but reduce them to the greateſt ſtreights. Zonaras tells us, that the inhabitants of Clypea or Clupea were ſeized with ſuch impreſſions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the Romans; but, according to Polybius, it ſtood a ſiege, though the Carthaginians not being in a condition to relieve it, the conſuls, without much bloodſhed, made themſelves maſters of it. Appian repreſents the Roman navy employed in this invaſion as very formidable, telling us, that it included no leſs than three hundred and fifty ſail. From cape Hermea, where it lay for a ſhort time, it coaſted along to Clypea, or, as the Greeks call it, Aſpis, where there was a very commodious harbour. The Romans, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, to ſecure their ſhipping, and keep the adjacent territory in awe, moved with the reſt of their army nearer Carthage, and reduced a great number of towns, partly by force, and partly by compoſition. They likewiſe plundered an infinity of villages, laid vaſt numbers of noblemen's ſeats in aſhes, took above twenty thouſand (Eutropius ſays twenty-ſeven thouſand) priſoners, amongſt whom were many Romans, that had fallen into the enemy's hands ſince the beginning of this war, with ſeveral deſerters; and having ſcoured all the country almoſt to the gates of Carthage, they returned to Clypea, loaden with the immenſe booty got in this expedition [p].

THE Carthaginians, ſoon after, receiving intelligence, that Manlius was ſet out for Rome with the beſt part of the troops, and had left Regulus with only forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to carry on the war in Africa, began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by the firſt news of this invaſion, and therefore inſtantly ſet about making the proper diſpoſitions for their defence. They appointed Hanno, the ſon of Aſdrubal, and Boſtar generals of their forces, and diſpatched an expreſs to Hamilcar, then at Heraclea, to return home with all expedition. Hamilcar, in a ſhort time, arrived at Carthage, with a reinforcement of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and was joined with Aſdrubal and Boſtar in the command of the army. The firſt object of their conſultations was, how to prevent the incurſions of the Romans at leaſt, if not diſlodge them from the province, wherein

Regulus advances towards Carthage.

[p] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. ubi ſup. Appian. in Libyc. ſub. init. Paul. Oroſ. l. iv.

wherein the capital of Africa was ſeated. On the other hand, Regulus, who had taken up his winter-quarters at Clypea, committed great ravages along the ſea-coaſts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country; but hearing that the Carthaginian army was in motion, he likewiſe made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the Bagrada, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Here with his battering-engines he ſlew a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize, which, if Ælius Tubero may be believed, found the whole Roman army for ſome time in employ. The Roman hiſtorians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic deſcription of this monſter, and the effects it produced; but conſidering that [q] Livy, Valerius Maximus, Ælius Tubero, Pliny, Zonaras, and others, agree in the main in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that a ſerpent of an enormous ſize the Romans really killed at the place where they were now encamped, eſpecially ſince dragons or ſerpents immenſely large were pretty common in Mauritania, Numidia, Libya, Ethiopia, &c. and (T) ſince it appears from Megaſthe-

[q] Liv. epit. l. xviii. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Æl. Tuber. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 14. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 13. Senec. de clement. l. i. c. 25. Flor. ubi ſup.

(T) In proof of what is here advanced, many authors might be produced. Megaſthenes ſays, that in India there were ſerpents or dragons, which could ſwallow at once a ſtag, or a bull. Metrodorus affirms, that near the river Ryndacus in Pontus, they were ſo large, that they could ſeize upon birds flying at a great height over their heads, and devour them. Pliny relates, that a certain ſpecies of this animal, called boæ or boiæ, were of ſuch a magnitude, that a whole child had been found in the ſtomach of one of them, in the reign of the emperor Claudius; and that at firſt they lived upon cows milk, from whence they derived their name. Seneca, a very grave author, intimates, that the ſerpent here mentioned infected the river for a vaſt diſtance, deſtroyed the country all round, and burnt many of the ſoldiers to death with his breath. Plutarch tells us of a monſtrous ſerpent or dragon, which was brought up by a virgin at Lanuvium; and on ſome old Roman denarii, we find this virgin repreſented as bringing him meat, with a baſket hanging by her ſide. Agatharchides Cnidius, in Photius, mentions ſerpents of various kinds of an enormous ſize common in Ethiopia, and aſſerts, that he himſelf ſaw one thirty cubits long. Oneſicritus Aſtypalæus, in Strabo, informs us, that Abiſarus, an Indian prince.

Megaſthenes [r] and others, that various inſtances of ſurpriſingly huge animals of the ſerpentine kind might be drawn from antiquity.

HAMILCAR and his collegues, receiving advice of the Roman general's approach, and of his having formed the ſiege of Adis, or Adda, a fortreſs of great conſequence to Carthage, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Adda, they encamped upon ſome heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occaſioned the defeat of their army; for by neglecting the plains, and taking poſt in rough and inacceſſible places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, And defeats the Carthaginians.

[r] Megaſth. apud Plin. in loc. jam citat. Plut. in parallel. Propert. eleg. viii. ver. 4. Oneſicrit. Aſtyp. apud Strab. l. xv. Agath. Cnid. de mar. Rubr. l. v. apud Phot. in biblioth. c. 250. p. 583. ed. Rothom. 1653. Geogr. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 153.

prince, kept two dragons or ſerpents, one of which was an hundred and forty cubits long, and the other eighty; which Alexander greatly deſired to ſee. Herodotus tells us, that ſerpents of a ſize exceeding all belief, were found upon the banks of the Triton, a river bordering on the territory of Carthage. Iſidore, Avicenna, Philoſtratus, Solinus, Nicephorus Calliſtus, Lucian, Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, Ætius, Leo Africanus, and others, affirm, that ſerpents of an immenſe ſize were produced in Mauritania, Libya, and Ethiopia. Our Philoſophical tranſactions ſupply us with inſtances of rattle-ſnakes prodigiouſly large, which countenances, in ſome meaſure, what the Roman hiſtorians have related about the ſerpent we are diſcourſing of. Ludolphus and father Lobo likewiſe, in their accounts of Ethiopia, add ſome weight to what is here advanced, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the hiſtory of that country. It has been imagined by ſome, that the animal Regulus killed was a crocodile; but the manner in which this was ſlain, which has been minutely deſcribed by Oroſius, as well as the expreſs teſtimony of many Roman authors to the contrary, will not permit us to come into this opinion. Beſides, it does not appear from antient hiſtory, that the river Bagrada, or indeed any part of Africa Propria, was formerly infeſted by crocodiles; nor, from the relations of modern travellers, that they are obſerved in the kingdom of Tunis at this day (20).

(20) Vide auctor jam citat. & Herodot. l. iv. c. 191. Ælian. in hiſt. anim. paſſ. Iſidor Avicen. Philoſt. Solin. Nicephor. Calliſt. Strab. Arrian. in peripl. Lucian, Ætium, Oroſ. Leon. African. Auguſtin. tom. viii. enarrat. in pſal. cxlviii. alioſq; plurim.

cavalry, in which their principal ſtrength conſiſted, incapable of acting. The Romans, taking advantage of this miſtake, did not give them time to rectify it, but immediately fell upon them with the utmoſt fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that many of the Carthaginians had their throats cut in bed, and others loſt their lives before they could lay hold of their arms to defend themſelves. However, the mercenaries in the Carthaginian ſervice behaved with great bravery, and not only repulſed the firſt legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. But Regulus having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel about, and attack the enemy's rear, they were hereby thrown into confuſion, and at laſt forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry periſhed, the Romans very cloſely purſuing them, and having guarded many of the defiles through which they muſt paſs; but moſt of the elephants and cavalry made their eſcape. The Carthaginians loſt ſeventeen thouſand, or, according to Eutropius, eighteen thouſand men in the battle and purſuit; eighteen elephants were taken; five thouſand men made priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. Regulus, after this action, continued his devaſtations as before, burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors aſſure us, that he took above two hundred cities; but as this account ſeems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced ſince the firſt deſcent, we ſhall chuſe to follow Eutropius, who tells us, that the conſul conquered ſeventy-three cities. Utica, amongſt the reſt, was forced to ſubmit, and Tunis, within nine miles of Carthage, ſoon met with the ſame fate. In ſhort, nothing now remained but to lay ſiege to Carthage itſelf [s].

The Numidians declare againſt the Carthaginians.

To complete the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the Numidians, a ſort of Tartars, or at leaſt in their manners and way of life ſomething reſembling that people, entered the territories of Carthage, where they committed dreadful devaſtations. This drove moſt of the Carthaginian ſubjects into Carthage, which, by this means, was filled with ſuch numbers of people, that a famine ſeemed inevitable, eſpecially as the produce of the earth had been, in a great meaſure

[s] Polyb. Appian. Zonar. Eutrop. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Oroſ. ubi ſup.

ſure, deſtroyed, partly by Regulus, and partly by the aforeſaid Numidians [t].

THE African nations likewiſe, more immediately ſubject to Carthage, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, declared for the Romans, who now carried every thing before them. This induced Regulus to imagine, that the Carthaginians would conclude a peace with him upon any, even the moſt diſhonourable, terms. He therefore, according to Polybius, offered to treat with them about a peace, being afraid, that his ſucceſſor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to the preſent war; though Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginians themſelves made the firſt overtures. Be that as it will, the terms Regulus preſcribed them ſeemed ſo intolerable, and incompatible with their honour, that they were reſolved to ſuffer all extremities, rather than ſubmit to them. As Regulus had met with an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity from the beginning of his conſulſhip, he ſet no bounds to his arrogance; and the Romans in general being then of the ſame diſpoſition, by reaſon of the great ſucceſs their arms were attended with both by ſea and land, it is no wonder, that the Carthaginians ſhould have been treated in ſo imperious a manner. Regulus wrote to the ſenate, that the Carthaginians were upon the brink of ruin, and that he had taken care to "ſeal up their gates with fear." All hopes therefore of an accommodation vaniſhing into ſmoke, both ſides ſeemed reſolved to refer the deciſion of the points at preſent in diſpute betwixt them to the ſword. A certain author tells us, that the whole number of priſoners taken by the Romans, from their firſt arrival in Africa to this time, including thoſe who fell into their hands in the late battle, amounted to two hundred thouſand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the Carthagininian camp after the laſt action, Regulus ſent on board ſome tranſports to Rome; and having laid waſte all the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the ſtagnum or great moraſs, on which Carthage ſtood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his above-mentioned propoſals, he encamped, reſolving without delay to attack the capital of the African republic [u].

Regulus makes propoſals for a peace to the Carthaginians, but they are rejected.

WHILST

[t]. Polyb. & Oroſ. ubi. ſup. [u] Appian. Polyb. Oroſ. Eutrop. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Aur. Vict. Flor. ubi. ſup.

Xantippus, with a body of Greek mercenaries, arrives at Carthage.

WHILST matters remained in this melancholy ſituation, a Carthaginian officer, who had been ſent to Greece, to levy ſoldiers there, returned home with a body of Greek mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of Lacedæmonians. This body was commanded by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian, a perſon of great bravery and military ſkill, who had learned the art of war in the ſchool of Sparta, then the moſt renowned of any in the world for the famous generals it produced. As ſoon as he had informed himſelf wherein the main ſtrength of the Carthaginian forces lay, and of the circumſtances of the late defeat, he openly declared, that it was owing to the falſe ſtep taken by their generals in encamping upon hills, where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and that, by an oppoſite conduct, they might ſtill retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the Carthaginian ſenate, people, Hamilcar, and all the other officers, to take upon him the command of their forces, he firſt trained them up in the diſcipline of his country: exerciſing them near the city he drew them up in order of battle; made them advance or retreat upon the firſt ſignal; file off with order and ſwiftneſs; in a word, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the Lacedæmonian mannner. As nothing inſpires ſoldiers with a greater degree of courage, than a perſuaſion of their general's abilities, the Carthaginian troops, who were before ſo greatly diſpirited, now thought themſelves invincible, under the conduct of Xantippus, obſerving how vaſtly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it highly improper to permit their ardor to cool, he drew them up in battalia in a large plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the Romans. We have already, in a former part of this work, deſcribed the diſpoſition of both armies, and given an account of the principal things that paſſed betwixt them previous to the engagement, and therefore ſhall not here repeat what was there ſaid; but only obſerve, that Xantippus, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, thought proper to call a council of war, in order to ſhew a reſpect and deference to the Carthaginian commanders, by conſulting them; and that, all joining unanimouſly in opinion with him, it was reſolved to give the enemy battle the day following [w].

THI

[w] Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Flor Eutrop. Oroſ. &c. ubi. ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 127.

THE Romans were not a little surprised at the motions of the Carthaginian army, and the new form of discipline introduced amongst them; notwithstanding which, they affected to hold both them and their new general Xantippus in great contempt, not doubting, but they should soon be able to give a good account of them. One capital error, according to Polybius, the Roman general committed in the arrangement of his forces. Though he took a proper precaution to sustain the shock of the enemy's elephants, he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was vastly inferior in number to the Carthaginian, but disposed them in such a manner, that they were broken almost upon the first onset. To which we may add from Appian, that the same general ought to have been deemed guilty of a great and complicated mistake, when elated with his former success, through his great ardour, he overfatigued his soldiers, led them through such places as exposed them to the enemy's parties, posted on eminencies to annoy them with missive weapons in their march; and, to crown all, passed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat, in case of any misfortune. This bad conduct of Regulus proved the total ruin of his army; for Xantippus had thereby such an advantage over the enemy thrown into his hands, that he entirely defeated them, and either put to the sword, or took prisoners, all of them, except two thousand, who, after having broken his right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement, and made their escape to Clypea. Of the Carthaginians eight hundred were slain in this action; but on the Roman side near thirteen thousand must have fallen in the battle and pursuit, if Polybius has given us a just account of the number of forces Manlius, at his departure for Rome, left with Regulus. Xantippus took Regulus himself, and five hundred of his men, prisoners in the pursuit, and immediatly carried them to Carthage. According to Eutropius, thirty thousand Romans lost their lives in this battle, and fifteen thousand their liberty; but this cannot be admitted, except we suppose, that Regulus had either received a strong reinforcement from Rome, since the departure of his collegue, or been joined by a good body of Africans in the interval betwixt that event and the battle; neither of which suppositions receives the least countenance from Polybius, whom, in the main, we chuse to follow [x].

And defeats the Romans.

[x] Idem. ibid. Vide Aurel. Vict. in At. reg 40

The Carthaginians treat all the Roman priſoners with great humanity, except Regulus.

THE Carthaginians treated all the Roman priſoners, except Regulus, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the Romans to behave with lenity and moderation to the Carthaginian captives, who were very numerous, in their hands. But as for Regulus, he had inſulted them in ſo outrageous a manner, in the height of his proſperity, that they could not forbear ſhewing him the greateſt marks of their reſentment on this occaſion. According to Zonaras and others, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he had only ſuſtenance allowed him barely ſufficient to keep him alive; nay, his cruel maſters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge elephant, at the ſight of which animal, it ſeems, he was greatly terrified, to be conſtantly placed near him; which prevented him from enjoying any tranquillity or repoſe, and rendered his life a burden to him. When he would have preſcribed diſhonourable terms of peace to the Carthaginians, he pretended with unparallelled haughtineſs, that every thing he ſuffered them to poſſeſs ought to be eſteemed a favour, with this further inſult, that "they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn "to ſubmit to the victor." No wonder therefore that ſo harſh and diſdainful a treatment ſhould incenſe to the higheſt degree a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and implacable, and even, in the point before us, force their intereſt itſelf to give way to their reſentment. Zonaras intimates, that Regulus ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by Xantippus, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. However this may be, as the Carthaginian army did not conſiſt of above ſixteen thouſand men, beſides the elephants, this ought to be looked upon as a moſt wonderful victory, eſpecially conſidering the heroic valour of the Roman legions; and, as Frontinus rightly inſinuates, muſt be almoſt entirely attributed to the conduct and bravery of Xantippus [y].

Great rejoicings at Carthage, on account of this victory.

THE Carthaginians remained on the field of battle till they had ſtripped the ſlain, and then entered the metropolis, which was almoſt the only place left them, in great triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crouds, to return thanks to the immortal gods for ſo ſignal

[y] Zonar. ubi. ſup. c. 13. p. 391, 392. Cic. de offic. l. iii. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 11. & l. 2. c. 3. ex. 10. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. ubi ſup. Valer. Max. l. i. c. 1.

nal a victory, and hung up in theſe temples (U), as ſo many trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted wholly to feſtivities and rejoicings, a ſpirit of joy and gladneſs diffuſing itſelf over the whole city. However, according to ſome authors, they not only ſoon forgot the vaſt obligation they were under to Xantippus, but even ſhewed themſelves guilty of moſt ſhocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who had delivered them at the critical moment. If theſe writers may be credited, they either actually deſtroyed Xantippus, or attempted his deſtruction; and not only refuſed paying the mercenaries the arrears due to them, but ordered the captains of the veſſels, who were to carry them home, to leave them expoſed on a deſolate iſland. Theſe horrid inſtances of Carthaginian ingratitude, we ſay, are atteſted by ſome authors; yet at the ſame time we think it our duty, as impartial hiſtorians, to obſerve that their authority in the point before us, is not to be entirely depended upon; for although we ſhould allow, that the Carthaginians were frequently both cruel and ungrateful, nay, that they had a natural propenſity to the odious vices of cruelty and ingratitude; yet in the preſent caſe, what advantage or emolument could accrue to them from ſo execrable a fact? It could never have buried in oblivion ſo illuſtrious an action as the victory Xantippus acquired for them, ſince that could not fail of being tranſmitted to poſterity by their enemies, in order to deprive them, to whom they bore ſo implacable a hatred, of the merit of it; and indeed through this canal it has been conveyed down to us, and yet the authors, who ſtigmatize the Carthaginians, by accuſing them of ſo enormous a crime, aſſign this as their motive to it; nor can any other motive be conceived, except we will ſuppoſe, that they did it purely to gratify a barbarous and inhuman diſpoſition; which, wicked as the world is, can ſcarce be imagined poſſible. Beſides, Polybius, the beſt author extant who has treated of this particular branch of hiſtory, ſays not a word of it. Livy alſo, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer,

(U) Other nations, as well as the Carthaginians, hung up the arms taken from the enemy in the temples of their gods. The Gauls, and even the Romans themſelves, may be ranked amongſt theſe, as we learn from Plutarch, Tacitus, and others (21).

(21) Plut. in Cæſ. Tacit. l. xv. de Neron. Strabo, l. iv. aliiq;

paſſes it over in ſilence, as do Florus, Eutropius, &c. who, being Roman hiſtorians, would moſt certainly have taken the greateſt pleaſure in relating ſuch a ſtory, if founded on good authority, as reflecting an eternal ſhame and diſhonour upon their moſt avowed and mortal enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmoſt freedom on all occaſions. We think it therefore but equitable to ſuſpend our belief of what Appian and Zonaras have affirmed with regard to the departure of Xantippus, eſpecially as the ſcheme theſe authors have made the Carthaginians form for the deſtruction of the Lacedæmonian mercenaries, is, in point of policy, ſo defective and incredible that no ſtreſs can be laid upon it; for, according to them, all theſe mercenaries, as well as their general, were to be expoſed to inevitable deſtruction, without the loſs of a ſingle Carthaginian, or pretence of even a ſtorm, to colour the perpetration of ſo horrid a crime. This certainly ſeems incompatible with that genius for refined policy and intrigues, the Carthaginians were in hiſtory ſo famous for; and therefore will, with great difficulty, be admitted for fact by our impartial and intelligent readers [z].

As for Regulus, he was a lively inſtance of the great inſtability of fortune and human affairs. Had he been either influenced by the maxims of ſound policy, or touched with the leaſt ſenſe of compaſſion for the misfortunes and ſufferings of his fellow-creatures, he would have abated ſomething of the rigour he ſhewed the Carthaginians after the laſt defeat given them, and might have concluded a moſt advantageous peace for the Romans; but, giddy with ſucceſs, nothing leſs would ſatisfy him than the total ruin of that people, or at leaſt a reduction of them to a ſtate of ſervitude, which they thought equivalent to it. This providence did not permit him to accompliſh; but, on the contrary, by a ſwift revolution, he fell from the height of proſperity to the loweſt degree of contempt, nay, into the extremeſt miſery and deſpair, his exalted ſtation ſerving only to render his fall the more precipitate, and the leſs pitied by thoſe he had before inſulted. Many, and even recent, examples might be produced of princes, who, by purſuing the ſame conduct, have met with the ſame fate, would

[z] Appian. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 3. Vide etiam Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. &c. ubi ſup. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 128.

would the limits of our hiſtory permit; but, as they will not, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to their own obſervations on this head, and to thoſe fine reflections of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, which we could not avoid glancing at here [a].

We have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to Regulus in the ſubſequent part of his life, and cenſured Hoffman for differing from a great number of Roman authors in this particular. But our high regard to impartiality, a quality eſſentially neceſſary in an hiſtorian, obliges us now to lay before our readers the reaſons, that may poſſibly have induced ſome learned men to believe the whole relation of Regulus's death, as handed down to us by the aforeſaid authors to be an abſolute fiction [b].

1. All the Roman hiſtorians, as Romans, bore an implacable hatred to the very memory of the Carthaginians, and did their utmoſt to make it appear odious in the eyes of all mankind. They were entirely void of impartiality when they ſpoke of that nation, as manifeſtly appears from what Polybius relates of Fabius Pictor, one of their moſt celebrated writers, and the moſt antient of their hiſtorians.
2. All the ſubſequent Roman hiſtorians muſt have followed Fabius Pictor in this particular, ſince neither Diodorus Siculus nor Polybius have taken the leaſt notice of Regulus's being ſent to Rome, and ſuffering death afterwards at Carthage upon his return; though, had this been true, they would undoubtedly have related it, the Greeks bearing as great an averſion to the Carthaginians, as did the Romans.
3. From a fragment of Diodorus Siculus in the excerpta (W) of Valeſius, it appears, that Regulus's ſons, at the inſtigation of their mother, treated Hamilcar and Boſtar, two

[a] Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt, Valeſ.
[b] Univerſ. hiſt. ubi. ſupra.

(W) The paſſage referred to imports in ſubſtance, that Regulus's widow, hearing of his death at Carthage, and ſuppoſing him to have died through want of neceſſaries, inſtigated her ſons to uſe Hamilcar and Boſtar, two Carthaginian generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into their hands by the ſenate, in order to exchange for their father, with the utmoſt inhumanity. They were confined in ſo ſtreight a room, that they could not move, and kept without meat for five days together; inſomuch that Boſtar died of

two Carthaginian generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into her hands to exchange for her huſband, with the utmoſt cruelty; inſomuch, that one of them died. She was prompted to this, according to the ſame fragment, by a perſuaſion, that her huſband died at Carthage for want of a proper care being taken of him, upon the news ſhe received of his death there. This evidently ſuppoſes Regulus to have died in that city, without any other torture than what the want of neceſſaries occaſioned. 4. Palmerius has accounted for the whole ſtory, as related by the Roman writers, and the Greeks attached to the Roman intereſt, in ſuch a manner, as to give ſome reaſon to believe, that they are neither of them to be entirely relied upon in their accounts of the ſufferings and death of Regulus. Beſides the authors cited in the twelfth volume of this work, it will be neceſſary to conſult thoſe referred to in the margin

of grief and hunger. Hamilcar, in order to move her compaſſion, told her, that he had taken all poſſible care of her huſband, who was committed to his cuſtody at Carthage. But this not availing, ſhe extended her barbarity ſo far, as to cauſe him to be ſhut up five days with the dead body of Boſtar, allowing him all that time only ſuſtenance barely ſufficient to keep him alive. Being ready to expire through the ſtench of the dead body, and the other miſeries he laboured under, this barbarous treatment was rumoured abroad by the meaner ſervants; which reaching the ears of the tribunes of the people, they had like to have cauſed the young men to be put to death for ſo execrable a fact, which diſgraced the Roman name. They were therefore obliged, by way of atonement for the perpetration of ſo heinous a crime, to burn the body of Boſtar, and ſend his aſhes to Carthage, as likewiſe to treat Hamilcar with lenity during the remainder of his confinement. Tuditanus in Gellius, in order to take off the odium of this barbarous action, and ſuit it more to the Roman taſte, tells us, that Regulus died for want of ſleep, which the Carthaginians, by various methods, deprived him of; and that this reaching Rome, his ſons uſed ſome noble Carthaginian captives, delivered to them by the ſenate, in the ſame manner. This relation, partial and diſguiſed as it is, gives great weight to the valuable fragment of Diodorus referred to, and at the ſame time renders Palmerius's notion of this affair not a little probable (22).

(22) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. Tuditan. apud Gell. ubi ſup. et & Dominic. Machan. & Palmer. ubi ſup. laudat.

gin, in order to have an adequate idea, according to the Roman tradition, of the point we are now upon [c].

THE Carthaginians, now forgetting all former misfortunes, began to talk in a very high ſtrain, threatening even Italy itſelf with an invaſion. The Romans, being informed of this, placed ſtrong garriſons in all the maritime towns, that lay moſt expoſed, and fitted out a new fleet, with a ſtrong body of land-forces on board, not only to divert the enemy from executing the deſign they pretended to have formed, but alſo to retrieve their broken affairs in Africa. In the mean time, the Carthaginians beſieged Clypea and Utica in vain, being obliged to riſe from before thoſe places by the approach of the Roman ſquadron, which had already plundered the iſland of Corſura, and left a garriſon there. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, they put to ſea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a ſecond deſcent; and coming up with them off cape Hermea, engaged them; but being routed, the Romans landed without oppoſition at Clypea, defeated the Carthaginians in a pitched battle near that place; and carrying off the remains of Regulus's army, ſteered for Sicily. However, notwithſtanding theſe victories, the Romans were greatly weakened. In the late engagement they had been worſted, had not the two thouſand men left at Clypea, attacked the enemy's rear unexpectedly, which obliged them to give way. In their paſſage to Sicily, they met with ſo dreadful a tempeſt, that out of three hundred and ſeventy odd veſſels, of which their fleet was compoſed, eighty only eſcaped. Diodorus Siculus ſays, they loſt three hundred and forty galleys, beſides about three hundred tranſports. Eutropius affirms only eighty galleys to have remained out of four hundred and ſixty-four; inſomuch, that all the ſea-coaſts, from Camarina to Pachynum, were ſtrewed

Both the Carthaginians and the Romans meet with many diſaſters.

[c] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Valeſ. Vide & Palmer. apud Gronov. in Appian. Libyc. p. 5, 6. Cic. orat. in Piſon. de fin. l. v. ſub fin. & alib. Aul. Gel. noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 4. Plut. in lib. de Herodot. malign. Horat. ubi ſup. & carm. l. i. od. 12 Liv. epit. l. xviii. Suid. in Ῥήγουλος, Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Dio Caſſ. Sil. Ital. l. vi. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Tertul. ad martyr. c. 4. Aur. Vict. de vir. illuſtr. ubi ſup. Senec. de tranquil. anim. l. i. c. 15. Æl. Tuber apud. Gell. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. ii. Tuditanus apud Gell. ubi ſup. Auguſt. de civ. Dei, l. i. c. 15. & c. 24. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. & Dominic. Macham. in auctor. vit. viror. illuſtr. &c.

ſtrewed with the dead bodies of men and horſes, as well as the wrecks of ſhips. Immediately after this diſaſter, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, advancing to Agrigentum, laid ſiege to it, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. The town he laid in aſhes, and demoliſhed the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to Olympieum. The Carthaginians, appriſed of this, immediately ſent Aſdrubal to Sicily, with a large reinforcement of troops and an hundred and fifty elephants. They likewiſe fitted out a ſquadron, with which they retook the iſland of Corſura; and though they had loſt nine thouſand men in the laſt action, beſides five thouſand in the naval engagement, they marched a ſtrong body of forces, under the command of Hamilcar, into Mauritania and Numidia, to puniſh the people of thoſe countries for ſhewing a diſpoſition to join the Romans. Hamilcar treated them with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity, cauſing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer ſort to the ſword, and exacting from the reſt a thouſand talents of ſilver, beſides twenty thouſand head of cattle. In Sicily, the conſuls poſſeſſed themſelves of Cephalædium by treachery; but Carthalo forced them to raiſe the ſiege of Drepanum, and retire with great loſs. The Carthaginians, however, ſoon after found themſelves obliged to abandon Ieta, as likewiſe the territories of the Selinuntines, Petrinians, Enatterinians, and Tyndaritæ. The Romans, landing afterwards an army in Sicily, laid ſiege (X) to Panormus, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions there; and making themſelves maſters of a fort or tower

(X) Panormus according to Diodorus, derived its name from its port or haven, which was the fineſt in Sicily. The Phœnicians probably called it Labin, or Leptin, from labt an harbour or ſtation for ſhips. Polybius tells us, that it was the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and if we may credit Thucydides, it was either of Punic or Phœnician extraction, being built in very early times either by the Phœnicians, who traded with the Aborigines of Sicily, or their poſterity, the moſt antient Carthaginians. That it was the moſt eminent city the Carthaginians poſſeſſed in Sicily, at leaſt for a conſiderable period of time, and the moſt reſorted to, if not for the moſt part inhabited, by that nation, is evident from the great number of coins belonging to it, with Punic legends upon them. Paruta and others exhibit many of theſe to our view, which ſerve to confirm the authorities above-mentioned. Some Sicilian writers will have th

tower by the ſea-ſide, carried that part of the city called the New Town; but the inhabitants defending themſelves with great bravery, they could not immediately reduce the other. However, forming the blockade of the place, they at laſt forced both it and the citadel to ſurrender for want of proviſions. The Carthaginian fleet, poſted to obſerve the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their ſquadrons, and carried off many of their ſhips laden with money and other valuable effects. Both parties, ſoon after put an end to the operations of the campaign, the conſuls returning to Rome, and the Carthaginians retiring into winter-quarters; ſo that we hear of no hoſtilities betwixt them till the following ſpring [d].

The Carthaginians become once more maſters at ſea.

THE Carthaginians, notwithſtanding all their diſaſters, ſuffered leſs at ſea than the Romans. The prodigious loſſes the laſt nation had ſuſtained on that element, made them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future againſt the Carthaginians there. The next year, loſing above an hundred and fifty galleys more on the coaſts of Sicily, they came to a reſolution to lay aſide all naval operations, and conſequently left the Carthaginians maſters of the ſea. This was not their only misfortune; for in the late battle with Regulus, the elephants had made ſuch havock amongſt them, that, for the two ſucceeding years, the Roman ſoldiers in Sicily durſt not approach theſe furious animals within five or ſix ſtadia. This prevented the war from being carried on with any vigour during that term. The Romans, however, wreſted Lipara, Himera, and Thermæ, out of the hands of

[d] Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. Polyb. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſupra, c. 14. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 9. Eutrop. l. ii.

the Phœnicians and Damaſcenes to have founded it in the time of Iſaac. In ſupport of which notion they produce two Hebrew inſcriptions, found at that place in the reign of William the ſecond king of Sicily, importing, that ſome colonies of thoſe nations ſettled there at that time, and called the place Panormus. But as few, if any, Hebrew inſcriptions of that date are genuine, and as Panormus is a Greek, not a Hebrew name, we muſt be excuſed from ſubſcribing to their opinion (23).

(23) Thucyd. l. vi. Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24, 27. Vide etiam. Tho. Fazel. de reb. Sic. & Ranzanum in lib. de Panorm. l. vi.

of the Carthaginians; but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Erƈta. So ſlow a progreſs induced them to attempt making a figure once more by ſea, hoping by this means to compenſate for the terror, with which the elephants had ſtruck their legions [c].

Aſdrubal overthrown by Cæcilius.

ASDRUBAL, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, perceiving how much afraid the Romans were of his elephants, marched out of Lilybæum, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. Cæcilius, who commanded the Roman forces in the town, ſeemed to be afraid of him, till he had paſſed the river running cloſe by the city, when, having a great advantage over him, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obſtinate for ſome time, and the Romans were even repulſed by the violence of the elephants; but at laſt the dart-men wounded theſe boiſterous animals in ſuch a manner, that they fell foul upon their own troops, and threw them into confuſion. This being obſerved by the Roman general, he ſallied with a body of freſh forces out of the town, and attacking the enemy in flank, gave them a total defeat. The Carthaginians loſt a vaſt number of men in this action, it being one of the greateſt overthrows they ever received in Sicily, beſides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongſt the reſt ten with their (Y) Indian leaders. The Carthaginian elephants could never after this battle

[c] Liv. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Polyb. & Oroſ. ubi ſup.

(Y) From the paſſage of Polybius here referred to, it is evident, that the Carthaginians, before the thirteenth year of the firſt Punic war, had an intercourſe with India, as receiving elephants, and perſons to manage and train them up, from thence. This greatly ſtrengthens what Pliny intimates, viz. that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the Indians, and imported from India many carbuncles of an ineſtimable value. This they muſt either have done by means of caravans going through the interior parts of Africa to the Arabic gulf, if not through Egypt to Perſia and India, or by their own veſſels trading to thoſe parts, or laſtly, by their communication with Tyre. The paſſage we are now conſidering ſeems likewiſe clearly to prove, that the Carthaginians trafficked with the Perſians, ſince all caravans coming entirely by land from India to Carthage muſt neceſſarily paſs through part of Perſia; and we know, that the Perſians dealt much in theſe animals. But that the Carthaginians were well known to the Perſians in very early times, which we cannot well

tle make any impreſſion upon the Roman troops; on which account the victory might juſtly have been looked upon as of vaſt conſequence to them. According to Zonaras, the Carthaginian fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for vaſt numbers of Aſdrubal's ſoldiers, endeavouring to make their eſcape on board the galleys, fell into the ſea and were drowned. Diodorus intimates, that Aſdrubal was, in a manner, compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that advancing to Panormus, he paſſed the river above-mentioned with great temerity, not taking the leaſt precaution to ſecure himſelf againſt any attempts of the Romans; and that ſome merchants

well conceive to have been in any other manner than by trading with them, is evident from Cambyſes's intention to attack them, and from the embaſſy Darius ſent them towards the cloſe of his reign, already mentioned. Beſides, that they were acquainted with the Perſian gulf, is probable from what Pliny relates of one of their ſea-commanders, who ſteered his courſe that way, in order to make diſcoveries in very early times. If they traded with theſe remote nations by caravans, they might likewiſe have gone through part of the country of the Garamantes and Ethiopia; which that they did, appears probable from Pliny and Strabo, who tell us, that the Indian, Garamantican, and Ethiopian carbuncles, by reaſon of their great plenty at Carthage, were called Carchedonian carbuncles; and that the Carthaginians received them from the Garamantes. After having weighed all theſe particulars, we cannot help thinking, that the Carthaginians ſent caravans to the country of the Garamantes, Ethiopia, and Perſia, as well as ſhips to the Red-ſea, rather than that they had a communication with thoſe parts of the world by means of the Tyrians. As a further proof of this, it may be conſidered, that Hanno, who is ſuppoſed to have written the periplus going under his name, one of their admirals, ſailed to the remoteſt coaſts of Arabia from Cadiz, long before the age we are now treating of; and that Pliny intimates their commerce to have been ſo much more extenſive than that of any other nation, that merchandize was ſaid to be the invention of the Pœni, not of the Phœnicians. Dalecampius, in his notes on Pliny, receives a great acceſſion of ſtrength from this paſſage of Polybius, and on his part illuſtrates this laſt-mentioned author, as well as Pliny. We ſhall reſerve what we have to ſay of elephants, and thoſe nations, who firſt uſed them in war, for a future notes (24).

(24) Polyb. in loc. citat. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 7. & Dalecamp. in loc. Strab. l. xvii. Herodot. l. iii. Juſt. l. xix. Plin. l. ii. c. 67.

chants having brought a large quantity of wine into the camp, the Celtes got drunk, filling all parts with noiſe, diſorder, and confuſion; which Cæcilius obſerving, ſallied out of the town, put the Carthaginian army to the rout, and either killed or took priſoners a vaſt number of men. Sixty elephants, according to the ſame author, that fell into the hands of the Romans, were ſent to Rome as a great curioſity. It may not be improper to remark, that this exploit concluded the thirteenth year of the firſt Punic war [f].

The Romans beſiege Lilybæum.

THE beginning of the following year, the Carthaginians received intelligence, that the Romans intended to form the ſiege of Lilybæum, imagining, that the reduction of that place would put an end to this tedious and bloody war. As they looked upon the preſervation of Lilybæum, which was the only city they now poſſeſſed in Sicily, except Drepanum, to be of the utmoſt conſequence to them, they reinforced the garriſon with a large body of choſen troops, and finiſhed the fortifications in ſuch a manner, as to render the place almoſt impregnable. Notwithſtanding which, the two conſuls, Manlius and Attilius, inveſted the place; and, after having opened trenches before it, carried on the ſiege with great vigour. The Carthaginians ſome time before the beginning of this ſiege, had razed the city of Selinus, and tranſplanted the inhabitants to Lilybæum; ſo that this laſt place was very populous when the Roman army appeared before it. The garriſon was alſo very numerous, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary Gauls and Greeks, beſides a large detachment of Carthaginian forces, commanded by Hamilcar, an officer of great experience and bravery. Though the Romans ſoon demoliſhed ſeveral of the outworks, and even made their approaches cloſe to the body of the place, yet Hamilcar defended it with an intrepidity and reſolution worthy of himſelf. He rebuilt, as it were in a moment, many forts, which the enemy had deſtroyed with their battering-engines; poſted to every part of the town to give the neceſſary orders, prevent confuſion, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his preſence; and laſtly, made frequent, as well as vigorous ſallies, upon the beſiegers. According to Diodorus, in one of theſe ſallies he killed ten thouſand Romans upon the ſpot, put a great part of their army to flight, burnt many of their rams,

[f] Polyb. Zonar. Eutrop. & Oroſ. ibid. Liv. epit. l. xix. Plin. l. viii. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 4

rams, baſiliæ, and catapults, and then entered triumphantly into the town. The Carthaginians in the mean time, finding their cavalry of no ſervice in the defence of the place, ſent them to Drepanum. Soon after the laſt diſaſter, a famine began to rage in the Roman camp, which in a ſhort time introduced the plague there, of which, in a very few days, above ten thouſand men were carried off. In fine, the beſiegers, by ſuch a train of calamities, coming, as it were, one upon the neck of another, loſt more men than they could well have done in ſeveral pitched battles. This ſo greatly weakened, and at the ſame time diſpirited, them, that had they not received an immediate ſupply both of troops and proviſions from king Hiero, they muſt have been infallibly obliged to raiſe the ſiege [g].

BUT what the Romans could not effect by force, they attempted to accompliſh by treachery. In order to which, they ſo far corrupted ſome of the leaders of the mercenaries, that they decoyed them into their camp, to concert with them the proper meaſures for having the place delivered into their hands. This might have proved fatal to the Carthaginians, had not one Alexon, an Achaian, diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to Hamilcar; who, aſſembling all the remaining mercenary officers, acquainted them with the particulars of the horrid deſign, and, by his ſingular addreſs, engaged them to perſevere in their fidelity to the Carthaginians. Having ſecured this point, he prevailed upon them next to endeavour at inſpiring the ſoldiers under their command with the ſame ſentiments. He likewiſe ſent one Hannibal, the ſon of the admiral of that name, who was crucified by his own men at Sulci in Sardinia, to keep the Gauls, with whom he was very popular, firm in the Carthaginian intereſt; whilſt Alexon went to hinder the Greeks, amongſt whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy's meaſures. Theſe ſalutary precautions had the deſired effect; for the mercenary chiefs, returning ſoon after from the Roman camp, found their men ſo far from liſtening to their ſuggeſtions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmoſt fury (Z). Zonaras ſays, that the length of the ſiege,

The mercenaries enter into a conſpiracy to deliver the place into the hands of the Romans.

[g] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyb. l. i. Liv. epit. l. xix. Oroſ. ubi ſup. c. 10. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 15. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 142, 143, 144, &c.

(Z) Zonaras inſinuates, that tho' Hamilcar was appriſed of the conſpiracy, he did not judge it expedient to take any notice of

ſiege, and want of pay, induced the mercenaries to entertain thoughts of betraying the city to the Romans; of which Hamilcar being appriſed, he paid the officers their arrears, and appeaſed the minds of the ſoldiery by large promiſes; by which means all the ſparks of diſcontent and ſedition were extinguiſhed. This impending ſtorm being blown over, Hamilcar rewarded Alexon for his fidelity, and continued his ſallies upon the Romans with the uſual ſucceſs [h].

The garriſon receives a reinforcement of ten thouſand men from Carthage.

THE Carthaginians being informed, that the Romans had received a reinforcement from Hiero, though they could have no intelligence from the garriſon, concluded, that the Romans puſhed on the ſiege with vigour, and that conſequently Hamilcar wanted ſome relief. They therefore ſent one Hannibal with a ſupply of ten thouſand men, who putting in at the iſland of Eguſa, was obliged to ſtay there ſome time, in expectation of a fair wind. He was not detained long here, but ſoon happily made his way into the town. Having landed his troops, he paſſed in the night by the enemy's camp to Drepanum, where he had a conference with his friend Adherbal, who commanded in that place. The ſubject of this conference undoubtedly was, how to open a communication betwixt Lilybæum and Drepanum. In conſequence, as it is probable, of the meaſures there concerted, Hannibal, ſurnamed the Rhodian, was pitched upon to execute the plan formed by the two com-

[h] Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup.

of it, for fear of an open and public defection of the mercenaries; but having ſecured the fidelity of the officers, by paying them their arrears, and calmed the minds of the ſoldiery, by promiſing them ſpeedy payment, which the Carthaginians enabled him to do, by ſending him immediately a large ſum of money for that purpoſe, he, by this means, avoided the danger that threatened him. The ſame author moreover relates, that the Romans received the commanders of the mercenaries, who were expelled the city by their own troops, with great kindneſs, gave them lands in Sicily, and other valuable effects, to compenſate the loſs they had ſuſtained for their affection to them. This laſt particular is likely enough to be true; but as to the firſt, ſince it contradicts Polybius, we think no degree of credit is due to it (25).

(25) Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 15.

commanders above-mentioned. This he very luckily did for ſome time, and thereby greatly contributed to the ſupport of the garriſon of Lilybæum, as well as the ſervice of the Carthaginian ſtate in general; but was at laſt taken by ſome galleys detached from the Roman fleet, in the manner by us already related [i].

And burn in a ſally the beſiegers battering-engines.

ALL communication betwixt Lilybæum and the other Carthaginian territories being thus cut off, the garriſon was reduced to ſome extremities. However, at laſt a ſtorm aroſe, which broke and rendered uſeleſs all the Roman battering-engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the town. This unexpected event prompted the Greek troops in garriſon to attempt the deſtruction of the machines, which eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt; which they eaſily effected, and put a great number of Romans to the ſword. The conſuls, upon this unexpected blow, deſiſted from the attack of the town, turning the ſiege into a blockade, and drawing a line near the place, to prevent any ſuccours being thrown into it. The beſieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the enemy, ſtrengthened the fortifications with ſome new works, and receiving a freſh flow of ſpirits from the great ſucceſs they had met with, were determined to defend the town to the laſt drop of blood [k].

Claudius totally routed by Adiubal in a ſea-fight.

SOON after this diſaſter, which greatly alarmed the Romans, Claudius the conſul put to ſea with a powerful fleet, having a deſign of ſurpriſing Drepanum. Upon his approach to that place, Adherbal, the commander there, was not a little amazed to ſee a formidable ſquadron entering the port, eſpecially conſidering the blow the Romans had lately received. However, he ſoon reſumed his uſual preſence of mind, and, aſſembling his troops, made a pathetic ſpeech to them, expatiating upon the hardſhips of a ſiege, which they muſt inevitably undergo, if they ſuffered the enemy to enter their harbour unattacked, and at the ſame time aſſuring them, that no doubt could be entertained of their vanquiſhing the Romans, conſidering the many advantages they had over them in point of ſituation, provided they fell upon

[i] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oroſ. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. [k] Polyb. & Diodor. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.

upon them immediately, and did their duty. The ſoldiers and ſeamen, greatly animated by this ſpeech, required to be led inſtantly againſt the enemy. Upon which Adherbal, drawing up his ſquadron in line of battle near the rocks that lay on the coaſt, boldly advanced againſt Claudius, who was now entering the port. The engagement immediately began, and the fight was, for ſome time, obſtinate and dubious; but at laſt the Carthaginians, by the lightneſs and activity of their veſſels, by the diſadvantageous ſituation of the Romans, who, through Claudius's imprudence, were poſted near the ſhore, and laſtly, by reaſon of the Roman galleys being incapable, on account of their clumſy make, of charging the enemy in flank or rear, as occaſion ſhould require, obtained a complete victory. Ninety-three of the Roman galleys, if we may give credit to Polybius, with the greateſt part of their crews, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who, it is ſaid, did not loſe a ſingle man or galley in this glorious action. According to Diodorus, Claudius loſt an hundred and ſeventeen ſhips, and twenty thouſand men. Eutropius affirms ninety galleys to have been taken, and ninety, with all the troops on board, ſunk in this fatal battle. And laſtly, Oroſius relates eight thouſand men to have been killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand taken priſoners. Claudius, with thirty veſſels, made his eſcape (A) out of the fight to the camp at Lilybæum, bringing thither to the conſuls the news (B) of his defeat; which was the greateſt blow the Romans had received by ſea ſince the commencement of this war[1].

NOTHING

[1] Idem ibid. Oroſ. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. ii. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. ſub fin. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 13. ex. 9. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. & l. viii. c. 1. ex. 4.

(A) Frontinus tells us, that Claudius made his eſcape with twenty ſhips, which he adorned in a triumphal manner, and by that means paſſed by ſome of the enemy's guard-ſhips without hurt, the Carthaginians on board believing him to have been victorious (26).

(B) We think it not improper to acquaint our readers here that they will find this raſh man's character drawn at full length by Diodorus Siculus, in one of his fragments publiſhed by Valeſius (27).

(26) S. Jul. Frontin. in loc. citat. (27) Diod. Sic. l. xx ſub init. in excerpt. Valeſii.

NOTHING was now celebrated at Carthage but the praiſes of Adherbal, who, at this juncture, was eſteemed, both on account of his conſummate prudence and perſonal valour, as one of the greateſt heroes Carthage had ever produced: and indeed ſuch an entire overthrow, given to a moſt proud and inſulting enemy, could not but be in the higheſt degree grateful to all orders of men in that metropolis, and conſequently render the general, to whom it was chiefly owing, greatly acceptable to all his fellow-citizens. As the Romans had amaſſed a vaſt quantity of proviſions on board their fleet, Adherbal furniſhed Lilybæum with a moſt plentiful ſupply, and filled all his magazines at Drepanum. In the mean time, Hamilcar found himſelf inſpired with new vigour, not only by the unexpected ſucceſs of Adherbal, but by his having deſtroyed all the enemy's works and military engines, in the ſally above-mentioned, wherein he was not a little favoured by the violent guſt of wind, which rendered unquenchable the flames his Greek mercenaries had kindled amongſt them. The Carthaginians likewiſe at this juncture, by ravaging the coaſts of Italy and Sicily, reduced the natives to the extremeſt poverty. Soon after, Hanno, a Carthaginian officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of Junius the conſul, as he was ſteering with a new fleet for Lilybæum. However this loſs was ſoon repaired; for Adherbal, detaching Carthalo with an hundred galleys to obſerve the Roman ſquadrons and convoys ſent to the relief of the camp before Lilybæum, gained ſeveral advantages over them, and at laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing them totally deſtroyed by a ſtorm. Beſides many other places, Carthalo reduced Ægythalus, a ſtrong caſtle the Romans had poſſeſſed themſelves of. Diodorus tells us, that in the firſt ſea-fight with Carthalo, the Romans had thirty-five thouſand men killed, and as many taken priſoners; but this is ſcarce credible. Notwithſtanding all the loſſes the Romans had ſuſtained, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum with great firmneſs, cantoning all their troops, in the neighbourhood, being determined, if poſſible, to carry the place. Carthalo, by ſome indiſcreet actions, became ſo unpopular amongſt the troops, that he had like to have occaſioned an univerſal defection; which obliged the ſenate to recal him to Carthage. The Romans, being greatly dejected by their late frequent misfortunes at ſea, reſolved once more to lay aſide all thoughts of oppoſing their rival upon the watery element. This revived the drooping ſpirits of the Carthaginian,

Carthalo, by his conduct, occaſions mutiny in the Carthaginian army, and is therefore recalled to Carthage.

thaginians, and encouraged them to entertain hopes of coping with their formidable enemy once more by land. In order to which, they appointed Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, the head of the Barcan faction in Carthage, general of their forces. This extraordinary perſon, by his future conduct both in Sicily, Africa, and Spain, demonſtrated himſelf to be the greateſt general, excepting his ſon Hannibal, who indeed outſhined him, that ever appeared at the head of the Carthaginian armies [m].

Hamilcar lands in Sicily, and makes ſeveral motions.

HAMILCAR (C), receiving a charte blanche from the ſenate, to act as he ſhould think proper for the ſervice of the republic of Carthage, ſet ſail from Carthage in the eighteenth year of this war. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was a perfect youth, when he took upon him the command of the army; which, conſidering the bad ſituation of the Carthaginian affairs, adds no ſmall luſtre to his firſt gallant atchievements. Having put to death all the ringleaders and moſt guilty of the mutineers, he ravaged the coaſts of the Locrians and Brutians, and then made a deſcent near Panormus with all his forces. Upon his landing, he marked out a camp betwixt

[m] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. ubi ſup. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex 3. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. &. p. 673, 674, 675, &c.

(C) The ſurname of this famous general the Greek authors write Barcas; but the Latin, Barca. It was common for the Greeks to terminate the ſame proper name in as, that the Latins did in a, and even ſuch proper names as were of African extraction; witneſs Micipſas, Micipſa, &c. According to Silius and others, this was the ſurname of a family, which was the nobleſt in Carthage, being lineally deſcended from the antient kings of Tyre. The party in Carthage, that adhered to this Hamilcar, was, from him, called the Barchine or Barcan faction, of which Livy takes particular notice. Servius in direct terms aſſerts this name to appertain to a family; and Plutarch mentions one Maherbal, or Adherbal, (who intimated to Hannibal, that he did not know ſo well how to make a proper uſe of a victory, as to get one) as a member of it. We may poſſibly have occaſion to ſpeak further of this family in the next ſection (23).

(23) Sil. Ital. l. vi. Serv. in Æn iv. ver. 632. Liv. l. xxi. c. 2, 3. Plut. in Fab. p. 184. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. Appian. Iberic. p, 428. Vide Reinec. hiſt. Jul. tom ii. & Bandeium in differt. ad Malelam. p. 38, 39 &c. edit. Oxon. 1691.

betwixt Panormus and Eryx; which was of itſelf a ſufficient proof of his great military capacity, ſince the ſpot of ground pitched upon ſeems, from the deſcription given us of it by Polybius, to have been the moſt commodious for the end propoſed, that could poſſibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment here, he detached ſome galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the Roman allies. Theſe executed their orders with great ſeverity, making excurſions as far as Cumæ, and laying the country waſte where-ever they moved. Upon their return, he marched with his army to the very walls of Panormus, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For ſome time the generals on both ſides made it their whole buſineſs to obſerve each others motions. In ſhort, by marches and counter-marches, by rencounters and ambuſcades, by military falſifications, and ſtratagems of all kinds, Hamilcar and the conſuls ſtrove who ſhould ſhew the greateſt ſkill and dexterity; which, though it greatly fatigued the ſoldiers, trained them up in military diſcipline, and formed them for action in the moſt perfect manner. But ſuch a variety of motions, as was the reſult of this conduct, being too tedious for an hiſtorian to deſcribe, Polybius has, in a great meaſure, omitted it [n].

Neither ſide could force the other to a battle.

BOTH the Carthaginian and Roman camps were, by art and nature, rendered impregnable; ſo that neither ſide could force the other to a battle. The military operations therefore, for a conſiderable period of time, conſiſted in rencounters betwixt parties, who, on both ſides, behaved with very great bravery. The ſucceſs of theſe ſkirmiſhes was dubious, ſometimes one party being victorious, and ſometimes the other. The Carthaginians, however, in general, from what we find in Polybius, ſeem rather to have had the advantage, eſpecially as Diodorus intimates, that Hamilcar took a caſtle of conſiderable ſtrength in the territory of Catana, before he advanced to Eryx. If ſo, this ought undoubtedly to be aſcribed to the incomparable conduct of Hamilcar; ſince, from the time he became their general, they performed feats, of which before they might juſtly have been thought incapable [o].

THE Romans had, for ſome time paſt, deſiſted from all naval

[n] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerp. Hœſch. Polyb. l. i. ubi ſup. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. ſub init. [o] Idem ibid.

The Romans equip a privateer-squadron.

naval preparations, being deterred from them by the terrible disasters they had met with at sea; and confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their land-forces much more than a match for those of Carthage. But finding themselves greatly mistaken in their views, by the excellent conduct of Hamilcar, and that, instead of carrying their point in Sicily, they were even themselves reduced to some extremities there by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. In order to this, a fleet was first equipped by private persons. This privateer-squadron of galleys was of considerable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the Romans to the sea, to which they were now, in a manner, strangers. They committed great depredations on the coasts of Africa; and entering the port of Hippo, notwithstanding the citizens had endeavoured to hinder their entrance, by shutting up the mouth of the harbour with a large and strong chain thrown across it, they laid the greatest part of the town, together with the shipping, in ashes. Having filled their vessels with spoils, they returned to Panormus, near which place they gave a considerable defeat to the enemy. In the mean time, one of the consuls pushed on the siege of Lilybæum, and the other that of Drepanum. The Romans likewise dislodged the Carthaginians from the island of Columbria; which Hamilcar in vain attempted to retake. Fabius, who carried on the siege of Drepanum, afterwards, with incredible labour, joined this island to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave Hamilcar terribly harrassed the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering frequently the coasts of Italy, that lay opposite to Sicily. Nothing considerable, for some time, happened after this, except that a cartel was settled betwixt both parties for an exchange of prisoners. They were exchanged man for man; but the Carthaginian prisoners being by far most numerous, many of them were redeemed by money out of the hands of the Romans [p].

Hamilcar takes Eryx.

About three years after Hamilcar's arrival in Sicily, he made himself master of Eryx by surprize. The town was situate on the declivity of a mountain of the same name and had fallen again to the Romans since the reduction o

[p] Flor. l. ii. c. 2. sub fin. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 16.

it by Carthalo above-mentioned. What rendered this action the more remarkable was, that the Romans had not only a body of troops in the town, whom they might eaſily have ſupported, and the ſupport of whom was of the higheſt conſequence to them, but were likewiſe in poſſeſſion both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had forts defended by ſtrong garriſons. By the poſſeſſion of this poſt, the Romans on the ſummit of the mountain laboured under all the hardſhips and inconveniencies of a place cloſely beſieged; notwithſtanding which, they bore all their calamities with wonderful patience, as well as behaved with incredible bravery and reſolution. Hamilcar maintained himſelf in the advantageous poſt he had gained with equal bravery. However, as the Romans were maſters of the open country, he found himſelf ſometimes ſtreightened for want of proviſions, and with no ſmall difficulty preſerved the avenue, keeping open a communication with the ſea, by means of which he, from time to time, received ſupplies. Fabius repreſents both parties as ſinking under the miſeries they then endured; but Polybius, with greater juſtice, and more agreeable to the faith of hiſtory, as triumphing over them. Both ſides continued in this melancholy ſituation for the ſpace of two years. The Romans, notwithſtanding the difficulties they were reduced to, ſtill continued the blockade of Lilybæum [q].

The Romans fit out a new fleet.

As the privateer-ſquadron was only a prelude to the figure the Romans intended to make by ſea, in the conſulate of C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Poſthumius, they fitted out another fleet of two hundred ſail, which was likewiſe, in a great meaſure, equipped at the expence of private perſons. The command of this armament was given to C. Lutatius, with an intention to ſtrike a home-ſtroke, and force fortune to give a coup de grace to the Carthaginians. In the firſt place the conſul poſſeſſed himſelf of the port of Drepanum and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum. Afterwards he took care to exerciſe his ſoldiers and ſeamen with the utmoſt diligence, that they might be able to look the enemy in the face, as firmly believing, that a deciſive action by ſea muſt put an end to this long and burdenſome war. Soon after their entrance in the haven of Drepanum, the Romans attempted to ſtorm the town, and might have ſucceeded in their attempt, had not the conſul

[q] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Corn. Nepos. ubi ſup.

been wounded; which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulſing them. Zonaras obſerves, that when the troops on both ſides were drawn up in order of battle before the fight off the iſlands called Ægates, the place of rendezvous for the Carthaginian fleet, a blazing ſtar or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties; but ſeemed to point directly at the Carthaginians. Though the wind proved unfavourable to Lutatius when he came in ſight of the enemy's fleet, yet he reſolved to attack them, ſince they expected every moment to be joined by Hamilcar, whoſe name was become terrible to the Romans. The Carthaginians, intending now to make their laſt effort by ſea, had collected their whole naval power, conſiſting of four hundred ſail. The Romans on this occaſion, according to Polybius, fitted out two hundred gallies, as above obſerved; but Eutropius and Oroſius make them to have been three hundred. Both fleets, coming in ſight of each other, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of Sicily[r].

Which entirely defeats that of the Carthaginians near the iſlands of Ægates.

THOUGH the galleys, of which the Carthaginian armament was compoſed, in number greatly exceeded thoſe of the Romans, yet, in many reſpects, the Roman ſquadron was vaſtly ſuperior to the Carthaginian; for whereas the forces on board the latter conſiſted, for the moſt part, of new levies, entirely raw and undiſciplined, Lutatius had taken care to man the former with choice troops and able ſeamen, trained up in the moſt perfect manner. Beſides, as his veſſels were built after the model of the galley taken from Hannibal the Rhodian, in lightneſs and activity they far excelled thoſe of the enemy. To which we may add, that the Carthaginians had the naval power of the Romans in the higheſt contempt, as having themſelves, for ſome years, been maſters at ſea; and therefore, upon the firſt advice of the enemy's motions, they, being vaſtly ſurpriſed, put to ſea a fleet fitted out in haſte, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the ſtate, in whoſe ſervice they were engaged. Hanno therefore made but a faint reſiſtance, his forces being routed at the firſt onſet. Florus ſays, that the Carthaginian fleet was ſo heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, proviſions, &c.

[r] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 17. Eutrop. l. ii. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 10.

&c. that the whole city of Carthage ſeemed to have been on board, and that the veſſels could not move with any freedom; which greatly contributed to Hanno's defeat. The loſs of the Carthaginians on this melancholy occaſion ſeems greatly to be exaggerated by Eutropius, who tells us, that they had ſeventy-three ſhips taken, an hundred twenty-five ſunk, thirty-two thouſand men made priſoners, thirteen thouſand killed or drowned, and that an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver fell into the victors hands. Oroſius differs not much from him. But Polybius, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, affirms, that the Romans (D) ſunk only fifty of the Carthaginian veſſels, and took ſeventy with their crews, the reſt making off in great confuſion to the iſle of Hiera. Lutatius, following his blow, advanced to the city of Eryx; where engaging the Carthaginians, he cut off two thouſand men. This laſt action concluded the operations of the firſt Punic war [s].

Which is followed by a peace.

THE Romans, naturally inſolent in proſperity, were ſo elated with their victory, that Lutatius inſiſted upon Hamilcar's delivering up his arms to him; but this haughty demand was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation it deſerved, that great captain proteſting, "That he would ſuffer "all extremities, rather than give up thoſe arms to his "country's enemies, with which he had been entruſted for it's "preſervation." The conſul, however, underſtanding, that Hamilcar was inveſted with full powers to ſign a treaty with him, and being deſirous of having the honour of putting an end to a war, which had coſt both republics ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, before the expiration

[s] Idem ibid. ut & Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

(D) According to Diodorus, the Roman fleet, ſhips of war and tranſports, amounted to a thouſand ſail and the Carthaginian only to two hundred and fifty. But this contradicts all other authors, and is highly improbable. The leſs credit is to be given to Diodorus in this particular, as he depends entirely upon Philinus, a writer of ſuch partiality, that his authority is not to be regarded. The ſame author affirms, that the Romans loſt eighty ſhips, and had ſix thouſand men taken priſoners in this action; which conſidering the relation of it given us by other hiſtorians, ſeems abſolutely impoſſible (28).

(28) Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman.

tion of his office, he concluded a peace with that general, provided the ſenate and people of Rome would ratify it, upon the following terms: "That the Carthaginians ſhould "immediately evacuate Sicily; that they ſhould never for "the future make war upon Hiero, or any other ally of "the Romans; that they ſhould reſtore all the Roman "priſoners in their cuſtody without ranſom, but redeem "their own with money; and laſtly, that, within twen-"ty years, they ſhould pay the Romans two thouſand two "hundred Euboic talents of the pureſt ſilver[t]." Zonaras intimates, that the ſenate of Carthage ſent a deputation directly to Lutatius to ſue for peace: but he muſt give way to the ſuperior authority of Polybius and Cornelius Nepos, who affirm, that Hamilcar Barcas had the management of the whole tranſaction. The people of Rome, greatly puffed up with their unexpected ſucceſs, and looking upon the republic of Carthage as now lying at their mercy, refuſed to ratify the treaty, till they had ſent ten deputies to Sicily, to inform them thoroughly of the ſituation of affairs there, who, in conjunction with the conſul, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the four following additional articles were inſerted in it: "That the Carthaginians ſhould "encreaſe the above-ſtipulated ſum with two hundred ta-"lents; that a thouſand talents ſhould be paid immediately, "and the remaining ſum in ten years time; that the Car-"thaginians ſhould not approach with their long ſhips ei-"ther the coaſts of Italy, or any territories belonging to the "allies of the Romans; that they ſhould not make levies "either in the dominions of the Romans, or thoſe of "their allies; and laſtly, that they ſhould abandon all the "little iſlands betwixt Sicily and the coaſt of Italy." As theſe hard conditions were extorted from Hamilcar by the Romans, becauſe they ſaw him not in a ſituation to refuſe them, he, from this moment, conceived an implacable hatred to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breath, that he might have an opportunity of hereafter chaſtiſing them for the unparallelled inſolence they had been guilty of through the whole courſe, and more particularly at the concluſion, of this war. Authors are not entirely

[t] Polyb. Corn. Nep. Zon. ubi ſup. Alfenus. Varus. in lib. digeſt. 34. & conjectan. 2. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 5. & Oroſ. ubi ſup. c. 11.

entirely agreed about the preciſe duration of the firſt Punic war. Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Zonaras, ſay, it continued twenty-four years; whereas Oroſius, Eutropius, Syncellus and others, affirm it to have laſted twenty-three years only, with whom Gellius, as he makes it to have commenced A. U. C. 490, ſeems to agree. Be this as it will, both ſides ſuffered extremely by it, the Romans having loſt, ſince their firſt putting to ſea, ſeven hundred ſhips, and the Carthaginians five hundred. We ſhall not here tranſcribe the reflections Polybius makes upon the power of both ſtates in this war, ſince our readers may ſo eaſily have recourſe to that excellent hiſtorian; but content ourſelves with obſerving, that though, in his opinion, the Roman ſoldiers were far ſuperior to the Carthaginian in valour and reſolution, yet he allows Hamilcar, for his conduct and bravery, to have been the greateſt captain of the age [u].

THE Carthaginians were no ſooner got out of this bloody and expenſive war, than they found themſelves engaged in another, which had like to have proved fatal to them. The mercenary troops, that had ſerved under Hamilcar in Sicily, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly on all occaſions, upon their return to Africa, found the ſtate of Carthage ſo drained, that, far from being able to give them the largeſſes and rewards promiſed by Hamilcar, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with ſome other concurring cauſes, occaſioned a war (E), which, for three years and a half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with ſuch inſtances of cruelty and barbarity, as are ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory. The antient hiſtorians call it the Libyan or African war, and ſometimes the war with the

The Lybian war.

[u] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Corn. Nep. Zon. Oroſ. Eutrop. ubi ſup. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 275. Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 21. ſub fin.

(E) Diodorus Siculus in this point differs from Polybius; for he tells us, that this bloody war continued four years and four months. But as this is aſſerted in one of his fragments, all of which are greatly corrupted, and conſequently ſtand in need of many emendations, we ſhall not ſcruple giving the preference to Polybius, who affirms, that this war laſted three years and an half (30).

(30) Diod. Sic. l. xxv. ſub. init. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæſchel.

the mercenaries. As many ſalutary inſtructions may be drawn from thence, of great ſervice to ſome ſtates in all ages, for the better rgulation of their conduct in ſeveral important particulars, which is one of the great ends of hiſtory, Polybius has tranſmitted to poſterity a full and minute account of it. For the ſame reaſon we think it incumbent upon us, in this part of our work, to inſert the ſubſtance of what has been laid down by that noble author relating to ſo remarkable a tranſaction, aſſuring our readers at the ſame time, that nothing of moment ſhall be omitted, that we can be ſupplied with from other antient hiſtorians [w].

The mercenary troops of the Carthaginians greatly diſgufted, on account of not receiving their full pay

As ſoon as Hamilcar had put the laſt hand to the treaty abovementioned, he retired, with the forces which were in Eryx, to Lilybæum, and there reſigned his commiſſion, leaving to Giſco, the commandant of that place, the care of tranſporting them to Africa. Giſco, being an officer of great penetration, as though he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them off all at once, but in ſmall and ſeparate parties, that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off, and ſent home, before the arrival of the reſt. The Carthaginians at home, however, did not act with the ſame forecaſt andprecaution. As they were almoſtentirely exhauſted by the laſt war, and the immenſe ſum of money, in conſequence of peace, paid to the Romans, they judged it would be a laudable action to ſave ſomething to the public, not conſidering the injuſtice, as well as imprudence, of the meaſure they were going to purſue in order to this. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived, thinking it more proper to wait till they all came together, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears; but being ſoon made ſenſible of their wrong conduct on this occaſion, by the frequent diſorders theſe barbarians committed in the city, they, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood, giving them a ſum of money for their preſent ſubſiſtance, and promiſing to adjuſt their pretenſions, when the reſt of their comrades came from Sicily. For ſome time they refuſed to begin their march, becauſe the Carthaginians were not diſpoſed to permit their wives and children to ſtay in Carthage, as they

[w] Vide Polyb i. p. 65—89. Diod Sic. l. xxv. in excerp. Rhodoman. & Haſchel.

they deſired, believing, that this would be an inducement to the ſoldiers to return often to Carthage, and conſequently deprive them of the benefits they had propoſed to themſelves from their departure. However, this difficulty was at laſt got over; and all the mercenaries already arrived in Africa, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to Sicca. Polybius looks upon this ſtep as an overſight in the Carthaginians, ſince, had the women and children remained in Carthage, they would have been as ſo many hoſtages for the future good behaviour of the ſoldiers: and indeed that ſuch an advantage would have more than counterbalanced the inconvenience ariſing from an oppoſite conduct, hinted at by the ſame author, notwithſtanding the fierceneſs of the African troops, required no uncommon degree of ſagacity to apprehend [x].

Hanno encreaſes their diſguſt.

BEING now wholly immerſed in idleneſs, to which they had long being ſtrangers, a neglect of diſcipline enſued, and of courſe a petulant and licentious ſpirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquieſce in receiving their bare pay, but to inſiſt upon the rewards Hamilcar had promiſed them, and even to compel the ſtate of Carthage to comply with their demands by force of arms. The ſenate being appriſed of the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, diſpatched Hanno, one of the ſuffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at Sicca, he behaved in a very preſterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated largely upon the poverty of the ſtate, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded; and therefore, inſtead of anſwering their high expectations, he deſired them to be ſatisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to ſerve the preſſing exigencies of the public [y].

Upon which they advance in a body to Tunes.

NOTHING could have been more impolitic than this conduct of Hanno, excepting that of the Carthaginians, in employing a perſon ſo unqualified for the buſineſs he went upon. In the firſt place, he expoſed his country's weakneſs to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them againſt it, by refuſing to comply with their juſt pretenſions, when they ſeemed determined to inſiſt upon a compliance with the moſt extravagant. But this perſon's conduct was all of a piece, both in civil and military capacity, as will appear in the courſe of this war: ſo that Carthage muſt

[x]. p. 7 Polyb. ubi ſup.

[y] Idem ibid. & Appian. in Libyc. p. 7 edit. Tollii. Amſt. 1670.

muſt have been ruined, had ſhe not had ſo able a captain as Hamilcar to ſupport her in the time of this her great diſtreſs. In fine, the mercenaries being highly exaſperated, that neither Hamilcar, nor any other of the principal officers, who commanded them in Sicily, who were the beſt judges of their merit, appeared on this occaſion, but only this Hanno, a perſon utterly unknown, and above all others diſagreeable to them, had immediately recourſe to arms. Aſſembling therefore in a body, to the number of twenty thouſand men, they advanced to Tunes, and immediately encamped before that city [z].

As Polybius's hiſtory is interſperſed throughout with the fineſt political maxims and reflections, ſo ſcarce any part of it abounds more with them than deſcribing the beginning of the Libyan war. It is ſuperfluous to give theſe at large, becauſe the author is in every one's hands; and therefore we ſhall only obſerve, that though, in ſome reſpects, he approves of the Carthaginian practice, of making up their armies chiefly of mercenaries, yet in the main he condemns that practice, and demonſtrates from the breaking out of this war, as well as from the nature of the thing, that an obſervance of the fundamental axiom on which they proceeded, might ſometimes produce diſmal effects. They imagined, that by drawing their forces from different nations, who did not underſtand one another, they ſhould prevent all conſpiracies, intrigues, and combinations againſt the ſtate, and undoubtedly this had a tendency to the end propoſed. But what Ariſtotle has obſerved of their conſtitution in general, viz. that it was more wiſely framed to prevent inconveniencies than remedy them, may be applied to this particular cuſtom; for though the evil guarded againſt by it was frequently by this means prevented, yet when it happened, the conſequence could ſcarce fail of being deplorable, ſince it was next to impoſſible for any officers to perſuade a ſoldiery, compoſed of ſo many nations in any tongue, to liſten to the dictates of reaſon. As Polybius has ſet this point in a ſtrong light, we ſhall refer our readers to him, and now return to the hiſtory [a].

The mercenaries break out into an open rebellion.

THE Carthaginians, being greatly alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a body to Tunes, made large conceſſions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to their duty. They ordered them ſupplies of proviſions at their own prices, and ſent a deputation of even ſenators themſelv

[z] Polyb. ubi ſup. [a] Idem ibid. Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 11

ſelves to confer with their chiefs, and, if poſſible, to ſatisfy them. Far from being ſoftened, they grew more inſolent upon theſe conceſſions, taking them for the effects of fear and weakneſs in the Carthaginians. As this powerful corps conſiſted of Iberians, Gauls, Ligurians, natives of the Balearic iſlands, Greeks, and Africans, who were ſtrangers to one another's language, the Carthaginians found it next to impoſſible to treat with them. Many of them likewiſe being ſlaves and deſerters, and conſequently expecting capital puniſhment, either for this rebellion, or ſome other enormous crime, did their utmoſt to prevent all friendly intercourſe with the ſtate of Carthage. They moreover conſidered that republic as deſtitute of troops, and themſelves as the beſt ſoldiers in the world, having performed many notable exploits in Sicily, and been trained up there in the art of war by the moſt celebrated captain of the age. Theſe conſiderations, for ſome time, made them entirely averſe to all thoughts of an accommodation. They roſe in their demands, without the leaſt regard to reaſon, juſtice, or moderation. They practiſed every knaviſh art that could be thought of to extort money from their maſters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourſe to a new artifice, on which to ground ſome freſh pretenſion. Was their pay ſettled beyond the agreement made with them, they ſtill would be reimburſed for the loſſes, which they pretended to have ſuſtained, either (E) by the death of horſes, the exceſſive price they had, at certain times, paid for their bread-corn, or their ſhort allowance of proviſions at thoſe ſeaſons. They inſiſted alſo upon the recompence due to their merit, ſo often promiſed; and that, in all theſe points, they ſhould have immediate ſatisfaction given them. The Carthaginians, finding themſelves obliged to make a virtue of neceſſity, ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſatisfy them in all points, how unreaſonable ſoever, and agreed to refer themſelves to the opinion of ſome general in Sicily, who had commanded them there, as they all along deſired, leaving the choice

(E) According to Diodorus Siculus, the mercenaries inſiſted upon being paid for every one of their body who fell in Sicily, as well as for the loſs of their horſes here mentioned; which that hiſtorian looked upon as a very unjuſt and unreaſonable demand (30)

(30) Diod. Sic. in loc. jam laudat.

choice of such commander entirely to them. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisco, a person greatly beloved by them, to mediate this affair, believing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, since he never appeared amongst them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. Gisco soon arrived at Tunes with money to pay the troops; and after conferring with the officers, and the several nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; put them in mind of the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service, the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and, in short, gave them to understand, that their reasonable demands would be complied with; at the same time desiring them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and rest satisfied with their pay. This made such an impression upon the minds of the soldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of the principal mutineers, occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. Spendius was by nation a Campanian, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a strong, lusty, and extremely bold fellow. The apprehensions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged or crucified, his crime meriting capital punishment by the Roman laws, if a pacification took place, prompted him to break off the accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free-born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Carthaginians, he knew, that a peace must infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly espoused the interests of Spendius, and insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this could not but leave them singly exposed to the rage of the Carthaginians. "The Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, and Greeks" said he "after having received their arrears, will be dismissed, "and from thenceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repose amongst "their countrymen at home, whereas you, being left alone, "will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, "and, destitute of support, fall an easy sacrifice to the re-"sentment of your imperious masters." This gave a new turn to affairs, and so incensed the Africans, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately assembled in a tumultuous manner. The

foreigners

foreigners ſoon joined them, being inſpired by Spendius with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongſt them, but the moſt bitter oaths and horrid imprecations uttered againſt Giſco and the Carthaginians. Whoever offered to make any remonſtrance, or lend an ear to temperate counſels, was ſtoned to death by the enraged multitude; nay, many perſons loſt their lives, barely for preſuming to ſpeak, before the purport of their diſcourſe could be known, or any one could from thence with certainty infer, whether they were in the intereſt of the Carthaginians or Spendius. As the ſtate of Carthage had very impoliticly ſupplied the malecontents with plenty of wine, and all kinds of proviſions, they indulged themſelves with great freedom; and being at this very juncture heated (F) with wine, which they had drank to great exceſs, they gave a full vent to their rage and inſolence, threatening the African republic with utter deſtruction. In fine, no one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of Spendius and Mathos to head them in the intended expedition [b].

In the midſt of theſe commotions, Giſco behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity. That general had too much

And advance towards Utica.

[b] Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valeſ.

(F) We learn from Polyænus, that the Libyans or Africans were much addicted to drunkenneſs; which Himilco, a Carthaginian general, being appriſed of, found an opportunity of intoxicating their troops in a war the Carthaginians had with that people, and, by this ſtratagem, gained a ſignal advantage over them. Poſſibly the Carthaginians might have ſomething of that kind in view at this time, when they ſupplied the mercenaries with ſuch quantities of wine. If they had not, they were in the higheſt degree impolitic to furniſh their enemies with wine at this juncture, as well as all ſorts of proviſions. Be this as it will, they ſeem to have been infatuated, their conduct, from the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, having been nothing but a ſeries of blunders and miſtakes. We ſhall not, however, here expatiate upon this topic, but refer our curious readers to Polybius, whoſe judicious reflections and obſervations cannot fail of giving them ample ſatisfaction (31).

(31) Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 10. ex. 1

much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to deſiſt from all poſſible attempts to reduce the mutineers to reaſon, notwithſtanding his preſent dangerous ſituation. He left no methods untried to ſoften the officers, and calm the minds of the ſoldiery, though at the ſame time he kept up an air of dignity and command, giving them to underſtand, that Carthage was not in ſuch low circumſtances as they imagined. But the many falſe ſteps the Carthaginians had been guilty of ſince the commencement of theſe troubles, as well as before, defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The torrent of ſedition was now become ſo ſtrong and rapid, that there was no poſſibility of ſtemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A ſcarcity of proviſions ſucceeding their late plenty and profuſion, the troops, in an inſolent manner, demanded of Giſco an immediate ſupply, who, to reprove their inſolence, bade them go to Mathos their captain for it. Such an accident as this, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the malecontents, could not but ſet the whole camp in a flame. "Shall "he with impunity," ſaid they, "not only refuſe "redreſſing our juſt grievances and complaints, but "turn even our wants and neceſſities into ridicule?" In a moment therefore they ſeized upon the military cheſt, dividing the money amongſt themſelves in part of their arrears, put the perſon of Giſco under arreſt, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmoſt indignities. Mathos and Spendius, to deſtroy the remoteſt hopes of a reconciliation with Carthage, applauded the courage and reſolution of their men, loaded the unhappy Giſco, and his followers, with irons, and formally declared war againſt the Carthaginians. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had ſent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, ſoon came over to them, except Utica and Hippo Dyarrhytus, or, as Polybius calls it, Hippacra. By this means their army being greatly encreaſed, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards Utica, whilſt the other marched to Hippo, in order to beſiege both thoſe places. The Carthaginians in the mean time found themſelves ready to ſink under the preſſure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been expoſed to ſuch imminent dan-

ge

ger. Every thing at preſent ſeemed to conſpire to their ruin. After they had been haraſſed four-and-twenty years by a moſt cruel and deſtructive foreign war, they entertained hopes of enjoying ſome repoſe; and re-eſtabliſhing their affairs; inſtead of which, a numerous army ariſes out of their own bowels, threatening them with immediate deſtruction. All the citizens of Carthage drew their particular ſubſiſtance from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from Africa; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worſe, had it turned entirely againſt them. They were deſtitute of arms and forces either for ſea or land; of all neceſſary preparations for the ſuſtaining of a ſiege, or the equipping of a fleet. They ſuffered all the calamities incident to the moſt ruinous civil war, and, to complete their miſery, had not the leaſt proſpect of receiving aſſiſtance from any foreign friend or ally [c].

The true cauſes of this rebellion.

SUCH was the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs at Carthage, which the Carthaginians had, in a great meaſure, themſelves occaſioned, by their numerous inſtances of cruelty, injuſtice, and ill conduct. During the laſt war, they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed all the African nations ſubject to them, by impoſing exceſſive tributes upon them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of miſery. They never ſent ſuch governors into the provinces as were likely to win the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation; but ſuch only as would moſt fleece them, in order to fit out fleets, and raiſe armies, and by that means the moſt adminiſter to the ambition of the republic, where Hanno at that time governed with almoſt an abſolute ſway. This being conſidered, it cannot certainly appear ſtrange, that the Africans were ſo eaſily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very firſt ſignal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the greateſt affliction, ſeen their huſbands and fathers dragged to priſon for non-payment of the moſt unreaſonable taxes and impoſts, as likewiſe ſuffering cruel deaths for the ſlighteſt crimes, ſhewed themſelves every-where extremely active in forwarding a revolt. They not only entered into an aſſociation to an-

[c] Polyb. & Diodor. ubi ſup.

noy, by all poſſible methods, ſo barbarous and inhuman an enemy, but likewiſe with pleaſure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. Mathos and Spendius therefore, by ſuch ſeaſonable and large ſupplies, found themſelves enabled, not only to animate their ſoldiers by a prompt payment of the ſums promiſed them, but likewiſe to ſettle a ſufficient fund for all the future exigencies of the army; in which, ſays Polybius, they acted like wiſe men, who do not only look to the preſent occaſion, but likewiſe extend their views to futurity [d].

The Carthaginians make preparations to reduce the mercenaries to reaſon.

THE Carthaginians, notwithſtanding their deplorable circumſtances, did not deſpond, but purſued all the meaſures neceſſary to put themſelves into a poſture of defence. As Hanno had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in their ſervice, by conquering a territory of good extent on the confines of Hecatompolis, they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces. Troops they levied both for land and ſea-ſervice, horſe as well as foot. All citizens capable of bearing arms, were muſtered; the horſe exerciſed with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new galleys built, and all the old ones refitted. In ſhort, the moſt extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers, but even to reduce them to reaſon by force of arms [e].

Mathos and Spendius beſiege Utica and Hippacra at the ſame time.

IN the mean time, Mathos and Spendius, having an army of ſeventy thouſand men at their devotion, began the military operations. They laid ſiege to Utica and Hippacra at one and the ſame time, and puſhed on both thoſe ſieges with the utmoſt vigour. But as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that purpoſe, they remained with the main body of their forces at Tunes, and thereby cut off all communication betwixt Carthage and the continent of Africa. This greatly ſtreightened the Carthaginians, whoſe capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The Africans likewiſe haraſſed them by perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of Carthage by day, as well as by night, and treating with the utmoſt cruelty every Carthaginian that fell into their hands [f].

HANNO,

[d] Polyb. ubi ſup. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Polyb. ubi ſup

HANNO, a general more to be eſteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, notwithſtanding the reputation he had acquired by the conqueſt above-mentioned, marched to the relief of Utica with a good body of forces, an hundred elephants, and a large train of battering-engines. Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their intrenchments, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, by the help of his elephants, forced them, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. As the (G) elephants did great execution,

Hanno ſent againſt them, who behaves very imprudently.

(G) If we remember right, no mention is made by the antient hiſtorians of the Carthaginians uſing elephants in war, till the time of the firſt Punic war. It is certain Plutarch takes no notice of them, when he gives us a deſcription of the arrangement of the Carthaginian forces juſt before the battle on the banks of the Crimeſus; nor Diodorus, when he deſcribes the diſpoſitions of the Carthaginian armies before their various engagements with Dionyſius and Agathocles. This countenances Giſbertus Cuperus's opinion, who aſſerts, that elephants never formed part of an army in Europe, till after the time of Alexander the Great, who took many of thoſe animals from Porus an Indian king; which occaſioned their being known and uſed by his ſucceſſors afterwards in Greece; for if their military uſe had been known by the Sicilians before, or even at that period of time, that people would moſt certainly have joined them with their other forces in ſome of the earlieſt wars they were engaged in; which, from the ſilence of all hiſtorians mentioning the Sicilian wars, it is plain they never did. It follows therefore, that they were not uſed in Sicily before the interval above mentioned, which was the moſt likely part of Europe for them to be known in, by reaſon of its vicinity to Libya, which produced them. It ſeems to follow likewiſe, that the Carthaginians did not intermix them with their troops before that period, ſince hiſtory could not have omitted taking notice of ſo formidable a part of their armies, had they been a part of them; eſpecially as we find afterwards, that almoſt in all battles wherein they were concerned, they were, in a manner, the ſole cauſe of victory. We cannot help further remarking, that, unleſs we are greatly deceived, no mention is made of armed chariots after the introduction of elephants into military engagements, nor of elephants before the laſt time armed chariots are mentioned in any battles the Carthaginians had with their enemies. This, if true, as we perſuade ourſelves it is, will point out to us the interval, in which chariots were firſt diſuſed, and elephants introduced amongſt the Carthaginians, viz. betwixt the year before Chriſt 309, when Agathocles defeated Hanno and Bomilcar, the laſt time we hear of chariots

ecution, the mercenaries loſt a vaſt number of men in this action, and conſequently the advantage gained was ſo conſiderable, that it might have proved deciſive, had Hanno made a proper uſe of it. But not entertaining a right idea of thoſe veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of Hamilcar in Sicily, to fly before an enemy, face about, and attack their purſuers, in one and the ſame day, as occaſion ſhould require, he imagi-

ned

riots in the Carthaginian armies, and the year 262, before the chriſtian æra, when the Romans routed Hanno before Agrigentum, the firſt time we find elephants mentioned in them; and not only ſo, but likewiſe fully prove, that the cuſtom of fighting with elephants was adopted by the people under conſideration in the room of that which before prevailed of engaging with chariots. What ſtrengthens this is, that thoſe nations, who, it is probable, knew nothing of elephants, as the Britons, Gauls, &c. had chariots in uſe amongſt them, till they were conquered by the Romans, as is evident from Diodorus, Cæſar, and Dio. Pyrrhus was the firſt who brought them into Italy; and that the Romans had little or no knowledge of them for a conſiderable time after that prince's death, appears from the defeat Regulus received from Xantippus, occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by the Carthaginian elephants, of which the Romans were ſo much afraid, that, for two years afterwards, they durſt not look the enemy in the face in Sicily. It likewiſe further appears from the overthrow Cæcilius gave Aſdrubal near Panormus, when he took moſt of the elephants, and ſent them to Rome, as a great curioſity. According to Pauſanias, the Indians in Aſia, and the Libyans in Africa, were the firſt nations that uſed elephants in battles, others only eſteeming them on account of the ivory they produced. The Perſians, Lydians, and neighbouring nations, antiently intermixed camels with their troops, as in after-ages they did elephants. Though from Herodotus, Plato, and others, it is ſufficiently evident, that Egypt produced elephants, particularly that part of it bordering upon Ethiopia; yet they were not known in that country as military animals, till the time of the Ptolemies. From Egypt, it is probable, the practice of fighting with them ſpread into Cyrenaica, the people of which region, in all likelihood, might communicate it to their neighbours the Carthaginians. Neither the Jews, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Arabs, Ethiopians, nor even the Medes and Perſians, ever brought elephants into the field before the reign of Alexander the Great. King Juba in Philoſtratus intimates, that the Moors and Libyans, in very early times, fought with elephants; which notion ſeems likewiſe to be countenanced by Ælian. Lucretius affirms the Carthaginians to have invented this method of fight-

ing

ned himſelf to have routed a body of raw, undiſciplined Africans and Numidians, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country; and therefore entering the town, lay there in great ſecurity, his troops in the mean time, ordered to guard the camp, being every where off their duty. The mercenaries, who, after Hanno's victory, had rallied their ſhattered forces upon a neighbouring eminence, ſtrong by its ſitu-

 ation,

ing; but as ſuch an opinion runs counter to the whole ſtream of antiquity, we ſhall pay no regard to it (32).

According to Dr. Hyde, the moſt uſual name of the elephant in India is bari or bri; from whence, it is probable, the Latin words barrus, barritus, ebur, &c. were derived. Iſidore adds ſome weight to this, when he tells us, that, in the Indian language, an elephant is called barro. Martinius makes the elephant to be named in the Chaldee beira; which probably was likewiſe the Ethiopic name, or nearly related to it, ſince there is a great affinity betwixt the Ethiopic and the Chaldee; and, in confirmation of this ſentiment, Horace's ſcholiaſt interprets the word barri of the elephants of Ethiopia. The animal under conſideration went likewiſe almoſt all over the eaſt by the appellation phil or pil, and even in Egypt and Ethiopia; though, in the laſt country, that animal is now called nage, and by the Copts delphinos. In ſome parts of India the elephants were named boſare, according to Arrian; in others, if Ælian may be credited, praſii and taxilæ, from the names of the places where they were produced. The Moors and Carthaginians ſtyled an elephant cæſar, as we learn from Spartian and Servius. Some derive the word elephas or ἐλέφας from phil, with the Arabic article al prefixed; others from the Hebrew verb alaph, he learned, the elephant, according to Pliny, Arrian, and others, being an animal of ſurpriſing docility; and laſtly, others from the Hebrew aleph or eleph, ſignifying an ox, a leader, or indeed any large quadruped. Heſychius uſes the

(32) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 137. in not. (B). Diod. Sic l. iv. p. 209. Cæſ. de bell. Gal. l. iv. Dio. Caſſ. l. lxii. p. 706. in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov. 1616. Polyb. l. i. Pauſan. l. i. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 4. ex. 12. Xenoph. in Cyropæd. l. vii. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vii. c. 2. Herdot. l. ii. Plat. in crit. Xenoph. ubi ſup. l. vi. paſſ. Ælian. de animal l. xvii. c. 36. Ezech. c. xxv. ver. 5. Rex Juba apud Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii. c. 6. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. xii. c. 55. Lucret. l. v. Vid Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & Giſbert. Cuper. de elephantis, in num. obv. exercitat. edit. ab Albert. Henric. de Sallengre, in nov. theſaur. antiquitat. Romanar. tom. iii. Hagæ-Comit. 1719.

ation, and covered with a wood, where they had poſted themſelves, being informed of this, poured down upon them, cut many of them off, forced the reſt to fly into

the words piriſſas and elephas as ſynonymous terms. So much for the name (33).

The Carthaginians generally poſted theſe animals in front, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, as we learn from the manner in which Xantippus, Hannibal, Mago, &c. drew up their armies. This ſeems a farther proof, that they immediately ſucceeded armed chariots, which had the ſame ſituation aſſigned them in the Carthaginian armies. Sometimes, however, they were diſtributed in both wings, as appears from Livy. The elephants made uſe of by the Carthaginians in battles were generally, if not always, Indian elephants, which much exceeded the Libyan in ſtrength and magnitude. Each of theſe had a wooden tower faſtened to his back, with twenty-two warriors in it, and an Indian to manage the beaſt, which he did with the utmoſt dexterity. The Libyan elephants were not able to carry above ſix or ſeven men, as Geſner and Aldrovandus have proved from Livy, Pliny, and Solinus. In the firſt book of the Maccabees, Antiochus Eupator is ſaid to have brought againſt the Jews ſeveral Indian elephants, with towers on their backs, containing thirty-two men a-piece, with an Indian guide. Philoſtratus ſays, that an Indian elephant as much exceeded in ſize one of Libya, as this laſt did a Nyſæan horſe; and Pliny tells us, that the African elephants were ſo much afraid of the Indian, that they could not bear the ſight of them; which is confirmed by Livy and Polybius, who intimate, that the Libyan elephants could neither bear the noiſe nor ſmell of the Indian. Theſe laſt animals, according to Ælian, were nine cubits high, and five broad. The Romans called the elephant bos Luca, or bos Lucana, becauſe they firſt ſaw that creature in Lucania, and uſed the word bos to denote any great animal. That nation firſt placed elephants in their armies in the year of Rome 555, in the conſulate of P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta. As the Carthaginian ſoldiers were exerciſed by their officers, ſo their elephants were trained up and exerciſed by the Indian guides. By their monſtrous ſize, filthy ſmell, terrible noiſe,

(33) Thom. Hyde in lib. de ludis orientalib. p. 93. Iſidor. in orig. l. xii. Matth. Martin. lex. philolog. in voce Elephas. Schol. in Hor. epod. xii. Sidon. Apollinar. carm. 23. Pomp. Feſt. in voc. Barrire. Arrian. de reb. Indic. Plin. l. viii. c. 7. Cic. epiſt. fam. 1. l. vii. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1428. Ælian. in hiſt. animal. l. xiii. c. 12. Spartian. in Æl. Ver. Serv. in Æn. 1. Vide etiam Arrian. in peripl. mar. Erythr. Bochart. hierozoic. part. prior. c. 23, 24, &c. & Giſbert. Cuper. ubi ſup.

into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and ſeized upon all the proviſions, military ſtores, &c. brought from Carthage to the relief of the beſieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; another inſtance of his military incapacity ſoon diſcovered itſelf. Notwithſtanding he lay encamped in the moſt advantageous manner near a town called Gorza (H), at which place

noiſe, and prodigious ſtrength, as well as the efforts of the garriſons on their backs, they generally threw the enemy into confuſion, and made great havock amongſt them. The Indians, that managed them, appeared in a dreſs the moſt proper to heighten the conſternation of the enemy, and began the fight with the utmoſt fury. No horſes but the Numidian, which were accuſtomed to them, could approach the Indian elephants; and therefore the enemy's cavalry was ſoon put to the rout by them. Sometimes, by being pierced with darts, they became ſo enraged, as to turn upon their own men, treading vaſt numbers of the ſoldiers to death, which was their common method of deſtroying thoſe they attacked; though ſometimes with their trunk or proboſcis they diſpatched them. The Romans alſo ſometimes, by firing the caſtles on their backs, forced them to recoil upon their own troops, which, in ſuch a caſe, they did not fail of putting into diſorder. When this happened, the Carthaginians themſelves were obliged to kill them; which they did very expeditiouſly, by a method Aſdrubal diſcovered, and which we find deſcribed by Livy. Theſe are the principal points relating to the manner of fighting with elephants, particularly amongſt the Carthaginians, as far as we can collect from the authors, who have been the moſt explicit on this ſubject. The natural hiſtory of the elephant our readers may expect from us in another note (34).

(H) It may be collected from Polybius, that the town of Gorza was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Utica, and not far from the iſthmus or neck of land joining the peninſula, on which Carthage ſtood, to the continent of Africa, though the ſituation of it cannot be preciſely determined. It is probable the Punic name was Goza or

(34) Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. &c. paſſ. Veget. de re militar. l. iii c. 24. 1 Maccab. c, viii. ver. 6. Hormius ad Sulpit. Sever. l. ii. Geſner. & Aldrovand. de eleph. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. ii c. 6. Plin. l. viii. c. 9. Liv. l. xxxvii. Polyb. l. v. c. 85. Ælian. de animal. l. xiii. c. 8. Verginius apud Varron. l. vi. Veget ubi ſup. c. 24. Modeſtus in lib. de vocab. rei militar. Enn fragment. ed. Amſt. 1707. p. 305. Sil. Ital. l. ix. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. Curt. l. viii. Hirt. in bell. Afric. Plut. in Pyr. Marcel. & Hannib.

place he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve thoſe advantages, and even ſuffered the mercenaries to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſthmus, which joined the peninſula, on which Carthage ſtood, to the continent of Africa [d].

Hamilcar commands the Carthaginians in his room.

SUCH repeated miſtakes, which had almoſt proved fatal to the republic, highly diſpleaſed the Carthaginians, and induced them once more to place Hamilcar Barcas at the head of the forces. This could not but be extremely mortifying to Hanno, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the Barchine faction, and of courſe infuſe new life into Hamilcar and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during Hanno's influence, were excluded from all poſts in the adminiſtration. Hamilcar, in all reſpects, anſwered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched againſt the enemy with an army of about ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, and ſeventy elephants, all the troops the Carthaginians could at that time aſſemble for their defence; which is a full proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As Mathos, after he had made himſelf maſter of the iſthmus, had poſted proper detachments in two paſſes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the Bagrada, which, through Hanno's neglect, he had taken, Hamilcar ſaw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of coming at him. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to a ſtratagem

[d] Polyb. ubi. ſup.

or Gaza, ſince the Greeks frequently inſerted the letter R or P in ſuch proper names, as appears from Bochart; and Gaza or Goza (a permutation of vowels eſpecially O and A, being very common in the Hebrew and Phœnician proper names, when written and pronounced by the Greeks) was the Carthaginian name of a town in Sicily, as well as the Phœnician name of a fortreſs in Paleſtine, or, as the prophet calls it, Peleſeth. Be this as it will, that not only Gaz or Goza, but likewiſe Chorſa or Gorza, is the Punic proper name of a place, cannot be denied, after a peruſal of Bochart. No author, either antient or modern, if we remember right, except Polybius in this paſſage, has ſo much as mentioned it (35).

(35) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 29, 31. & l. ii. 12. Steph. de urb. in Γάζα. Arrian. l. ii. Q. Curt. l. iv. Iſai. c. xiv. ver. 29, 31. 1 Sam. c. vi. ver. 17, & alib. Bochart. Chan. l i. c. 44. ſub. init.

tagem at this critical conjuncture, eſpecially as Mathos lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmoſt vigilance. Obſerving that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with ſand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river paſſable, though with no ſmall difficulty, as long as thoſe winds continued, he halted for ſome time at the river's mouth, without communicating to any perſon his deſign. As ſoon as the wind favoured his intended project, he paſſed the river privately by night, without the leaſt oppoſition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any ſuch attempt. Immediately after his paſſage, he drew up the troops in order of battle, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards Mathos, who was poſted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to Hamilcar's glory, being of ſo daring a nature, that it equally ſurpriſed the malecontents and the Carthaginians [e].

And defeats the mercenaries.

THE Africans being informed, that Hamilcar ſucceeded Hanno in the command of the Carthaginian army, that he had already paſſed the Bagrada, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. They very well knew, that they had now to deal not with a man of Hanno's genius, but with the greateſt captain of the age; a captain, from whom they themſelves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely ſuperior to all their generals in every branch of it. However, Spendius, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thouſand men out of Matho's camp, with which he attended Hamilcar on one ſide, and ordered fifteen thouſand from Utica to obſerve him on the other, thinking by this means to ſurround the Carthaginians, and cut off both their army and general at one ſingle ſtroke. Hamilcar in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in the following manner: the elephants were poſted in front, then came the cavalry, and after them the light-armed infantry, being ſupported by the targeteers, who brought up the rear. But obſerving the mercenaries to approach him with great temerity, though at the ſame time with reſolution, and as much confidence as if they had been ſure of victory, he changed his

[e] Idem ibid.

his order of battle in a precipitate manner, ſtill retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of them. This motion anſwered the end propoſed; for the mercenaries, looking upon it as the effect of fear, and conſequently as a tacit acknowledgment of their valour and ſuperiority, fell upon him with great fury, but without any diſcipline or order. Hamilcar therefore facing about in an inſtant, and his horſe behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were ſoon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own men coming to their relief, and miſtaking them for the Carthaginians, they engaged them; upon which a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. In fine, Hamilcar gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had ſix thouſand men killed, and two thouſand taken priſoners. The reſt fled, ſome to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at Utica. Hamilcar did not give the enemy time to recover from their defeat, as Hanno before had done, but purſued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge before-mentioned; which he entered without oppoſition, the mercenaries flying in great confuſion to Tunes. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, ſubmitted to the Carthaginians; others Hamilcar reduced by force. In ſhort, the Carthaginians, finding that Hamilcar had ſeized many of the enemy's advantageous poſts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would ſoon put a happy concluſion to this deſtructive war [f].

Hamilcar aſſiſted by Naravaſus.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſaſters, Mathos puſhed on the ſiege of Hippo with great vigour, and appointed Spendius and Autaritus, commander of the Gauls, with a ſtrong body of troops, to obſerve the motions of Hamilcar, adviſing them above all things to guard againſt a ſurprize; which, conſidering the abilities of that general, as well as his ſuperiority in horſe and elephants, was a very wholeſome admonition. At the ſame time, he ſolicited the Numidians and neighbouring Africans to ſend him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmoſt efforts at the preſent juncture, which ſeemed to be the only opportunity left them of recovering their liberty, to aſſert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the Carthaginians. Spendius and Autaritus therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of ſix thouſand men, drawn out of the camp at Tunes, and two thouſand Gallic horſe, attended Hamilcar, approaching

[f] Idem ibid. & Corn. Nep. ubi ſup.

ing him as near as they could with ſafety, and keeping cloſe to the ſkirts of the mountains, as they had been adviſed. At laſt Spendius, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all the heights ſurrounding the plain, in which Hamilcar lay encamped, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking him. Accordingly he placed the Numidians in the rear and the Africans in front, whilſt he himſelf, with his firſt detachment, was reſolved to charge the enemy in flank; and having made this diſpoſition, boldly advanced towards the Carthaginians. Had a battle enſued, Hamilcar and his whole army muſt, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good fortune interpoſing, ſaved them both. It happened, that at that time one Naravaſus, a young Numidian nobleman, eminent for his perſonal merit, commanded a body of Numidians in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out of the preſent war, had been a great promoter of the Carthaginian intereſt, on account of the friendſhip, that had ſubſiſted many years betwixt his father and that nation; and, being now charmed with the great worth of Hamilcar, was determined to renew his former good underſtanding with Carthage, and not ſuffer ſo brave a man to be ſacrificed. He therefore, with an hundred Numidian horſe, approached the Carthaginian lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had ſomething of importance to communicate to the general. As the Carthaginians ſhewed themſelves a little diffident of him, he immediately diſmounted, and, leaving his horſe and arms with the guard that eſcorted him, went directly to Hamilcar's tent, without the leaſt diſtruſt or ſuſpicion. He then informed Hamilcar, that he was well diſpoſed towards the Carthaginian nation in general, but that to contract a friendſhip with him, for whom he had the moſt profound veneration and eſteem, was the height of his ambition. Hamilcar, greatly admiring ſo generous, polite, and gallant an action, made him an equal return of gallantry, politeneſs, and generoſity. He made him his abſolute confident in all points whatſoever. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his moſt ſecret deſigns; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the fame of this event, two thouſand Numidians came over in a body to Hamilcar, who, ſtrengthened by ſuch a ſeaſonable reinforcement, found himſelf in a condition to give Spendius and Autaritus battle. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time in

ſuſpenſe;

ſuſpenſe; but, the young Numidian moſt eminently diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and the Carthaginian elephants bearing down all before them, the mercenaries were at laſt entirely overthrown. Spendius and Autaritus eſcaped by flight, but left ten thouſand of their men dead upon the ſpot, beſides four thouſand taken priſoners. All the priſoners, who were willing to take on in the Carthaginian ſervice, Hamilcar received amongſt his troops, ſupplying them with the arms of the ſoldiers, who had fallen in the engagement. To the reſt he gave free liberty to go where-ever they pleaſed, on condition that they ſhould never for the future bear arms againſt the Carthaginians. However, he thought proper to acquaint them, that as many violators of this agreement as ſhould hereafter fall into his hands, muſt expect to ſuffer death without mercy [g].

The chiefs of the mercenaries guilty of great cruelty.

MATHOS, Spendius, and Autaritus, the chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occaſion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient left them to prevent it would be, to put them upon ſome action ſo execrable and ſhocking in its own nature, as ſhould deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having aſſembled them in a formal manner, as though ſomething of moment was to have been imparted to them, a meſſenger, as had been before concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in Sardinia, who had followed the example of the Africans, giving them advice of a ſecret deſign formed by ſome of their comrades, in conjunction with Giſco, to reſcue that general, and all his attendants, out of priſon at Tunes, where they had been ſo long detained. Spendius on this occaſion made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, wherein he exhorted them not to be impoſed upon by Hamilcar's pretended clemency, ſince this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take vengeance of them all at once. He further adviſed them to have a narrow eye upon Giſco; inſinuating, that the eſcape of an officer of ſuch influence and capacity might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He had ſcarce finiſhed, when another courier arrived, as was given out, from Tunes, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon Autaritus, addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiery, moved, in ſupport of what Spendius had advanced, that who-

[g] Polyb. ubi ſup.

whoever ſhould ſhew any diſpoſition to repoſe the leaſt confidence in the Carthaginian promiſes or inſinuations, ſhould be deemed a traitor; and in fine, gave it as his opinion, that Giſco, and all the Carthaginians with him, ought immediately to be put to death. Autaritus, being very popular in the army, and ſuppoſed to have a perfect knowledge of the Carthaginians, as having reſided long amongſt them, and being a perfect maſter of their language, was liſtened to with great attention. His ſpeech in fine made ſuch an impreſſion, that the whole aſſembly expreſſed themſelves of the ſame ſentiments, though ſome of every nation joined in a petition, that as Giſco had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be diſpatched without any torture; but the groſs of the army being compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, and not underſtanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to it. In conformity therefore to that ſavage brutality ſo natural to them, the mercenaries firſt ſtoned to death all the priſoners they had taken from the Carthaginians in the late engagements, who were ſoon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of Spendius, executed Giſco, and ſeven hundred Carthaginians with him, as the vileſt malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies diſmembered, and afterwards thrown breathing into a hole prepared for them. The Carthaginians, being appriſed of theſe inhuman cruelties, were moſt ſenſibly touched with them, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmoſt ſeverity. In the mean time, Hamilcar ſending an herald to demand the remains of his countrymen, in order to pay them the laſt ſad office, received for anſwer, that whoever preſumed hereafter to come upon that errand, ſhould meet with Giſco's fate. They moreover came to an immediate reſolution to treat all ſuch Carthaginians as ſhould fall into their hands with the ſame barbarity. As for their countrymen in the Carthaginian ſervice, who ſhould happen to be taken priſoners, they paſſed a decree, firſt to cut off their hands, and then ſend them to Carthage; which bloody reſolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. Such infernal practices as theſe, ſo contrary to the laws of nature and all nations, can never be ſufficiently deteſted. However, as they are on one ſide ſufficient proofs of the more than ferine diſpoſition of the Africans, they may on the other likewiſe be conſidered

ſidered as ſtrong intimations of Carthaginian oppreſſion, ſince human nature, wicked as it is, ſeems ſcarce capable of ſuch cruelties, except it be in the higheſt degree irritated and inflamed. This reflection, ſo naturally occurring to us from what has been juſt related, we could not avoid. As for others, a large field for which muſt neceſſarily open itſelf to all our curious and intelligent readers, we are obliged to paſs them by untouched; at the ſame time obſerving, that a peruſal of Polybius, in the point before us, will in a good meaſure ſupply our deficiency in this particular [h].

Utica and Hippacra revolt to the mercenaries.

HAMILCAR, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of his countrymen, ordered Hanno, who, it ſeems, at that time commanded a ſeparate body, to join him, that they might act with the greater vigour againſt the enemy. In order to deter the malecontents from ſuch enormous proceeding for the future, he threw all the priſoners that fell into his hands, to wild beaſts, to be devoured by them, being convinced, that compaſſion ſerved only to render them more fierce and untractable. And now, when the Carthaginians were juſt beginning, as it were, to breath, and recover their ſpirits, ſeveral unlucky accidents concurred again to depreſs them. By reaſon of a miſunderſtanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken againſt the enemy; a great ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, of which they were in extreme neceſſity, coming to them from Emporium by ſea, were all caſt away in a ſtorm; Sardinia, which had always ſerved them as a magazine in their greateſt ſtreights, was totally loſt, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve; and, to complete all their other misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of Utica and Hippacra, the two only cities which, till then, had preſerved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when Agathocles and the Romans made their deſcents in Africa. The citizens, not ſatisfied with entering into an alliance with Mathos and Spendius, maſſacred the Carthaginian garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls; nay, to imitate their good allies in all their amiable qualities, they refuſed them burial, though the Carthaginians, by their embaſſadors, in moſt preſſing terms deſired this favour of them. The mercenaries, animated by

[h] Idem ibid. & Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valeſ.

by ſuch ſucceſs, advanced to the very walls of Carthage, with an intention to lay ſiege to that city [i].

Hiero aſſiſts the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginians, being appriſed of the diviſion betwixt their generals, and ſeeing the fatal effects of it, reſolved to ſeparate them, but left the determination of this point entirely to the army, who having had long experience of the great merit of Hamilcar, continued him in his command; upon which Hanno was recalled a ſecond time to Carthage, and Hannibal, an officer more agreeable to Hamilcar, ſent to ſupply his place. Upon Hannibal's arrival in the camp, affairs ſoon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not clogged as formerly; they ſent out detachments to plunder and lay waſte the country, in order to cut off all ſubſiſtence from the enemy; which they happily effected, deſtroying or carrying off all the forage and proviſions. This, however, did not entirely relieve the garriſon of Carthage, which was reduced to great extremities. The Carthaginians therefore were obliged to have recourſe to their friends, and particularly to Hiero king of Syracuſe; who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole courſe of this war. That prince, as Polybius obſerves, acted according to the maxims of true policy on this occaſion; ſince, if Carthage had been now deſtroyed, Rome would have had no rival to contend with in any future times, and therefore he himſelf might ſoon have lain at the mercy of the Romans, without a poſſibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power [k].

THEY alſo applied to the Romans for aſſiſtance at this critical juncture, though they had, ſince the concluſion of the laſt treaty, diſobliged them. At the beginning of this war, they ſeized upon ſeveral Roman veſſels trading to the coaſts of Africa, for ſupplying the enemy with military ſtores and proviſions, and detained the crews, conſiſting of five hundred men, in cuſtody. The Romans, being incenſed at this treatment, threatened the Carthaginians with their reſentment, if they did not releaſe the priſoners, and reſtore them their ſhips. The Carthaginians, either out of a principle of fear or generoſity, immediately ſent both the men

[i] Polyb. ubi ſup.

[k] Idem ibid. & Zonar. ubi ſup.

men and ſhips to Rome, and that in ſo handſome a manner, as gave the Romans entire ſatisfaction. The Romans therefore, not to be behind-hand with them in point of politeneſs, at this time ſent them all the priſoners, that ſtill remained in their hands ſince the late war, without ranſom, ordered their merchants to aſſiſt Carthage with what it wanted, and prohibited all manner of commerce with the Africans. At the ſame time both the malecontents of Africa and Sardinia offered to ſubmit to them, and to put them into the immediate poſſeſſion both of Sardinia and the town of Utica; which overture they refuſed. Theſe inſtances of ſucceſs animating the Carthaginians, they bore the fatigues of the ſiege with great alacrity. In fine, Mathos and Spendius, being extremely haraſſed by Hamilcar, who, by ſtratagems and rencounters, daily cut off great numbers of their men, and ſo ſtreightened for want of proviſions, that they apprehended a ſpeedy famine, found themſelves obliged to abandon the ſiege [1].

Strange viciſſitudes of fortune.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the field with an army of fifty thouſand effective men, having been joined by one Zarxas, the head of an African hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing arms. They watched Hamilcar's motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, on account of Naravaſus's Numidian horſe and the Carthaginian elephants. Hamilcar, being much ſuperior to any of their generals in every branch of the military art, frequently outwitted them; ſometimes diſpoſſeſſing them of their advantageous poſts; at other times drawing them into ambuſcades; and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. If any of their ſoldiers ſtraggled ever ſo little from the main body of the army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown by him to wild beaſts, that he might, in ſome meaſure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of Spendius. In ſhort, he haraſſed them a thouſand ways; which, as it greatly dejected them, ſo it inſpired his own troops with freſh courage and vigour. At laſt, he ſurpriſed them when they leaſt expected it, and ſhut them up in a poſt, which was ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible for them to get out of it. Here he kept them ſtreightly beſieged, lying at eaſe in his camp, and being plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of

[1] Polyb. ubi ſup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Appian. in Iberic.

of neceſſaries. The mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, and finding themſelves not able to get off, began to fortify their camp, and ſurround it with ditches and entrenchments. Conſcious of their enormous guilt, they deſpaired of mercy, and therefore concluded it would be to no purpoſe to make any overtures to Hamilcar. They were ſoon ſo ſorely preſſed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, ſays Polybius, thus avenging upon themſelves the inhumanity they had exerciſed on others. As they could not entertain the leaſt thought of peace, or of coming to an accommodation, after having been ſo deeply concerned in ſuch bloody ſcenes, and knew what puniſhments would be inflicted upon them, in caſe they fell alive into the hands of the enemy, they ſaw they had no reſource left, and therefore prepared themſelves for the meaſures deſpair ſhould dictate to them. The forces they looked for from Tunes came not to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily large ſtrides amongſt them. They firſt found themſelves under the neceſſity of eating their priſoners, then their ſlaves, and laſt of all their comrades. Prompted therefore to it by the extremity of miſery they ſuffered, they inſiſted, that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, ſhould in perſon make propoſals to Hamilcar, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a ſafe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents ſhould be left entirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians; and that the troops ſhould all be diſarmed, every man retiring only in a ſingle coat. The treaty was no ſooner concluded, than Hamilcar ſeized upon the negotiators themſelves, by virtue of the firſt article, which favoured not a little of Punic ſubtlety. The army being informed, that their chiefs were under arreſt, and at the ſame time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourſe to arms, ſuſpecting that they were betrayed; but Hamilcar, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately ſurrounded them, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place, where this bloody tragedy was acted, was called Prion (I).

(I) Polybius ſays this place was called Prion, from the ſimilitude its figure bore to that of a ſaw, the Greek word πρίων prion, ſignifying that inſtrument. But this notion, at firſt ſight, appears high-

ly

The number of the wretches, who periſhed, amounted to above forty thouſand [m].

Mathos takes Hannibal priſoner, and crucifies him.

AFTER this complete victory, Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Naravaſus, ſcoured the country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According to the plan of operations, Hamilcar, immediately inveſted Tunes, into which place Mathos (K) retired with all his remaining forces. Hannibal's quarter was on the road leading to Carthage, and Hamilcar's on the oppoſite ſide. The army was no ſooner encamped, than Hamilcar cauſed Spendius and the reſt of the priſoners, to be led out in view of the beſieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos, by this, was appriſed of the fate he muſt expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Obſerving, that Hannibal did not keep ſo good a guard as he ought, he

[m] Polyb. ubi ſup.

ly improbable, not to ſay ridiculous; for, to omit the abſurdity of ſuppoſing this particular ſpot to reſemble a ſaw, how can it enter into any perſon's head, that the Carthaginians ſhould give Greek names to their towns and villages? All the other names of towns, this author mentions here, are apparently Punic or Phœnician; and therefore it is but reaſonable, nay natural, to conclude, that this muſt be ſo too. The word פרי peri or pri, fruit, is undoubtedly the original from whence Prion is to be deduced, ſince Bochart has demonſtrated ſome names of places near Carthage to have been derived from thence, and ſince many antient authors conſpire to evince, that this country abounded with ſpots of ground ſurpriſingly fruitful. Add to this, that the rabbinical word פרין prion ſignifies a garden; which, no doubt, is ſo called by the rabbins, on account of its fruitfulneſs or fertility. We cannot take upon us to affirm how near exactly this place was to Carthage; but, according to Polybius, it muſt have been in the neighbourhood of Tunes (36).

(K) Sir Walter Raleigh, M Rollin, &c. call this African captain Matho; whereas his true name is Mathos, ſince the original word in Polybius is ΜΑΘΩΣ. So ΑΘΩΣ, the proper name of a mountain in Maccedonia, in Latin and the modern languages is Athos Many other examples might be produced to ſupport what is here advanced (37).

(36) Bochart. Chan. l. i c. 24. Val. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1475, 1476. Vide Polyb. l. i. c. 82. l. iii. c. 23. item in excerpt. legat. 113. & Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 62. (37) Polyb. in loc. citat.

he made a ſally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was Hannibal himſelf, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of Spendius from the croſs on which it was fixed, he ſubſtituted Hannibal there in its place; and thirty Carthaginian priſoners of diſtinction, who all expired in exquiſite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as Polybius expreſſes it, giving both ſides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty. Hamilcar being at ſome diſtance from his collegue, it was ſome time before his misfortune reached him, and the road betwixt them being impaſſable, had he received earlier intelligence of the ſituation of affairs on that ſide, he could not have moved with any expedition to his aſſiſtance. He therefore immediately decamped, and poſted himſelf along the ſea-coaſt, near the mouth of the river Bagrada [n].

THE Carthaginians were greatly terrified at this laſt diſaſter; however, they omitted no means neceſſary for their preſervation. They ſent thirty ſenators, with Hanno at the head of them, to conſult with Hamilcar about the proper meaſures to be taken for ſpeedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the moſt preſſing manner Hanno to be reconciled to Hamilcar, and to ſacrifice his private reſentment to the public welfare. This, with ſome difficulty, was complied with, and the two generals came to a full reſolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The ſenate at the ſame time ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms, to be preſſed into the ſervice, by which means a ſtrong reinforcement being ſent to Hamilcar, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to act offenſively; ſo that the Carthaginian affairs began to have a better aſpect. Hamilcar defeated the enemy in all his rencounters with them, drew Mathos into frequent ambuſcades, and gave him one notable overthrow near Leptis. This reduced him to the neceſſity of hazarding a deciſive battle with the Carthaginians, which proved fatal to him. The leaders on both ſides animated their troops, as going to decide their reſpective fates; upon which an engagement immediately enſued. Victory was not long in ſuſpenſe, the mercenaries flying almoſt upon the firſt onſet. Moſt of their army fell upon the field of battle, and in the purſuit, Mathos, with a few, eſcaping to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to Carthage.

The Liby n war happily concluded by Hamilcar.

[n] Idem. ibid.

All the revolted towns, except Utica, and Hippo, which had behaved in such a manner, as to exclude themselves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. Hamilcar, sitting down before those cities, soon reduced them and thereby concluded this war. Mathos, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life, that had been polluted with the blackest treasons and unparallelled barbarities. From the excesses of cruelty committed in it, Polybius tells us, that this war generally went amongst the Greeks by the name of the inexpiable war. The same excellent author from hence remarks, that those states must be exposed to the greatest dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by interest or affection °.

The Romans extort Sardinia and a vast sum from the Carthaginians.

During the Libyan war, the mercenaries in Sardinia declared against the Carthaginians, excited thereto by the example of Mathos and Spendius in Africa. They seized upon the person of Bostar, who commanded in the citadel of Olbia, and massacred both him and the Carthaginian garrison. The senate, apprised of this, sent one Hanno, with a strong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reason. Hanno, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and soon after not only crucified him, but put to the sword all the Carthaginians they could meet with in the island, and possessed themselves of all the strong places there, though, in a short time they were expelled from thence by the natives, and forced to take shelter in Italy. The Romans, notwithstanding the friendship they had lately expressed for the Carthaginians, gave countenance and protection to these fugitives, and thereby greatly deviated from those maxims of justice and honour their own writers celebrate them so much for. In fine, they sent the consul Sempronius, on trifling pretences, with a fleet, to reinstate those malecontents, and take possession of Sardinia; which the Carthaginians, being now in a manner exhausted, were obliged to cede to them. Not content with this iniquitous act, they obliged the Carthaginians to defray the expence of their armament, and besides extorted from them a sum of twelve hundred talents. Such a perfidious conduct as this could not fail of heightening

° Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valef.

ning the averſion Hamilcar had already conceived to them, and did not a little contribute to the ſecond Punic war, and to thoſe dreadful devaſtations, which Hannibal afterwards committed in Italy [p].

The faithleſs dealings of Rome with Carthage.

POLYBIUS tells us, that when the Carthaginians made preparations to reduce Sardinia, the Romans pretended to be under terrible apprehenſions of their power, as though theſe preparations had been intended to ſubvert their republic; and therefore from hence took occaſion to declare war againſt them. This plainly demonſtrates, that the Romans at that time were determined to ſtick at nothing, in order to gratify their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that prompted them to act in a friendly manner towards Carthage, when that ſtate was in danger of being overturned by its rebellious ſubjects, were undoubtedly far different from the ſpecious pretext they offered to impoſe upon the world, viz. a principal of honour. They probably conſidered, that if the Carthaginians were reduced to the laſt gaſp by the barbarians, with whom they were then engaged in war, they would, by a little kindneſs, be induced to ſubmit to them at ſo critical a conjuncture. They likewiſe, in all probability, were afraid, that the mercenaries would find their way again into Sicily, where they had behaved with ſuch bravery, could they have made themſelves maſters of Carthage, and have diſlodged them from thence; both or either of which conſiderations were ſufficient to determine their conduct as above related. Be this as it will, that the friendly offices the Romans did the Carthaginians in the time of their great diſtreſs were the reſult of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous ſentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their ſubſequent conduct, but even from ſeveral hints given us by their own prejudiced hiſtorians [q].

Some writers endeavour to palliate this, but in vain.

IN order, no doubt, to palliate the conduct of the Romans on this occaſion, we are told by ſome of their writers, that, by the treaty concluded at the end of the firſt Punic war, the Carthaginians made a ceſſion of Sardinia, as well as Sicily, to the Romans. But, notwithſtanding the authority of theſe writers, this is utterly improbable; for

[p] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxi. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 19. Appian in Iberic. ſub init. [q] Polyb. Liv. &c. ubi ſup.

for, if ſo, why did not the Romans take immediate poſſeſſion of it, ſince the Carthaginians were too weak to oppoſe them, otherwiſe they would not have made peace upon ſuch advantageous terms? And that they did not take poſſeſſion of it, is evident from Polybius, an author infinitely ſuperior to thoſe here hinted at, when he aſſures us, that the mercenary troops in that iſland rebelled againſt their maſters the Carthaginians. But what ſerves ſufficiently to explain the diſpoſition of the Romans towards the Carthaginians, is an incident that happened ſoon after, viz. the rebellion of the Corſi, Sardi, and Ligurians, which the Romans pretended to have been fomented by the Carthaginians, in order to have an opportunity of picking a quarrel with that nation, though Hanno, a young Carthaginian lord, by his great ſpirit and vivacity, parried the blow. However, ſome time after, without any tolerable colour or pretext, they aſſumed to themſelves the power of preſcribing limits to the Carthaginian conqueſts in Spain, obliging Aſdrubal to engage himſelf by treaty not to paſs the Iberus. Such points of conduct need no comment; they render moſt glaring the motives the juſt and upright Romans acted upon [r].

Hamilcar marches into Spain.

HAMILCAR, by the happy concluſion of the Libyan war, did not only reſtore tranquillity to the republic, but greatly extended the Carthaginian conqueſts in Africa. Finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with Rome, he formed a ſcheme to put it upon a level with that imperious republic, which was, to make an entire conqueſt of Spain, that the Carthaginians might have troops capable of coping with the Romans. In order to facilitate the execution of this ſcheme, he inſpired both his ſon-in-law Aſdrubal and his ſon Hannibal with an implacable averſion to the Romans, the great blaſters of his and his country's grandeur. Aſdrubal did not live to be a ſcourge to the Romans; but Hannibal brought that proud nation to the very brink of deſtruction. Immediately after the troubles in Africa were appeaſed, the ſenate ſent Hamilcar upon an expedition againſt the Numidians, notwithſtanding his ſon-in-law Naravaſus was of that nation; which renders it probable, that the Carthaginians had an intention

[r] Liv. & Oroſ. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 2. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Appian. in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in C. Lutat. Cat. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 170.

intention to puniſh them for joining their diſcontented mercenaries. Be that as it will, Hamilcar gave freſh proofs of his courage and abilities in this expedition, ſince, by his valour and conduct, he finiſhed it ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the republic, that the command of the army deſtined to act againſt Spain was given him. Hannibal his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmoſt importunity, to attend him on this occaſion, for that purpoſe employing all the ſoothing arts ſo common to children of his age, and which have ſo much power over a loving father. Hamilcar therefore granted his requeſt; but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the Romans, and act as ſuch as ſoon as his age would permit him. He likewiſe took with him Aſdrubal, after he had beſtowed his daughter in marriage upon him. Nepos intimates, that he was obliged to this ſtep, becauſe the cenſor took Aſdrubal from him, upon a report, that he was more familiar with that youth than was conſiſtent with modeſty. However, that biographer at the ſame time inſinuates this report to have been a calumny, and tells us, that, by the Carthaginian laws, it was not permitted any perſon to ſeparate the ſon-in-law from the father-in-law. The military preparations being completed, Hamilcar advanced with a powerful army to Abyla (L), and croſſing the ſtreights of Hercules, landed in Spain without oppoſition. He began the operations by incurſions into the enemy's country, fixing his head-quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquiſitions in Spain. According to Appian and Polybius, he had two views in this war: firſt, to put Carthage in a ſituation to revenge the indignities received from the Romans; and ſecondly, to have an opportunity of being abſent from home, the Carthaginian ſtate being at that time miſerably diſtracted by two potent factions, over one of which preſided Hanno, Hamilcar's inveterate enemy.

(L) Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African ſide, is oppoſite to the other in Spain called Calpe. They are both conſiderable mountains, and have a narrow ſea betwixt them, called anciently Fretum Herculeum, the ſtreights of Hercules, but, by the moderns, the ſtreights of Gibraltar. Marcianus Heracleota, Silius Italicus, and others, take particular notice of them (38).

(38) Marcian. Heracleot. p. 36. Sil. Ital. l. i. ver. 199. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 7. p. 930. edit. Lipſ. 1732.

enemy. However, by the great ſucceſs he met with, and the vaſt reputation he had already acquired, he animated his friends at home, enabling them to carry every point there, and would undoubtedly have come ſoon to blows with the Romans, had not death prevented his deſign from taking effect[s] (M).

Our

[s] Appian. in Iberic. Polyb. l. iii. & Liv. ubi ſup. Vide Corn. Nep. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. &c. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3. Flor. l. ii. c. 6.

(M) According to Diodorus Siculus, after his landing in Spain, he reduced the city of Tarteſſus, and gave a memorable defeat to Iſtolatius, general of the Celtes and Iberians, putting a great number of his men, together with himſelf and his brother, to the ſword. Many of the Celtic nobility likewiſe periſhed in the action. Out of the priſoners Hamilcar ſelected three thouſand, whom he incorporated with his own troops. But Indortes, one of the Celtic or Iberian general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a conſiderable reinforcement, aſſembled a body of fifty thouſand men, with which he intended to give Hamilcar battle. However, his men, conſiſting partly of veterans terrified by the laſt overthrow, and partly of new-raiſed levies, fled, upon the firſt appearance of the enemy, to a neighbouring eminence, where the Carthaginians ſurrounded them, and for ſome time cloſely beſieged them. Indortes, by a ſtratagem, and by the favour of the night, found means to make his eſcape; but the greateſt part of his army was either cut off, or obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. At laſt Indortes himſelf fell into Hamilcar's hands, who, according to the ſame author, firſt put out his eyes, and then, after many inſults, crucified him. But this we can ſcarcely give credit to, ſince it is ſo inconſiſtent with the character of that general, as given us by Polybius, except we will ſuppoſe, that this Indortes had been guilty of ſome monſtrous piece of cruelty towards the Carthaginians. Ten thouſand Celtic and Iberian priſoners, that would not take on in the Carthaginian ſervice, Diodorus likewiſe tells us, Hamilcar ſet at liberty without ranſom; which countenances the ſuppoſition juſt hinted at. Many cities he alſo reduced, partly by force, and partly by compoſition; and had probably made a vaſt progreſs, had he not received an expreſs from Carthage, with advice, that a part of Numidia had rebelled againſt the Carthaginians. This obliged him to weaken his army, by ſending a ſtrong detachment, under his ſon-in-law Aſdrubal, to reduce the rebels. Aſdrubal ſoon obliged them to return to their duty, after having put eight thouſand of them to the ſword, and taking two thouſand priſoners. In the mean time, Hamilcar made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns, and built

OUR hero commanded in Spain nine years, and during that interval, ſubdued many warlike nations there. In the courſe of ſo long a war, conſidering how rich a country Spain was, an immenſe quantity of treaſure muſt neceſſarily fall into his hands. This he diſtributed in the moſt politic manner, partly amongſt the troops, and partly amongſt the great men at Carthage; by which means he ſecured his intereſt with both thoſe powerful bodies. We have received no particular detail of the actions he was concerned in, during the term above-mentioned, to be depended upon, only an account of that wherein he fell. The Vettones or Vectones, a nation of Luſitania, being incenſed at the devaſtations committed in their country by the Carthaginians, drew out all their forces, with an intention to give Hamilcar battle. They were joined by many other petty nations, with their reguli at the head of them, who had

And, after many gallant actions, is killed there.

built a large city from its ſituation called by the Greeks Acra Leuca, or the White citadel. Some time afterwards he laid ſiege to Helice with part of his army, putting the reſt into winter-quarters at Acra Leuca. Oriſſon, prince of the country, being informed, that Hamilcar had ſent the beſt part of his army, and all his elephants, to Acra Leuca, advanced with his forces towards the Carthaginians, pretending, that he came with a deſign to join them, and thereby facilitate the conqueſt of the remaining part of the country. Hamilcar, giving too much credit to him, was ſurpriſed, his body of troops before the town utterly ruined, himſelf obliged to fly one way, and his ſons Aſdrubal and Hannibal another, that they might not all fall into the enemy's hands. The two laſt arrived at Acra Leuca, Hamilcar only being purſued by Oriſſon; but the purſuit was ſo hot, that he was obliged to atempt paſſing a rapid river, in the midſt of which, by the violence of the ſtream, he was forced from his horſe, and drowned. This is the account given by Diodorus Siculus, which abounds with ſo many improbable particulars, and is ſo contradictory to the character of that excellent general, as given us even by that author himſelf, that no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon it. However, we muſt deſire our readers to obſerve, that the fragments of this uſeful and excellent author are not, for the moſt part, of equal authority with that part of the body of his hiſtory preſerved to us, being much more corrupted, and conſequently ſtanding in need of many more emendations. That this is true of the fragment we have here given our readers a tranſlation of, will appear from an attentive peruſal of it, ſince its parts do not hang together in a proper manner (39).

(39) Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman.

had been plundered and laid under contribution in the same manner. To compass their end, they made use of the following stratagem: they sent before them a vast number of waggons filled with fascines, pitch, sulphur, and other such-like combustible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle-array. The Carthaginians at first ridiculed this seemingly coarse stratagem? but at last the Spaniards, upon their approaching Hamilcar, set fire to these vehicles, driving the beasts amongst the enemy, who soon found themselves obliged to quit their ranks. The Vettones and their allies, observing this, charged them with such bravery, that they soon put them to flight, killing many upon the spot, amongst whom was the general himself. This relation we have extracted from Appian, Nepos, Frontinus, and Zonaras; but must own, that most, if not all, the circumstances of it are omitted by Polybius. That excellent historian only tells us in general, that Hamilcar came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in the field of battle at the head of his troops. And indeed was not Polybius's authority sufficient to support him in the point before us, yet the nature of the thing plainly enough confutes the other writers; for is it possible to imagine, that so expert and famed a general as Hamilcar, a general who was so perfect a master of the military art, who, by an infinity of the most refined stratagems, had so frequently outwitted the greatest captains of the age, should at last be over-reached by so mean an artifice? This, we say, is incompatible with the character of that commander, as given us by Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and even these very authors themselves; for which reason we must caution our readers not to be over-hasty in giving their assent to it. Upon Hamilcar's death, the army elected his son-in-law Asdrubal, then the Carthaginian admiral, to succeed him [t] (N).

The

[t] Liv. Polyb. Diod. Sic. Appian. Corn. Nep. Eutrop. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. Lucius Ampelius in lib. memor. c. 36. Aurel. Cassiod. in chron. Vide & in eum Joan. Cuspinian. comment. p. 217. edit. Bas. 1553.

(N) Diodorus Siculus says, that Asdrubal built two cities in Spain, and endeavoured to make a greater figure than even his father-in-law Hamilcar had done. Upon the first advice of that general's death, continues our author, he advanced with an army

O

THE ſenate, being appriſed of the choice the army had made, after they had confirmed it, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to Aſdrubal, to enable him not only to preſerve, but to extend, their conqueſts. As the new general had been trained up in the art of war by Hamilcar, under whom he had ſerved ſo many campaigns, the people in general entertained an high idea of him, though Hanno and his adherents did their utmoſt to depreciate his merit. Aſdrubal anſwered their expectations, behaving with ſuch wiſdom and addreſs, as enabled him to ſupport Hamilcar's friends both at Carthage and in the army. To ſecure his predeceſſor's acquiſitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. Some people, at that time, called it the New city, others Carthage, nothing being more common in that age, as well as many of the preceding, than to denominate new-built cities after the names of thoſe to which their founders belonged. It is known at this day by the name of Carthagena, from whence one of the principal fortreſſes of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies at preſent is ſo called [u].

Aſdrubal choſen to ſucceed him.

THE

[u] Liv. Polyb. Diod. Sic. & Appian. ubi ſup.

of fifty thouſand foot, all veteran troops, ſix thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants, to attack Oriſſon, whom, after a bloody conteſt, he entirely defeated, cutting to pieces a great part of his forces. Twelve cities, in conſequence of his victory, immediately ſurrendered to him, and ſoon after all the others in Spain, that remained unſubdued. Having had ſuch a happy run of ſucceſs, to crown all, he married a Spaniſh prince's daughter; which ſecured his conqueſts to him. The ſame author adds, that, after he had commanded nine years in Spain, he was aſſaſſinated by one of his own ſervants; and intimates, that at, or near, the time of his death, the Carthaginian army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants. As this fragment is a continuation of the preceding, ſome particulars in it are of a very dubious authority; and indeed our readers themſelves will eaſily perceive this, upon their peruſal of it, though others, that agree with the moſt approved authors, will, without any ſcruple, be admitted (40).

(40) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

The great progress of Asdrubal in Spain is checked by the Romans.

THE Romans, receiving intelligence of the great progress the Carthaginians made in Spain, began to have a watchful eye over them. They could not but imagine, that both Hamilcar and Asdrubal had something more grand in view than the reduction of Spain; and had formed a remote design, vast in its nature, which they proposed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loss to find out whom this must be levelled at, as easily discovering, that their republic was, of all other states, the most diametrically opposite in point of views and interest to that of the Carthaginians. As they took for granted, that their rivals never lost sight of their grand scheme, though the execution of it might be at a great distance, they began to reproach themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, especially as the Carthaginians now, with the utmost rapidity, pushed on their conquests in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They however, at this juncture, seemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them, on account of the apprehensions they were under of an invasion from the Gauls, who, according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the very gates of Rome. At present therefore they judged it expedient to have recourse to milder methods; and, in conformity to their plan, partly by menaces, and partly by persuasion, prevailed upon Asdrubal to conclude a new treaty with them. The articles of it were, 1. That the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus. 2. That Saguntum, a colony of Zacynthians; and a city between the Iberus and that part of Spain subject to the Carthaginians, as well as the other Greek colonies there, should enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The Saguntines afforded the Romans something of a pretext for this unjustifiable procedure, since they implored the protection of Rome, which republic, they heard; was superior in power to that of Carthage, and kept a curb upon it. Zonaras intimates, that about this time the Carthaginians had formed a design of attacking the Romans; but were by that people terrified into a pacific disposition. Asdrubal took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty, though he still pushed on his conquests, and made himself master of all that part of Spain extending from the western ocean to the Iberus, within five days journey of the Pyrenees. He made it his endeavour to render himself

himſelf popular amongſt the reguli of Spain, by his engaging addreſs and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unſucceſsful; for, by his perſuaſive methods, he brought over more effectually thoſe reguli to the intereſt of Carthage, than he could have done by force of arms. He did not fail, however, exerting himſelf ſometimes in a military way, tho' the other was, in the main, the moſt effectual. Having governed the Carthaginian dominions in Spain eight years, he was treacherouſly murdered by a Gaul, whoſe maſter he had put to death. The murder was perpetrated in public; and the aſſaſſin, being ſeized by the guards, and put to the torture, expreſſed ſo ſtrong a ſatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſeemed to inſult all the terror of his torments. This, however, notwithſtanding the youth of Hannibal, occaſioned no revolution in the ſtate of affairs [w].

Asdrubal ſends for Hannibal.

ASDRUBAL, three years before his death, had written to Carthage, to deſire, that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. Hanno, the inveterate enemy of the Barchine family, oppoſed this with all his might, repreſenting, in a moſt ill-natured ſpeech to the ſenate, handed down to us by Livy, that this was entirely improper. The ſubſtance of it was, "that though Aſdrubal's requeſt ſeemed "in itſelf reaſonable, yet he could, by no means, give his "conſent to it." "Aſdrubal," ſaid he, "accompanied "Hamilcar in his expeditions, ſpent the flour of his youth "with him, and was abuſed by him; and now he would "have young Hannibal in the ſame manner ſubſervient to "him. This ought not to be granted." "Beſides," added he, "this young man has all the pride and thirſt after "arbitrary power of the Barchine family transfuſed into him. "Inſtead therefore of putting him at the head of the army, "where he will be, in a manner, maſter of all our properties, he ought to be kept under the eye of the magiſtrates, "and the power of the laws, that he may learn obedience, "and a modeſty, which ſhould teach him to look upon himſelf as on a level with other men." He concluded with obſerving, "that this ſpark might one day riſe to a conflagration, which would occaſion the ruin of the republic." However, the Barchine faction prevailed, and Hannibal was ſent to the army in Spain [x].

HANNIBAL,

[w] Idem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 19. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 3.

[x] Idem ibid.

Hannibal very popular amongst the troops.

HANNIBAL, upon his first arrival in the camp, discovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatness of mind. He drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father survive in him. From his first appearance in the army, every one perceived, that he meditated a war against the Romans, which was considered as the effect of his father's disposition. The great resemblance he bore to Hamilcar rendered him extremely agreeable to the army; but his personal good qualities endeared him still more to them. Every talent and qualification he seemed to possess, that can contribute towards constituting the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. This could not but render him the darling both of the officers and soldiers. Under Asdrubal he made three campaigns, that general always employing him in enterprizes of the greatest importance, as thinking him the best qualified for the execution of them. The soldiers likewise reposed the utmost confidence in him, esteeming him superior to all the other commanders in conduct and personal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty-third year of his age. In short, after Asdrubal's death, the army immediately saluted him general, with the highest demonstrations of joy, and the sincerest attachment to his person; and the senate, as well as people of Carthage, confirmed this election, in a manner that shewed them to have been entirely at his devotion; though it must be owned, Hanno and his faction were secretly averse to him. He had no sooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, than he made the proper dispositions to prosecute the war with vigour, having the pleasure to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he proposed to them [y].

Elected general after the death of Asdrubal.

As the suffrages, both of the army and republic, concurred to raise Hannibal to the supreme command upon the death of Asdrubal, he must, of course, have been extremely popular at Carthage. It is therefore probable, that about the time of his being elected general, or soon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the first dignity of the state, that

[y] Liv. Polyb. Aurel. Vict. & Corn. Nep. ubi sup. & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 179.

that of one of the ſuffetes, which was ſometimes conferred upon generals. In ſupport of this notion, Cornelius Nepos informs us, that Hannibal was choſen prætor of Carthage, upon the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, twenty-two years after he had been nominated king there; which brings that event pretty near the period we are now upon [z].

HANNIBAL had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himſelf in motion. As though Italy had been the province allotted him, and he had been appointed to make war upon the Romans, he turned ſecretly his whole views to that country, and loſt no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. Though he was determined to attack Saguntum, he thought it at preſent more expedient not to ſeem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce ſome provinces, that would facilitate the conqueſt of it, believing the Romans could not from thence penetrate his deſigns. Accordingly he marched againſt the Olcades, a nation not far diſtant from the Iberus, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of Althæa, their capital; upon which all their other towns immediately ſubmitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he diſtributed amongſt the troops, which greatly animated them, and then retired to new Carthage, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he ſoon after paid the army all their arrears; by which the ſoldiers became in ſuch a manner attached to him, that they were abſolutely at his devotion. This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs rendered his name terrible to the neighbouring nations of Spain, who were not in a ſtate of amity with Carthage [a]. Hannibal conquers the Olcades,

THE next campaign he opened with the ſiege of Salmantica, and ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Then he advanced to Arbucala, which, being a place of great ſtrength, very populous, and defended by a numerous garriſon, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but was at laſt forced to ſurrender. Soon after this event, ſome fugitives, who had made their eſcape out of Salmantica, before it was obliged to capitulate, joining a body of the Olcades, excited the Carpetani, one of the moſt powerful nations in Spain, to declare againſt the Carthaginians. Their army amounted to an hundred thouſand fighting men, with which they propoſed to attack Hannibal in his return from the country of the Vaccæi, which, it ſeems, he ſubdued this And the Vaccæi.

[z] Idem ibid. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 179.
[a] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. ſub init.

this campaign, drawing gradually nearer the point he had in view [b].

He gives the Spaniards a great overthrow, and subdues the Carpetani.

HANNIBAL, being informed of the enemies design, and knowing himself to be much inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle, which he had great reason to imagine would prove fatal to him. In order to this, he moved with the utmost prudence and circumspection, covering himself with the Tagus in such a manner, that the Spaniards could not come at him. At last he passed it in the dead-time of the night with his whole army, the enemy not entertaining the least suspicion of such an attempt. The Spaniards interpreted this as a flight, and therefore, looking upon themselves as invincible, they immediately resolved to pursue him, and, in consequence of this resolution, passed the river without any order or discipline. This was what Hannibal wanted; and, as he had foreseen it, he disposed his army in a proper manner to fall upon them when in the midst of the river. Forty elephants he posted on the bank, and ordered his horse to charge the Spanish infantry, as soon as they were advanced into the middle of the stream. The Carthaginian cavalry, being well mounted, kept their post firm, notwithstanding the rapidity of the torrent; whereas the enemy's foot were borne down by it, and besides, entering the water in a straggling disorderly manner, they were incapable of making any resistance. Great numbers of them therefore were cut to pieces in the water, without opposition, by Hannibal's horse, and others, that landed, trod to death by his elephants. Most of those who collected themselves into a body upon this disaster, and strove to gain the opposite bank, were charged by Hannibal himself, at the head of his Carthaginian phalanx, with which he had entered the water for that purpose, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or drowned. Hannibal, after this, laid waste the whole country of the Carpetani, who, terrified by so great a defeat, thought proper to submit to the conqueror. Nothing now remained but Saguntum to give any obstruction to the Carthaginian arms [c].

And meditates the siege of Saguntum.

THE Carthaginian general, however, thought the season was not yet come for him to lay siege to that city, and therefore did not, for some time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occasion a rupture with the Romans. His intention was to furnish himself with all things necessary for so important an enterprize before he entered upon it, according

[b] Idem ibid.

[c] Idem ibid.

cording to the advice he had received from his brother-in-law Aſdrubal. In conſequence of which, he puſhed on his conqueſts, in a manner, to the very gates of Saguntum, and, by his ſingular addreſs, took care to ſecure theſe conqueſts, before he gave the Romans an opportunity of declaring war againſt the Carthaginians [d].

The Saguntines apply to the Romans for relief.

In the mean time, the Saguntines, being greatly alarmed at the continued ſucceſſes of Hannibal, did not know how to avoid the impending ſtorm, any otherwiſe than by appriſing the Romans of what had happened in Spain, and applying to them for ſpeedy relief. They therefore diſpatched deputies in all haſte to Rome, to inform the ſenate of the great progreſs made by Hannibal in Spain, and to deſire immediate ſuccours againſt him. What induced them chiefly to take this ſtep was, an attempt Hannibal made to embroil them with their neighbours the Turdetani, or, according to Appian, the Torboletæ, that, by eſpouſing the intereſt of that people, he might be enabled to pick a quarrel with them. Appian intimates, that the Torboletæ made excurſions upon the Saguntine territories, where they committed great depredations. As ſoon as the Saguntine deputies arrived at Rome, and communicated their meſſage to the ſenate, all the members of that illuſtrious aſſembly expreſſed a prodigious concern for their Spaniſh allies, and came to a reſolution to ſend embaſſadors to Hannibal, to expoſtulate with him about his conduct, with orders, in caſe he did not give ear to their complaints, to proceed directly to Carthage, and inſiſt upon that republic's withdrawing its troops from the territories of their confederates in Spain. But this reſolution not being preſently executed, whilſt the Romans were amuſing themſelves with frivolous conſultations, advice was brought, that Hannibal had not only paſſed the Iberus, but actually inveſted Saguntum. The ſenators were divided in their ſentiments on this occaſion: ſome were for coming to a vigorous reſolution, and ſending one of the conſuls, with a powerful army, to Africa, and the other to Spain; others were for employing the whole force of the republic in driving Hannibal out of Spain; and laſtly, others gave it as their opinion, that nothing ſhould be undertaken againſt Carthage, till all pacific methods had been tried, and no redreſs could be had but by force of arms. This motion, being the moſt ſafe, as well as rational and equitable, prevailed; and accordingly P. Valerius

[d] Idem ibid.

rius Flaccus and Q. Bœbius Tamphilus were dispatched with all possible expedition to the Carthaginian camp before Saguntum [e].

Hannibal besieges Saguntum.

In the mean time, Hannibal pushed on the siege of Saguntum, promising himself great advantages from the reduction of that place. He was convinced, that this would enable him to put his favourite scheme in execution, and even accomplish it; that he should deprive the Romans of all means of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conquest would serve as a barrier to the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumstance which would render him much more secure and unmolested; that he should there find treasure sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the Romans; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with the utmost alacrity; and that, lastly, thereby he should win the people of Carthage over to his interest. These considerations had such an effect upon him, that he was present at all the works, conducted every particular measure in the siege, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, as much as the meanest soldier. With the commencement of this siege we shall conclude this section, and begin our next with an account of the reduction of Saguntum, which was the immediate cause of the second Punic war [f].

[e] Liv. ubi sup. Appian. in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. 42.
[f] Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup. Oros. ubi sup. c. 14. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, from the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, to the deſtruction of Carthage by Æmilianus.

THE conſul Lutatius, at the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, had behaved with ſuch inſolence to Hamilcar Barcas, when, for ſome time, he inſiſted, that the Carthaginian troops, under his command, ſhould deliver up their arms to the Romans, and even paſs under the jugum, that the Carthaginian general, from that moment probably, conceived an averſion to him, and his whole nation. Nothing could have been more inconſiſtent with true magnanimity and greatneſs of ſoul, than ſuch a conduct, and conſequently more diſagreeable to a perſon of heroic and generous ſentiments. Hamilcar therefore could not but deeply reſent an action ſo infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it as void of honour, as ſtrangers to all thoſe amiable qualities, from which military virtue is inſeparable. That this notion is founded upon truth, ſufficiently appears from Cornelius Nepos, who tells us, that Hamilcar profeſſed he would rather die, than return home loaded with the ignominy a compliance with ſuch a propoſal muſt fix upon him. We may therefore conclude this to have been a remote cauſe of the ſecond Punic war [a]. The remote cauſes of the ſecond Punic war.

HAMILCAR likewiſe condemned himſelf for having ſo tamely given up Sicily to the Romans. Being endued with that greatneſs of ſoul ſo natural to a true lover of his country, he reflected, with the utmoſt regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he conſidered as diſhonourable, and too precipitate. This undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which occaſioned ſo falſe a ſtep, and conſequently determined him to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered of attacking the Romans [b].

BUT what the moſt effectually contributed to the war we are going to enter upon, was the injuſtice of the Romans, who, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the Carthaginians,

[a] Corn. Nep. in Hamilc. Zonar, in annal. l. viii. c. 17.
[b] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. ſub init.

after the Libyan war was terminated, diſpoſſeſſed that nation of Sardinia, and extorted a vaſt ſum of money from them. The great ſucceſs of the Carthaginians in Spain likewiſe heightened the animoſity betwixt the two ſtates, and conſequently diſpoſed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore for a bloody conteſt betwixt them was laid before the ſiege of Saguntum [c].

THE ceſſion of Sardinia to the Romans, and the payment of the vaſt ſums to that rapacious nation, in compliance with their unjuſt demands, after Carthage had been ſo drained by the Libyan war, incenſed Hamilcar Barcas, or, as ſome call him, Boccor, to the laſt degree. He ſaw that there was no end of ſuch extortions, and therefore came to a full reſolution, not only to endeavour at ſecuring his country from ſuch depredations for the future, but even to take ample vengeance of the Romans for their perfidious conduct in this particular. He therefore inſpired his four ſons, Aſdrubal, Hannibal, Hamilcar, and Mago, with an implacable hatred to that proud republic, which was the object of his averſion, declaring publicly, that he looked upon them as four lions whelps brought up for the deſtruction of the Romans. Hannibal only ſurvived nearly to execute the vaſt project his father had formed, and probably was the only one of them endued with a genius fit for the execution of it. From hence it appears, that the grand ſpring, which ſet Carthage in motion againſt Rome at this juncture, was the diſpoſition Hamilcar had transfuſed into his family, as well as the majority of the citizens of Carthage [d].

HAMILCAR's reſentment therefore may be looked upon as the chief impulſive cauſe of the ſecond Punic war. That great general was of too heroic a ſpirit, and too ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of his country, not to make uſe of all proper means to reſtore it to its former grandeur. As this could not be done without humbling the Romans, it is no wonder, eſpecially conſidering the affronts he had in perſon received from them, that he ſhould bend all his thoughts that way. In fine, after his great atchievements had raiſed his reputation to ſo high a pitch at Carthage, that he was looked upon there as a ſecond Mars, it is no wonder he ſhould have intereſt enough to lay the foundations of a ſecond war with the Romans [e].

THE

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 3. Lucius Ampelius in lib. memorial. c. 36. [e] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

THE great ſucceſs the Carthaginians had in Spain, we may, with Polybius, likewiſe look upon as a concurring impulſive cauſe of the ſecond Punic war; for this did not only encreaſe the jealouſy of the Romans, and ſtrongly excite them to a rupture, but alſo diſpoſe the Carthaginians thereto, as it furniſhed them with ſuch copious ſupplies both of men and money, which enabled them to put their favourite ſcheme in execution. The Greek writers frequently call this the Hannibalic war. The interval betwixt it and the firſt Punic war conſiſted of twenty-three years.

BUT to return to our hiſtory: The Saguntines were a colony, partly of the Zacynthians, and partly of the Rutuli from the city of Ardea. According to Livy, they were not of long ſtanding in Spain, though they ſoon grew immenſely rich there, the province in which they were ſeated being extremely fertile. Their city was ſituated on the Carthaginian ſide of the Iberus, about a mile from the ſea, near a ridge of mountains, that ſeparated Spain from Celtiberia, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the Carthaginians were permitted to make war, though this city was expreſly excepted from all hoſtilities by that treaty. As ſoon as Hannibal approached their frontiers, he detached a party to lay waſte the territory adjacent to the city, and then made a diſpoſition to attack it in three places at once. With his battering-engines he made the utmoſt efforts to beat down the wall, whilſt his troops were in readineſs to ſtorm the city upon the firſt breach made. The Saguntines defended themſelves with inexpreſſible bravery, making frequent ſallies upon the beſiegers, and deſtroying many of their men, though they were ſcarce ſenſible of this loſs, ſince Hannibal's army conſiſted of an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. The beſieged however ſuffered extremely in theſe actions, loſing as many men as the Carthaginians; which rendered their condition almoſt deſperate. However, their fate was for ſome time reſpited, by a wound Hannibal received in his thigh from a javelin, as he was viewing ſome of the works; which occaſioned ſuch a conſternation amongſt his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of all his works and military machines. Till the wound was cured, a ſort of ceſſation of arms enſued, tho' the beſiegers ſtill maintained their poſts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After Hannibal's recovery, hoſtilities recommenced with double fury, the Saguntines oppoſing the enemy with undaunted reſolution, and

The Carthaginians repulſed by the Saguntines.

Hannibal puſhing on his attacks with the utmoſt vigour. At laſt the beſiegers, after having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demoliſhed three towers, by which the body of the place lay entirely expoſed, made an aſſault with unparallelled bravery, thinking, that now a fair opportunity offered of taking the town ſword in hand. The beſieged, on the other hand, conſidering, that every thing valuable to them lay at ſtake, exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the ſpace betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch incredible valour, that the place where the engagement happened was covered with dead bodies. In ſhort, hope and deſpair ſo animated both parties, that the greateſt efforts were made on each ſide. However, at laſt deſpair prevailed, the Saguntines forcing the Carthaginians not only to abandon the breach, but to flee to their camp with prodigious ſlaughter. Livy tells us, that a kind of dart or miſſive weapon, called falarica (A), was of ſingular ſervice to the Saguntines on this occaſion [f].

In

[f] Iidem ibid. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7. Sil. Ital. l. i. Plut. & Aur. Vict. in Hannib.

(A) The deſcription of the falarica, as it may be collected from Livy and other authors, is as follows: The falarica was a kind of large dart, or miſſive weapon, diſcharged by the parties poſted in wooden towers upon the enemy. Theſe wooden towers were called falæ, as we learn from Juvenal, Servius, and others; ſo that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from thoſe machines. It had an oblong ſhaft, round and even every-where, but towards the end, where it had a ſquare piece of iron, bound about with tow, beſmeared with pitch. The iron head, reſembling that of the Roman pilum or javelin, was three foot long, that it might be capable of penetrating the ſtrongeſt armour, and, through it, of doing execution; which it frequently did. As the combuſtible part of it was ſet on fire before it was thrown upon the enemy, and this fire muſt have been greatly encreaſed by the air fanning it in its motion, in caſe it killed not the perſon it fixed upon, but only ſtuck in his armour, it could not fail of throwing him into the greateſt conſternation; ſince, in order to preſerve himſelf from the flames, he muſt have lain under the neceſſity of diſarming himſelf, and conſequently of leaving himſelf entirely expoſed to the future efforts of the enemy. To render this weapon the more terrible, by making the fire inextinguiſhable, the tow, according to Pomponius Sabinus and Vegetius, was anoint-

ed

IT appears from Zonaras and others, that, in purſuance of the reſolution above-mentioned, the Romans ſent

ed or beſmeared likewiſe with ſulphur, reſin, bitumen, and burning oil. This dart was ſometimes diſcharged out of the baliſta with an inconceivable force, and did not only deſtroy men in the manner juſt mentioned, but likewiſe frequently conſumed the enemies wooden towers, againſt which it was levelled. The falarica was either magna or parva, as we have before obſerved of the baliſta. From the particulars already laid down, it cannot but appear probable, that this weapon was of oriental extraction; and therefore it can by no means be deemed abſurd to deduce the name itſelf from the eaſt. Feſtus, as hinted above, intimates, that the dart here deſcribed derived its name from the towers called falæ, from whence it was diſcharged; and that falæ, in the Etruſcan language, ſignified high. We may therefore either deduce it from the verb פלא phála, mirabilis, excelſus, arduus, excellens fuit, or from עלה alah, aſcendit, altus, elevatus fuit, with a completive vau prefixed, which will make it ועלה vealah or phalah. That the eaſtern nations, particularly the Hebrews and Arabs, uſed vau and fe, or phe, ſometimes in ſuch a manner, without any ſignification annexed to it, may be proved by many inſtances; ſo that there is nothing forced or unnatural in the latter etymon, if the firſt ſhould not ſatisfy our readers. From one or both of theſe words, (for it is very poſſible that the former may have been originally formed from the latter) the Greek φάλος, criſta, eminens in mari petra, ornamentum in ſummitate galeæ, &c. is to be drawn. Feſtus and others farther countenance this notion, by calling the wooden towers we are now upon loci extructi. By adding to either of the verbs above-mentioned any of the following radixes, הרג viz. harag, interfecit, חרג hharag, motus fuit, חרך hharac, uſſit, ארך arac, longus fuit, from whence ארינא arica, longa, may be formed the word falarica; in which caſe the name will aptly enough anſwer to the nature and office of the weapon here deſcribed. It is probable, that the Saguntines either learned the uſe of the falarica from their neighbours the Carthaginians, or the Phœnician colonies ſettled antiently in Spain. We ſhall only further obſerve upon this head, that the falarica is called εἶδος λόγχης, a kind or ſpecies of lance, by Heſychius (1).

(1) Liv. l. xxi. Ennius apud Feſt. in voc. falarica. Non. Marcel. in voc. Virg. Æn. ix. & Serv. in loc. & in Æn. v. Pomp. Sabin. annotat. in Virg. Æn. v. Juvenal. apud Serv. ubi ſup. Ammian. Marcellin. apud Pomp. Sabin. ubi ſup. Veget. de re milit. l. iv. c. 18. Iſidor. l. xviii. c. 7. Heſych. in voc. Φαλάρικα. Joan. Britan, in Juvenal. ſat. vi. Suid. in voc. Φάλος. Mat. Martin. in voc. falæ. Schind. pent. p. 454, 1317, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323—1443, 1444. Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 88.

The Romans expostulate with Hannibal and the Carthaginians upon their proceedings.

sent deputies to Hannibal at his camp before Saguntum (B), who arrived there about the time we are now upon. According to these authors, Hannibal avoided giving them an audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain Spaniards, whom he could confide in, to meet the Roman ministers at some distance from the camp, and, accosting them as friends, to assure them, that it would on no account be safe to approach nearer the camp, since the general himself was absent, and the barbarous nations, which formed the Carthaginian army, had such an antipathy to the Romans, that they would undoubtedly massacre them, if an opportunity offered. Livy intimates, that Hannibal dispatched messengers to the sea-side to meet the deputies above-mentioned, and acquaint them in his name, that it was by no means proper for them to trust their persons with those fierce nations, of which his army was composed; and that the multiplicity of his affairs would not permit him then to hear their proposals. Polybius, on the other hand, asserts, that the Roman deputation found Hannibal in his winter quarters at New Carthage, a little before he had formed the siege of Saguntum; and that, being admit-

(B) Saguntum being first built and peopled by a colony of Zacynthians; it is no difficult matter to account for its name. It was probably called by the citizens ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ or ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΝ, Zacynthus or Zacynthon; which, in old latin, was Sacuntus, Sacuntum, or Saguntus, Saguntum, the antient Latins using C. in the same manner as those of the classic period of time did G. as we learn from Terentianus, the columna rostrata of Duilius, Quintilian, &c. In confirmation of this notion, it may be further observed, that some of the oldest editions of Aurelius Victor, for Saguntum, have Zagunthus; which reading receives some strength from Priscian. Silius Italicus likewise calls it Sagunthos; which word approaches very near what we would have the original name. According to Appian, after Hannibal had taken it, he brought thither a colony from Carthage, and called it Spartagene. There seem to have been, in antient times, two cities of this name in Spain, on the ruins of one of which at present stands Siguenza, a city of New Castille, situate upon the river Henares. The inhabitants of Saguntum are greatly celebrated, for their constancy and fidelity to the Romans, by most of the Roman historians (z).

(z) Quintil. Terentian. Prisc ian. &c. Vide etiam Jos. Scalig. animadvers. in Euseb. Jul. Cæs. Scalig. de ling. Lat. aliosq; mult. Strab. l. iii. Lucan. l. iii. Sil. Ital. l. i. & ii. Appian. in Iberic. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c.

admitted to an audience, they adviſed him not to attack the Saguntines, whom the Romans had taken under their protection; nor infringe the late treaty concluded with Aſdrubal, by paſſing the Iberus. Hannibal, according to the ſame hiſtorian, being then ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, fired with ambition, and mortally hating the Romans, with ſome emotion, replied, that the Romans themſelves had already given juſt grounds for a rupture, by oppreſſing ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of Saguntum, after the citizens had applied to them, upon the breaking out of a ſedition in the city, to make up all differences between the contending parties by a juſt and impartial arbitration; and that as the Carthaginians, in imitation of their anceſtors, always thought it incumbent upon them to ſuccour the oppreſſed, he would revenge ſo perfidious an action, unleſs the Romans gave immediate ſatisfaction to the perſons injured. At the ſame time he diſpatched an expreſs to Carthage, informing the ſenate, that the Saguntines, grown inſolent by their alliance with Rome, and ſpirited up by their allies, made irruptions into the Carthaginian territories, deſiring inſtructions how to act in ſo critical a ſituation. Livy ſays, that the Roman deputies, being denied acceſs to Hannibal, ſailed directly to Carthage, to demand ſatisfaction there; but that Hannibal took care to ſend advice to the leaders of the Barchine faction of what had happened, and to prepare their minds for giving the Romans ſuch a reception as he deſired; in conſequence of which, they were diſmiſſed from Carthage, without any ſatisfactory anſwer. Whether any of theſe jarring relations be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us at preſent to determine. However, we cannot avoid obſerving, that Polybius has probability on his ſide; for it is much more likely, that a general, ſo famed for politeneſs and addreſs as Hannibal was, ſhould confer with the Roman deputation, in his turn expoſtulate with them, and impute the approaching rupture to their principals, as is, generally ſpeaking, the practice of civilized ſtates at this day, than to behave in ſo rude and ſavage a manner towards them, as the Roman hiſtorians, and their adherents, ſuggeſt. Certain it is, that theſe laſt authors deſerve very little credit, when they deliver any thing, that affects the character either of Hannibal, or his enemy Hanno, ſince it is their conſtant endeavour to paint the former in the

blackeſt colours, and to repreſent the latter, with his partizans, as the only virtuous members of the ſtate of Carthage. They were ſo greatly obliged to Hanno for his kind diſpoſition towards them, or at leaſt his averſion to their enemies, and received ſo much of the treatment they deſerved from Hannibal, that it is no wonder they ſhould labour ſo heartily to depreciate the one, and extol the other; though this was done at the expence of truth, as well as of their own reputation, ſince many of their inſinuations relating to the characters of both theſe Carthaginians are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the accounts of their actions, which they themſelves have handed down to us. As we cannot therefore but look upon Polybius as the moſt impartial and unprejudiced, as well as the moſt rational and probable, hiſtorian, we ſhall ſuperſede that tedious declamatory harangue of Hanno to the ſenate of Carthage, in order to prejudice them againſt Hannibal, and the Barchine family, given us by Livy; notwithſtanding which, in order to preſerve conſiſtency, and render our hiſtory uniform throughout, we muſt follow this laſt hiſtorian with reſpect to order of time, and ſuppoſe the Roman deputies to have found Hannibal employed in the ſiege at preſent under conſideration. The majority of the ſenate and people being cloſely attached to Hannibal, neither the Roman faction in Carthage, nor the deputies ſent from Rome to put them in motion, could prevent the deſtruction of Saguntum [z].

Hannibal carries on briſkly the ſiege of Saguntum.

But to return to the military operations: After the late repulſe, Hannibal, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for ſome days in a ſtate of inaction, but diſpoſed guards in proper places to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, in a ſpeech he made to his ſoldiers, he endeavoured to raiſe their courage, by inſpiring them with a deteſtation of the enemy, by promiſing them great rewards, if they did their duty, and laſtly, by aſſuring them of the plunder of the place, in caſe it was taken by ſtorm. The garriſon likewiſe kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this ceſſation of arms to build a counter-wall oppoſite to the breach the Carthaginians had made. Hannibal's troops, greatly

[z] Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæſchel. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 21. Paul. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 14. Eutrop. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 181, 182.

greatly animated by the hopes of ſharing the plunder of the town, made a vigorous attack, being encouraged by their general, who had placed himſelf on the top of a moveable tower, overlooking all the works of the beſieged, and the whole city. In fine, Hannibal, having cleared the breach of the ſoldiers poſted there for its defence, and demoliſhed the new wall, by the aſſiſtance of five hundred Africans appointed to undermine it, entered the town without oppoſition; and poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence near the citadel, drew a line of circumvallation round it, and planted his artillery againſt it. The Saguntines however did all that could be expected from men animated by deſpair; they erected a new wall to ſupport that part of the city, which the enemy had not yet made themſelves maſters of; they diſputed every inch of ground with the utmoſt bravery; and repulſed the beſiegers in many attacks. However, being not a little ſtreightened for want of proviſions, they found themſelves reduced to great extremities, eſpecially as they had no proſpect of foreign aid, the Romans ſeeming to have entirely deſerted them. But they were, for the preſent, relieved by an expedition Hannibal undertook againſt the Carpetani and Oretani, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſhake off the Carthaginian yoke. The beſieged however did not reap any great advantages from this expedition, ſince Maherbal, the ſon of Himilco, whom Hannibal left to command the forces before Saguntum in his abſence, puſhed on the ſiege with as much vigour as Hannibal himſelf could have done. Battering the new wall inceſſantly with his rams, he made ſuch a breach in it, that Hannibal, returning ſooner than was expected, having quaſhed the conſpiracy of the aforeſaid nations in embryo, immediately ſtormed the citadel. After a warm diſpute, Hannibal making a lodgment, poſſeſſed himſelf of part of it, the Saguntines, with no ſmall difficulty, maintaining themſelves in the other [h].

WHILST affairs were in this melancholy ſituation, one Alcon a Saguntine went privately by night, unknown to his countrymen, to the Carthaginian camp, where, by his tears and ſupplications, he endeavoured to move Hannibal's compaſſion towards the unhappy citizens of Saguntum. He could however make no impreſſion upon that general. The conditions he inſiſted upon were; That they ſhould give ample ſatisfaction to the Turdetani; That they ſhould deliver up

And takes it.

[h] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

up all their treasure to the Carthaginians; and that they should retire, with only their cloaths upon their backs, to the place the Carthaginians should assign them for their habitation. These conditions appeared so intolerable to Alcon, that he durst not propose them to the garrison of Saguntum; and therefore remained in Hannibal's camp. But one Alorcus, a Spaniard, then in the Carthaginian service, though expressing a great regard and esteem for the miserable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, undertook to convey the Carthaginian general's proposals to them. This he did, endeavouring at the same time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them; but they were so harsh, that the Saguntines could not so much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been battered by Hannibal's rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants, who were of age to bear arms. Livy relates, that vast numbers of the Saguntines, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred; and that many, taken prisoners, became the property of the soldiery. According to Frontinus, Hannibal, by a stratagem, drew the garrison out of the town, and put them all to the sword. Zonaras tells us, that Hannibal took the city in the following manner: He applied a machine to the wall, which overtopped it, and was filled with armed men, some of whom were in sight, and others concealed. Whilst the Saguntines warmly engaged those in sight, the others concealed undermined the wall; which falling, gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of advancing into the town, and threw the Saguntines into such a consternation, that they immediately retired into the citadel. Upon their application to Hannibal, finding him averse to moderation, and themselves destitute of any prospect of assistance from the Romans, they desired some days to deliberate upon the measures they were to take; which being granted, in that interval they committed every thing valuable to the flames; persuaded the poor helpless people to lay violent

violent hands on themſelves; and then, making a ſally on the beſiegers, were all put to the ſword [i]. He finds great ſpoils there.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fire above-mentioned, the Carthaginians got a very rich booty. Hannibal did not reſerve to himſelf any part of this, but applied it ſolely to the carrying on of his enterpriſes. Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of ſignal ſervice to him in the execution of the ſcheme he had formed, as it ſtimulated his ſoldiers to further conqueſts by the ſight of ſo much booty, and a proſpect of more; as likewiſe by engaging the principal perſons of Carthage to ſecond his views; which the large preſents he was enabled to make them from ſuch rich ſpoils could not fail of doing. He alſo from hence laid the foundations of a future fund to ſupply all his exigencies in the accompliſhment of the vaſt project he had ſo long been intent upon.

THE news of the taking of Saguntum had ſcarce reached Carthage, when embaſſadors arrived there from Rome, demanding of the ſenate and people, whether the Spaniſh expedition had been undertaken by their order, or Hannibal, contrary to their approbation, had been the ſole author of it. One of the Carthaginian ſenators, the beſt qualified for this purpoſe, by order of the ſenate, endeavoured to vindicate Hannibal's conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occaſion. He made very ſlight mention of the laſt treaty Aſdrubal had concluded with the Romans, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the Carthaginians by the conſul Lutatius after the battle off the iſlands Ægates. He inſiſted, that as the ſenate and people of Rome had taken the liberty to inſert ſome additional articles in that treaty, ſo the Carthaginian ſenate and people had an equal right to make what alterations they thought proper in that Aſdrubal had concluded with the Romans. He further acquainted them, that the Carthaginians were not ſtrangers to the ambitious deſigns of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as ſoon as they pleaſed, without giving any concern or uneaſineſs to his ſtate. In ſhort, he gave them to underſtand, that the ſenate and people, notwithſtanding the efforts of Hanno and his faction, were of the ſame ſentiments with Hannibal, The Romans ſend freſh embaſſadors to Carthage.

[i] Idem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 4. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Vide etiam Sigon. annot. in Liv. l. xxi.

Hannibal, in relation to the affair of Saguntum, and entirely approved of what he had done. Upon which Q. Fabius, the senior of the embassy, declared war against the Carthaginians, in the manner already related by us in a former part of this history [k].

An enquiry into the justice of this war.

In order to give our readers an adequate idea of the justice with which this war was entered upon, we must beg leave to observe, that the Carthaginians had, in reality, a right to call the Romans to an account for their former instances of oppression; but made use of a pretended motive, not so consistent with the dictates of equity, to vindicate, or at least to palliate, their conduct on the present occasion. The iniquitous conquest of Sardinia, and perfidious exaction of the immense sum above-mentioned from the Carthaginians, undoubtedly authorized that nation to make reprisals upon the Romans, whenever they found themselves in a capacity of so doing; and the Romans, by intermedling with the affairs of Spain, without any other cause, than to give check to the Carthaginian conquests there, did, with reason, highly irritate the state of Carthage. But then, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that no just parallel could be drawn betwixt the treaty of peace concluded by the Romans with Asdrubal, and that granted the Carthaginians by Lutatius. In the former, no mention was made of the senate and people of Carthage; but Asdrubal acted, as tho' he had been invested with full powers to sign whatever articles he should judge proper for the good of the republic; which afterwards gave a sort of sanction to what he had done, by an acquiescence in it: whereas to the latter, Lutatius expressly added a clause, importing, that the treaty should be valid, provided the senate and people of Rome thought proper to ratify it. Here therefore, with Polybius, we cannot but acknowledge, that the Carthaginian pretext was mere chicane, void of the least shadow of reason or justice to support it. But, with regard to one of the articles of the treaty of Lutatius, which the Romans urged as a condemnation of the destruction of Saguntum, we own ourselves not so entirely of that author's sentiments. The article was to this effect; "That neither party should "injure or molest the allies of the other," which he extends to all those with whom an alliance might be contracted in any future times, though, in our opinion, no necessity appears

[k] Liv. Polyb. Zonar. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 182.

pears for admitting ſuch a ſuppoſition, at leaſt except ſuch an alliance had been contracted by the mutual conſent of both parties; for otherwiſe, each nation might have entered into a confederacy with the declared enemies of the other, and then, by virtue of this article, have forced their old friends to make peace with their new confederates; which would undoubtedly have been contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, as well as the general tenor of the treaty; ſince it would have given the more formidable power an opportunity of extorting a compliance with the moſt ruinous conditions from the other. It is probable, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Roman hiſtorians on this head, that the article we are now upon furniſhed the Romans with a pretext to countenance the Sardinian rebels above-mentioned, and eſpouſe their intereſt, in order to make themſelves maſters of Sardinia; ſince it appears from Livy, that they underſtood it in the ſenſe of Polybius, which ſeems to authorize ſuch an action. It is certain the perfidious conduct they were guilty of towards the Carthaginians at that time, gives ground to ſuſpect them capable of wreſting the treaty of Lutatius in ſuch a manner, to ſerve ſo villainous a purpoſe; and therefore juſtifies our not entirely agreeing with Polybius in the above-mentioned particular. Be that as it will, as the treaty of Lutatius was infringed by the reduction of Sardinia, the Romans had no reaſon to condemn any ſubſequent conduct of the Carthaginians for its not ſquaring with the articles of that treaty. Beſides, as the Sicilian peace bore no relation to the Carthaginian conqueſts in Spain, which were made long afterwards, they had no right to preſcribe limits to thoſe conqueſts, which they did, by obliging Aſdrubal not to paſs the Iberus. Add to this, that it does not appear from hiſtory, that the Carthaginians ever ratified, with an oath, the articles Aſdrubal ſigned by his own authority, but only concealed their diſapprobation of that action, till a proper opportunity of diſcovering it offered; and therefore the Carthaginians could not, with ſo much juſtice, be charged with perjury, by concurring with Hannibal in the deſtruction of Saguntum, as the Romans with a ſecond violation of the treaty of Lutatius, by extorting a compliance with ſuch hard terms from Aſdrubal, when the neceſſity of his affairs would not permit him to refuſe it. In confirmation of what has been advtanced,

advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that the Romans had not obliged themſelves, by any implicit covenant prior to the pretended treaty with Aſdrubal, to fix the Iberus as a boundary to any future acquiſitions or diſcoveries they might make in Spain; beſides which, nothing could have the leaſt tendency to palliate their treatment of the Carthaginians on that occaſion. However, it muſt be owned, that the Carthaginians would have acted more generouſly, by aſſigning the unjuſt ceſſion they found themſelves forced to make of Sardinia, and the immenſe ſum of money at the ſame time iniquitouſly exacted from them, as the chief motives that prompted them to deſire a rupture with the Romans. But they were doubtleſs hindered from this by ſome political views, which, they thought, it might be for their intereſt to keep concealed; than which ſcarce any practice has been more common in all ages; and we have had recent inſtances of princes publiſhing a manifeſto, immediately before a declaration of war, filled with frivolous pretexts rather than the real cauſes of their hoſtile intentions [1].

Hannibal undertakes this war to prevent civil diſſenſions at home, according to Appian.

APPIAN ſeems to intimate, that Hannibal, in order toprovide for his own ſafety, was obliged to attack the Saguntines, and come to blows with the Romans. Notwithſtanding he was elected general by the army after the death of Aſdrubal, and had his election confirmed by the ſenate and people of Carthage, yet, according to this author, Hanno's faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inſpire the giddy populace with ſentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked ſuggeſtions of that faction beginning in a ſhort time to take ſome effect, appriſed him of it, deſiring him by no means to forget them, but to exert himſelf in order to promote their intereſt, and conſequently his own. This, adds the ſame author, Hannibal had foreſeen; and being ſenſible, that whatever attacks ſeemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended againſt him, notwithſtanding the great ſervices his family had done the ſtate of Carthage, he thought, that the only expedient to prevent civil diſſenſions, and hinder Hanno's inſinuations from making any impreſſion upon the minds of the populace to his diſadvantage, would be to enter upon a war with Rome. An enterprize of ſuch importance as this, he very well knew, would engage all the public attention, and of courſe greatly contribute towards ſtifling the cabals and ſchemes, that might have been formed

[1] Vide Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſupra.

formed againſt him, eſpecially as the generality, both of the ſenate and people, were eagerly bent upon ſuch a war. Beſides, the fears and anxieties ariſing in their minds for the ſucceſs of an Italian expedition, would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. Appian, we ſay, mentions this as one of the motives that induced Hannibal to lay ſiege to Saguntum; which may poſſibly be true. But we muſt own, that neither Polybius nor Livy takes any notice of it. That another motive, as the firſt author relates, was a deſire to immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who conſider the genius of that general, as deſcribed to us by the beſt writers. But whatever might prompt him to the ſiege above-mentioned, he met with a courage and reſolution in the Saguntines worthy of himſelf. After a moſt gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related, the very women from the ramparts, with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, beholding the ſlaughter of their huſbands and relations, and maſſacring all the children, that had eſcaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some writers inſinuate, that, before the laſt ſally, the Saguntines melted lead with their gold and ſilver, imagining, that ſuch a mixed maſs could not be of any great ſervice to the Carthaginians; and that Hannibal would have found it more difficult ſtill to have carried the place, had not the citizens been reduced to the laſt extremity by famine. The Carthaginian general did not think proper to raze the city, but tranſplanted thither a colony from Carthage. Thus the Saguntines, after a ſiege of eight months, fell a ſacrifice to Hannibal's reſentment, being marked out for deſtruction, on account of their ſingular fidelity and attachment to the Romans [m].

THE Carthaginians, or at leaſt the Barchine faction, received the Roman declaration of war from Fabius with great joy and acclamations, aſſuring him they would carry it on with the utmoſt vigour and alacrity, and make all poſſible efforts to revenge the repeated extortions, the ſiniſter deſigns, the unjuſt invaſions, and the haughty behaviour of his re-public. In conſequence of this ſtep, Fabius, and his companions, returned home, taking Spain in their way, as they had been ordered by the ſenate. Upon their arrival there, they endeavoured to draw the Spaniards ſubject to Carthage

The Romans attempt to draw the Spaniards off from the Carthaginian intereſt, but in vain.

[m] Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæſchel. Appian. in Iberic. Vide & Polyb. Liv. Zonar. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7. Plut. in Hannib. Petron. Arbit. in ſatyric.

from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that ſtate there from its intereſt, and to enter into an alliance with as many of the Spaniſh nations, as were diſpoſed to accept either the friendſhip or protection of the Roman republic, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received before their departure from Rome. The Barguſii, being deſirous of ſhaking off the Carthaginian yoke, gave the Roman embaſſadors a kind reception; which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this ſucceſs was not laſting; for the Volſciani, upon Fabius's application to them, made him this ſmart reply: "With what face can you, Romans, offer to "ſolicit us to prefer your friendſhip to that of the Carthaginians, ſince your treachery to the brave Saguntines, who "did ſo, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy, "who deſtroyed them? Seek for allies, where the fate of "Saguntum is not known. The deſtruction of that city "will ſerve for a lively leſſon to the people of Spain, to take "care how they ever repoſe any confidence in the Romans." After which, the embaſſadors, being commanded to leave the territories of the Volſciani, found themſelves obliged to retire out of Spain, without accompliſhing their deſign. Neither did they meet with any better ſucceſs in Gaul; for when they deſired the Gauls to refuſe the Carthaginians a paſſage through their country into Italy, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their requeſt. Hannibal had before prepoſſeſſed them in favour of the Carthaginians; which he found it no difficult matter to do, they having, on various accounts, conceived an averſion to the Romans [n].

Hannibal puts both Spain and Africa into a poſture of defence.

AFTER the reduction of Saguntum, Hannibal put his African troops into winter-quarters at New Carthage; but permitted the Spaniards, in order to gain their affection, to retire to their reſpective habitations. During the winter, he remained in a ſtate of inaction, but made ſeveral very wiſe regulations for the ſecurity of the Carthaginian dominions both in Spain and Africa. He tranſported into Africa, for the defence of that country, a body of Spaniards, conſiſting of Therſitæ, Maſtiani, and Olcades, amounting to twelve hundred horſe, and thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, to which were added ſome companies raiſed in the Balearic iſlands. Theſe it was thought proper to place, for the moſt part, in the provinces of Metagonium, and city of Carthage. He poſted four thouſand Metagonitæ likewiſe in Carthage,

[n] Liv. Polyb & Zonar. ubi ſup.

Carthage, not noly to defend that metropolis, in caſe of need, but likewiſe to ſerve as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. Hannibal appointed his brother Aſdrubal to command in Spain, leaving him, beſides a ſufficient naval force, a powerful army, to preſerve the Carthaginian acquiſitions there. The African corps, deſtined to act in Spain under the command of Aſdrubal, was compoſed of four hundred and fifty African and Libyphœnician cavalry, eleven thouſand eight hundred and fifty Maſſylian, Maſſæſylian, Macian, and Mauritanian foot, beſides three hundred (C) Lorgitæ, eighteen hundred Numidians, three hundred Liguſians, five hundred Balearic ſlingers, and above twenty elephants. Theſe particulars, Polybius tells us, he extracted from ſome tables of records of copper, engraved by Hannibal himſelf when in Italy, and left by him at Lacinium (D). After ſuch a prudent diſpoſition, which had a natural tendency to render both Spain and Africa entirely dependent on Car-

(C) It is evident from Livy, that Polybius's text here ſtands in need of an emendation. We find in no author the word Lorgitæ, [ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ] as the name of a people; but the Ilergetes, whom Livy takes notice of here, and whom Polybius had mentioned juſt before, were a people of Spain, frequently deſcribed by antient writers. In the room therefore of ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ, we ought to ſubſtitute ΙΛΟΤΡΓΗΤΟΙ, nothing being more eaſy, than for ſome letters, and parts of letters, to be defaced by time, or a variety of contingencies. As Livy cloſely followed Polybius, we doubt not but ΙΛΟΤΡΓΗΤΟΙ is the true reading (3).

(D) The Lacinium, here mentioned by Polybius, muſt, we apprehend, have been the name of a town near the Lacinian promontory in Calabria, taken notice of by ſeveral authors. From this curious paſſage of Polybius, as well as from Livy, it ſeems to appear that Hannibal left behind him an account of the principal, if not all the tranſactions he was concerned in there. But here a queſtion may ariſe, in what language was this account left written or engraved? To which we muſt beg leave to anſwer, that our readers may determine for themſelves, when they have conſidered the principal arguments that may be offered in favour both of the Greek and Carthaginian languages which we ſhall here lay down for their perufal. In behalf of the Greek it may be urged, firſt, that Hannibal intended his tables ſhould be underſtood by the natives of the country wherein they were left. Now the Greek was the tongue of Magna Græcia, and conſequently of the Brutii, in whoſe territory Lacinium was ſituated.

Secondly,

(3) Liv. & Polyb. in loc. citat.

thage, as well as more cloſely to cement the people of thoſe countries by mutual bonds of friendſhip, he made the neceſſary preparations to paſs the Iberus. But before he attempted this, he judged it expedient to win the Ciſalpine Gauls over to his intereſt, that he might not only have a free paſſage through their country, but likewiſe receive a reinforcement from them when there. This he effected, partly by diſtributing ſome gold amongſt their chiefs, and partly by heightening their averſion to the Romans. Having received intelligence, that the Gauls were ready to join him, and before diſcharged

Secondly, Hannibal underſtood Greek, having been taught it by Soſilus the Lacedæmonian, and compoſed ſome pieces himſelf in that language. Thirdly, Soſilus attended Hannibal in his expeditions, and wrote a hiſtory of them in Greek, from whence, it is probable, the inſcriptions on theſe tables of copper, mentioned by Polybius, were taken. Fourthly, as Polybius underſtood theſe inſcriptions, and made extracts from them, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that they muſt have been in Greek. On the other hand, it may be ſaid, firſt, that the Greek language had been expelled Carthage before Hannibal's time; and that the Carthaginians ever retained ſuch an averſion to the Greeks, that it cannot be ſuppoſed the language of that nation ſhould afterwards have been introduced amongſt them. Secondly, that though Hannibal, for his own private amuſement, ſtudied the Greek tongue, he was too wiſe ſo far to thwart the genius of his countrymen, as to leave a journal or hiſtory of his Italian wars in it, eſpecially as he had a faction againſt him at Carthage. Thirdly, that the Carthaginian and Etruſcan languages muſt have been related, the Etruſcans being deſcended from the Pelaſgi and Phœnicians; and it is well known, that the Etruſcan was the antient language of Magna Græcia, that country having been antiently a part of Etruſcan. Fourthly, the Carthaginians had, for many generations, an intercourſe with the people of Magna Græian; and ſeveral coins of that country, particularly of the Thurians, have characters upon them reſembling the Etruſcan, and even the Carthaginian. From hence it is probable, the inhabitants of Magna Græcia underſtood ſomething of the Carthaginian tongue; which renders it likely, that the language of Hannibal's tables muſt have been the Carthaginian. But this we leave ourreaders to decide (4).

(4) Polyb. l. iii. c. 56. Liv. l. xxviii. ſub fin. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Juſtin. l. xx. c 5. Diod. Sic. paſſ. Stillingfl. in orig. Scip. Maff. in ant. Etruſc. & Latin. Diod. Sic. l. v. Liv. l. i. & v. Jul. Philargyr. ad Virg. georg. l. ii. ver. 534. Varro apud Jul. Philargyr. ubi ſup. Serv. in Virg. loc. jam laudat. Vide & Dempſt. de Etr. regal. l. i. c. 1. p. 3. 4.

diſcharged his vows made to Hercules at Gades, as well as engaged himſelf by new ones, provided ſucceſs attended his arms in the enſuing expedition, he immediately put himſelf in motion. As his emiſſaries, arrived from Gaul, informed him, that tho' the paſſage of the Alps was difficult, it was far from being impracticable, he began to look upon the Carthaginians as already maſters of Italy °.

His remarkable dream.

HAVING therefore completed his military preparations, and got every thing in readineſs for the intended expedition, early in the ſpring he moved out of his winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to Etouiſſa, and from thence to the Iberus. Here, we are told, Hannibal had a remarkable dream, which gave him great hopes of ſucceſs in the enterprize he was going to enter upon. That general, according to the authors referred to, imagined himſelf, in his ſleep, ſummoned to a council of the gods, who commanded him to begin his march for Italy without delay. At the ſame time there appeared to him a youth incircled with glory, who ſaid, that Jupiter had appointed him his guide, with orders to conduct him and his troops to Italy, ſtrictly enjoining him never to draw his eyes from off him; which injunction he, for ſome time, obeyed: but at laſt, having the curioſity to look behind him, he ſaw a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize moving with great celerity, overthrowing all the trees, ſhrubs, &c. in its way, and attended by a dreadful tempeſt, with violent claps of thunder. He then aſked his guide, What ſuch a prodigy could portend? who told him, it preſaged the dreadful devaſtations, that ſhould be committed in Italy by his troops, deſiring him to purſue his journey, and not to be too inquiſitive, nor pry too deeply into what the fates had decreed. Upon his paſſing the Iberus, ſeveral beaſts, of a ſpecies utterly unknown, likewiſe appeared to him, ſeeming to ſhew the way to his troops. The Romans, about the ſame time, were as greatly diſpirited by bad omens, as Hannibal found himſelf animated by good ones. An ox ſpoke audibly with an human voice at Rome, juſt before the commencement of this war; another threw itſelf from the top of a houſe into the Tiber, and was drowned, during the public diverſions; many places were ſtruck with lightning; blood flowed from many ſtatues, and from the ſhield of one of the legionaries; and laſtly, a wolf carried off a ſword out of the

° Idem ibid.

camp. Whether theſe occurrences are to be eſteemed as ſo many fictions, entirely owing to that credulity and ſuperſtition, to which both the Romans and Carthaginians were ſo much addicted, or as real events, intended by Providence as preſages of thoſe dreadful convulſions, which afterwards happened in the Roman and Carthaginian ſtates, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, that many arguments may be offered in ſupport of each opinion. However, as the hiſtories of almoſt all nations are interſperſed with ſuch relations, as Scripture itſelf gives countenance to ſome of them, and as the authors cited here are of no mean authority, we doubt not but our curious readers will at leaſt excuſe what has been inſerted in this place [p].

He paſſes the Iberus.

BEFORE Hannibal began the operations of the campaign, he thought it incumbent on him to inſpire life and vigour into the ſoldiery, nothing but that being now wanting, ſince the ſenate and people of Carthage, at the inſtigation of Aſdrubal, had given him an unlimited commiſſion, which left him in full power to act as he ſhould think fit for the good of the republic. In an harangue therefore he acquainted the army, that ſuch was the inſolence of the Romans, that they inſiſted upon having him, and all the general officers, delivered up to them; that Italy was one of the moſt fertile and delicious countries in the world; that he had juſt concluded a treaty with the Ciſalpine Gauls, through whoſe countries they muſt paſs, who would not only ſupply them with all neceſſaries, but join them with a good body of troops, bearing a mortal hatred to the Romans; ſo that they ought to look upon themſelves as morally certain of ſucceſs. The ſoldiers, animated by this ſpeech, loudly proclaimed their confidence in his conduct, at the ſame time declaring themſelves ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould think proper to lead them, and to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in executing the project he had formed. Finding it therefore time to enter upon action, he took a review of his army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, of various nations, beſides a good number of elephants; and then, without the leaſt obſtruction, paſſed the Iberus [q].

THE

[p] Liv. ubi ſup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 22. p. 407, 408, 409. Val. Max. l. i. c. 7. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 5, 6, 7. Dan. c. ii. ver. 29, &c. [q] Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup.

THE Ilergetes and Barguſii were the firſt cantons he obliged to ſubmit to the Carthaginians, and ſoon after the Ærenoſii and Auſetani, people whoſe territories extended as far as the Pyrenees. Nevertheleſs, as he reduced ſeveral towns by force, theſe conqueſts coſt him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march, he conſtituted Hanno governor of the country betwixt the Pyrenees and the Iberus, which included the territory of the Barguſii, enjoining him to have a watchful eye over that people, whoſe former conduct gave him reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſtill they were ſecretly well-wiſhers to the Romans. To ſupport Hanno in his new poſt, he left him a body of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe; and in order to ingratiate himſelf with the Spaniards, that he might be the more readily ſupplied with what recruits he ſhould want in Italy, he diſmiſſed about the like number of them to their reſpective habitations, and gave the greateſt encouragement to thoſe that continued in the Carthaginian ſervice. Upon a muſter of his forces, after they were weakened by ſieges, deſertion, mortality, and the aforeſaid diſmiſſion and detachment, he found them to amount to fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, all veteran troops, and the beſt in the world. As they had left all their heavy baggage with Hanno, and were light-armed, Hannibal eaſily croſſed the Pyrenees, paſſed by Ruſcino, the Rouſſillon of the moderns, a frontier town of the Gauls, and arrived on the banks of the Rhone without oppoſition [r].

And ſubdues all the nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenees.

FOR ſome time however he was retarded in his march by the jealouſy of the Gauls; for that nation, hearing that the Carthaginian army, then encamped at Illiberis, a city of Gallia Narbonenſis, had reduced the country immediately beyond the Pyrenees, and left ſtrong garriſons there to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement ſuſpicions, that Hannibal had a deſign upon them, notwithſtanding his pretext of invading Italy. But upon his decamping ſpeedily from Illiberis, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few preſents to their reguli, they permitted him to continue his route without the leaſt moleſtation. Upon his approaching the banks of the Rhone, the greateſt part of the Volcæ (E), a

He advances to the Rhone and paſſes it.

[r] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

(E), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the oppoſite bank, the other neighbouring Gauls being his friends, and giving him all the aſſiſtance they were able. The Gauls on the other ſide, taking umbrage at the approach of ſo formidable a power, had aſſembled all their forces, with an intent to diſpute the paſſage of the river; which Hannibal perceiving, and finding it no-where fordable in ſight of the enemy, he began to be in pain for the ſucceſs of the expedition; but his good fortune ſtill attending him, he at laſt carried his point by a ſtratagem, and diſperſed the Gallic forces in the manner by us already related. But, after all, the greateſt difficulty was how to waft over the elephants. Some affirm this to have been done in the following manner: a float of timber two hundred foot long, and fifty broad, was thrown from the bank of the river, being fixed thereto, by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; ſo that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themſelves upon firm ground. From the firſt float they proceeded to a ſecond, which was built in the ſame form, but only an hundred foot long, and faſtened to the former by chains, that were eaſily looſened. The female elephants were put upon the firſt float, and the males followed. As ſoon as they got upon the ſecond float, it was looſened from the firſt, and, by the help of ſmall boats, towed to the oppoſite ſhore. After this, it was ſent back to fetch thoſe which were left behind. Some threw their guides, and fell into the water, but they at laſt got ſafe to ſhore; ſo that out of forty-eight, not a ſingle elephant was drowned. Others ſay, that Hannibal ordered them all to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fierceſt of them, leaped into the river, and ſwam to the oppoſite ſide, being hotly purſued by the enraged beaſt, that immediately ruſhed

(E) The Volcæ, or Volcæ Aricomici, according to Strabo, were a nation, that inhabited the country contiguous to one ſide of the Rhodanus or the Rhone; but had nothing to do on the other, as Livy here aſſerts. Nemauſus, the Niſmes of the moderns, was their capital. Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy, take particular notice of them (5).

(5) Strab. l. iii. p. 1229. Mel. Plin. & Ptol. in Gal.

ruſhed into the (F) water after him with the utmoſt fury; upon which all the reſt followed. Hannibal ſpent five days in paſſing the river, though vaſt numbers of the Gauls, by their aſſiſtance, facilitated the execution of the plan he had formed.

(F) But this, with Livy, we cannot help thinking improbable; eſpecially ſince it is remarked by Polybius, that elephants were exceedingly afraid of the water; inſomuch that though they were taught an exact obedience to their guides, yet theſe could never prevail upon them to go into the water without the utmoſt difficulty. That excellent author adds, that, on the preſent occaſion, theſe beaſts were at firſt ſo terrified, that they ran from one ſide of the float to the other; but ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with water, the fear of that element kept them in order. However, ſome of them, he tells us, were ſo extremely ſcared, that, being in the middle of the ſtream, they leaped into it, tho' breathing freely, and diſcharging their ſtomachs of the water taken in, by the aſſiſtance of their trunks, which they held above water, they were thereby preſerved.

Though, according to Polybius here, the elephant is afraid of paſſing deep and rapid waters, yet, if Ælian may be credited, that animal takes delight in the marſhes, being, for the moſt part, in moiſt places. The Indians therefore, employed in taking their whelps, (for vaſt numbers of theſe they train up for uſe) generally go to ſuch places, where they ſeldom fail of finding them. In ſummer-time the elephant covers himſelf with mud, to avoid the heat, receiving more refreſhment from hence, than from being in the ſhade (5).

In confirmation of what Polybius aſſerts, it may be obſerved, that, according to naturaliſts, the elephant is a vaſt animal, of a make entirely unfit for ſwimming. He drinks much, Ariſtotle aſſuring us, that there have been ſome elephants, that have been ſeen to drink fourteen amphoras of the Macedonian meaſure, that is, if we will believe Budæus, about one eighth part of a Paris hogſhead. It is remarkable, that this animal always diſturbs the water before he drinks, as if this was a way to make it more nouriſhing, or to add a certain taſte to it, and take away the ſweetneſs of it, which is not ſufficiently pungent to his tongue. Ælian intimates, that the ſight of the ſea terrifies the elephant; and that, in order to get him on ſhip-board, recourſe is ſometimes had to ſuch an artifice as that here mentioned; which notion he undoubtedly received from the very paſſage of Polybius we are now upon (6).

The wild elephant chiefly feeds upon ruſhes, ivy, the tender tops

(5) Polyb. in loc. citat. Ælian. de animal. l. iv. c. 24. & l. xiii. c. 8. & l. ix. c 56. Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. c. 9.

(6) Ælian. l. x. Plin. l. viii.

formed. The elephants were not wafted over, till the day after the defeat of the Gauls, who attempted to diſpute his paſſage. The particulars here laid down, added to thoſe already related in a former part of our hiſtory, make up a full and ample deſcription of this remarkable atchievement[s].

WHILST

[s] Polyb. l. iii. c. 46, 47. Liv. l. xxi. c. 31, 32. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 186, 187. Zonar. l. viii. c. 23. p. 409, 410.

tops of palms, the young ſhoots of other trees, plants, &c. We are told, that when wild elephants find themſelves neceſſitated to paſs a river, that is not extremely deep, the younger ſwim over firſt, after which the others ford it, the females carrying their young on their trunks. Theſe animals herd together in great numbers in India, and are hunted by the Indians, partly on account of the ivory they produce, and partly for other reaſons. We find a full and particular deſcription of the Indian manner of hunting them in Agatharchides Cnidius, and Ælian (7).

Of all quadrupeds the elephant is the largeſt; the male is much higher and ſtronger than the female, being ſometimes in India nine cubits high, and capable of carrying a tower on his back, with thirty two warriors in it. With one ſtroke of his trunk he kills a camel or an horſe, and has been known to draw two caſt cannons faſtened together with cables, and weighing each three thouſand pounds, five hundred paces, with his teeth. The Indian elephants are either black or of a mouſe.colour; but ſome white ones are found in Ethiopia. According to Ptolemy, all the Ethiopian elephants were formerly of that colour. Some few were likewiſe produced in India, and looked upon as great curioſities by the princes of that country. It is remarkable, that this animal has a particular averſion to a ſow. The grunting of that creature, as well as the ſqueaking of a young pig, ſtrikes him with terror. A ram likewiſe he has an antipathy to. But his two worſt enemies are the dragon and the rhinoceros; the latter frequently worſting him in combat, and the former as often deſtroying him by ſucking all the blood out of his veins. Ælian tells us, that theſe dragons ſtrangle the elephant firſt. However, the blood, that they imbibe, kills them. Some authors affirm, that the female elephant goes two years with her young; and that the elephant is reckoned in his prime at ſixty years of age. Some elephants have been known to live above two hundred, three hundred and fifty, and even four hundred years; for which reaſon that animal was a ſymbol of

(7) Ælian. l. vii. c. 6. & l. x. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 15. Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. in biblioth. p. 1354.

WHILST the elephants were croſſing over, Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horſe to get intelligence of the enemy, who, he was informed, approached the banks of the Rhone with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. Theſe, falling in with a party of three hundred Roman and Gallic horſe, ſent out by Scipio upon the ſame deſign, a rencounter immediately enſued, which, after a briſk diſpute, ended in favour of the Romans, though the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. As Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the Roman detachment purſued his cavalry to the camp, Scipio was ſoon acquainted with the diſpoſition of the Carthaginian army; which encouraged

Hannibal continues his march.

of eternity amongſt the antients, and, as ſuch, may be ſeen on the reverſes of ſeveral antique coins (8).

Though the elephant is naturally a quiet and inoffenſive animal, yet he is terrible when provoked: nothing can ſtand before him; he overſets trees, houſes and walls; he tramples under foot every thing that comes in his way; he overthrows whole ſquadrons. His arms are his trunk, and his teeth his horns, for ſo ſome of the antients call them. His trunk is a long, hollow cartilage, like a large trumpet, hanging between his teeth, and frequently ſerves him for hands. His teeth are the ivory ſo well known to us, being of the nature of horn, and may be ſoftened. There have been elephants teeth ſeen as large as a man's thigh, and a fathom in length. When they quarrel amongſt themſelves, they ſtrike one another with their teeth, as bulls do with their horns. However, the elephant never uſes his ſtrength, but when compelled to it. He creates no terror in other creatures. If he is obliged to paſs through a herd of other beaſts, he puts them gently out of his way with his trunk, to make way for him. He feeds in the fields and meadows; and the weakeſt and tameſt animals, with impunity, play before him. If Ælian may be credited, the elephant is quite raviſhed and tranſported at the ſight of a beautiful woman. He takes great delight likewiſe, according

(8) Ariſtot hiſt. animal. l. ix. c. 46. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 1. Auctor incert. apud Pithæum. Lotichius ad Petron. Arb. Ptol. in Afric. c. 9. Ælian. de animal. l. i. c. 38. & alib. paſſ. Polyæn. in ſtrat. l. iv. c. 6. ex. 3. Plin. ubi ſup. & c. 11. Diod. Sic. l iii. Agatharchides Cnidius ubi ſup. p. 1362. Solin. c. 30. Philoſtrat. apud Phot. in biblioth. p. 1019. & in vit. Apollon. l. xi. c. 6. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. num. ant. diſſ. iv. p. 169 170. Conr. Geſn. de elephant. & Giſb. Cuper. de elephant. in num. invent. exercitat. in nov. theſaur. Rom. ant. congeſt. ab Alb. Hen. de Sallengre, tom. iii. edit. Hagæ Com. 1719.

couraged him to move with all poſſible expedition towards Hannibal, in order to attack him. That general was, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould engage the Romans,

ing to the ſame author, in beautiful flowers, particularly thoſe that emit fragrant odours, which are exceeding grateful to him (9).

Of all animals the elephant comes neareſt to man in ſagacity, docility, addreſs, clemency, prudence, equity, and, according to ſame authors, even religion. His modeſty, fidelity, chaſtity, &c. are likewiſe greatly celebrated by the antients. He underſtands the language of his guide, and of the country where he is produced. Pliny mentions one that underſtood Greek, and could write that language. Ælian tells us he ſaw another that wrote Latin, and, whilſt writing, behaved with great attention. In Hadrian's time, Arrian ſaw an elephant playing on a cymbal, and others dancing about him. That they worſhip the ſun, moon and ſtars, and even are not void of ſome ſenſe of moral duties, is atteſted by ſeveral good authors. In ſhort, ſo many things of this kind are related of them, as would ſeem fabulous, were they not delivered by grave writers. The antients gave them both names and ſurnames. The names were generally ſuch as great warriors had gone by, viz. Patroclus, Ajax, &c. They frequently bore a ſingular affection to their guides, of which we are ſupplied with ſome ſurpriſing inſtances by antiquity (10).

The natural parts of the elephant are under his belly, like thoſe of a horſe; but his teſticles lie concealed in his loins. The female elephant receives the male lying on her back, contrary to the nature of other beaſts; and he never courts her as long as any one appears in ſight. When he is heated with luſt, he beats down trees, walls, and every thing that approaches him, butting with his forehead like a ram. We are told he copulates but once in his whole life, and that about the twentieth year of his age. Others ſay, that the male is capable of propagating his ſpecies at ten years old, and the female at five; and that the male covers the female once every three years. The females bring forth only one at a time, which immediately ſucks the dam with its mouth, and not the trunk. The elephant ſleeps in an erect poſture; and, when he is tired, leans againſt a tree, which being cut in two, he falls to the ground, and cannot riſe, and by this means is ſometimes

(9) Ariſtot. Ælian. Plin. ubi ſup. & alib. (10) Plin. l. viii. c. 1, 3, 4, 5, &c. Ælian. de anim. l. vii. c. 44. & l. iv. c. 10. Plut. de ſolert. anim. Apollon. apud Philoſtr. l. i. c. 7. Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxix. Arrian. in Ind. Conr. Geſn. ubi ſup. Pierius in hieroglyph. l. ii c. 18. & Hier. Oſor. l. ix. de geſt. Eman. reg.

mans, or continue his march for Italy; but was ſoon determined to the latter, by the arrival of Magilus, a prince of the Boii, who brought rich preſents with him, and offered to conduct the Carthaginians over the Alps. In conſequence

times taken by the Indians and Ethiopians. Wild elephants are likewiſe caught ſometimes by the help of a female elephant, which is ready for the male, and put into ſome narrow place between barricades, where the elephant engages himſelf, and is taken. They are alſo taken in deep ditches, dug particularly for that purpoſe, and covered with a little earth ſcattered over hurdles, which cloſe the open part of them. A nation inhabiting that part of Ethiopia to the weſt of the Nile, and not far from the line, uſed formerly to eat great numbers of thoſe they took; for which reaſon they were called Elephantophagi by Agatharchides Cnidius, and others. To what has been before mentioned, with regard to the elephants food, we may add, that ſome of them could eat at once nine Macedonian medimni of barley, beſides a great quantity of leaves and young branches of trees. They feed likewiſe upon legumes, hay, herbs, &c. as the tameſt animals They drink a vaſt quantity of liquor at once, as has been obſerved; but, to make amends for this, they can go eight days, without taking any liquid whatſoever. Though the wild elephants drank only water, thoſe that were trained up for war had either wine mixed with their water, or a liquor compoſed of water, rice, ſugar, &c. which infuſed new life and vigour into them, and made them exert themſelves in ſuch a manner, that nothing could ſtand before them. We read in the Maccabees, that the elephants of Antiochus Eupator's army had the blood of grapes and mulberries ſhewn them, that thereby they might be animated to the combat, to accuſtom them, as is were, to the ſight of blood; as likewiſe that it was uſual to intoxicate them, by giving them wine mixed with incenſe, or with parcels of incenſe; which parcels were dipped in the wine, in order to make the fumes of it the ſtronger, and conſequently more proper to intoxicate the elephants. Ælian ſays, that the only parts of the elephant uſed for food by the Elephantophagi, were his proboſcis, his lips, and the marrow of his horns. The ſame author affirms the fat of the elephant to be a preſervative againſt all venomous animals, which will not approach any thing anointed with it. We read in Philoſtratus of bulls and oxen, reſembling the elephant in ſize, ſkin and colour, common in Ethiopia (11).

Hiſtory

(11) Ariſtot. Plin. Ælian. Agatharchid. Cnid. Philoſt. ubi ſup. 1 Maccab. c. vi. ver. 34. & 3 Maccah. c. 5. Auct. chron. Alexand. p. 412. edit. Rader. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 11.

quence of the resolution he had taken, the next day he decamped, commanding his horse to move towards the sea-coast, in order to prevent any sudden irruption from thence; the foot followed at some distance, whilst he himself waited for the coming up of the elephants, and the guides that conducted them. That his troops might bear the fatigues of so long and painful a march with the greater alacrity, Hannibal, the day before he began it, in the presence of them all, gave an audience to Magilus, who assured him by an interpreter, that his subjects ardently desired to see him; that both they, and the neighbouring Gauls, were ready to join him upon his first arrival amongst them; that he himself would take care to conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions; and that he would soon bring them safe to Italy, which was one of the finest countries in the world. And then, after the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to them, magnified extremely this deputation from the Boii; extolled,

History affords us surprising instances of the dexterity of the elephant: in the public theatres at Rome, elephants danced upon ropes. They sat down in a formal manner to a feast, helping themselves, in a decent manner, to what they wanted, with their trunks. Forty of them carried lamps or torches before Julius Cæsar to the capitol, and from thence home, a representation of which we have upon an antient coin taken notice of by Spanheim. Some authors tell us, that, notwithstanding the antipathy betwixt swine and the elephant, pork cures that animal of ulcers, and other disorders; and that the tiger, a potent enemy, is frequently too hard for him. Thus we have enumerated the principal qualities and properties of the elephant; which is sufficient to give our readers a general idea of that creature, and consequently answers our purpose; tho' we might fill a volume by repeating what has been laid down by various authors on this subject. We shall conclude the whole by observing, that an elephant is called fyll in the Islandic tongue, and phill in the Turkish; and that Reland seems to derive the word baro or barro above-mentioned from the Persic barou, which signifies a castle, tower, bulwork, &c. (12).

(12) Plin. l. viii. c. 4. Senec. epist. lxxxv. Sueton. in Ner. c. 11. & in Galb. c. 6. Dio. Cass. l. lvi. p. 697. Ælian. l. ii. c. 11. Vide & Ezech. Spanheim. ubi sup. Arrian hist. Ind. p. 328. Ælian. l. xv c. 7. Reland. in dissert. miscel. p. 3. Nicol. Smith in itinerar. Constantinopol. tom. xxii. collect. Petr. Vander Aa.

extolled, with juſt praiſes, the bravery which his forces had hitherto ſhewn; and exhorted them to ſuſtain, to the laſt, their reputation and glory. The ſoldiers, greatly animated hereby, proteſted they were ready to execute all his meaſures. Nothing could have happened more favourable to Hannibal's affairs, than the arrival of Magilus, ſince there was no room to doubt the ſincerity of his intentions, the Boii bearing an implacable hatred to the Romans, and having even come to an open rupture with them, upon the firſt news, that Italy was threatened with an invaſion from the Carthaginians [t].

And arrives at the foot of the Alps.

FOR four days Hannibal continued his march, croſſing through the midſt of Gaul, and moving northwards, with his horſe and elephants poſted in the rear; not becauſe this was the ſhorteſt way to the Alps, but becauſe it kept him at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, and conſequently enabled him to avoid Scipio, with whom he choſe to decline an engagement, in purſuance of the advice given him by Magilus, that he might march his army, without any diminution, into Italy. Advancing towards the country of the Allobroges, he found two brothers diſputing about the ſovereignty of a territory, where he encamped. Brancus, the elder brother, was driven from his throne by the younger part of his ſubjects, who eſpouſed his younger brother's intereſt. Hannibal, being made arbiter of this diſpute, reinſtated Brancus in the poſſeſſion of his dominions; who thereupon, out of a ſenſe of gratitude, ſupplied his troops with every thing they wanted, particularly arms, of which they ſtood in great need, their old ones being, in a manner, worn out by long ſervice; which was, as Polybius obſerves, the ſame thing as furniſhing him with a proper number of recruits. He likewiſe eſcorted him through the countries of the Tricaſtini, Vocontii, and Tricorii, as far as the river Druentia, now the Durance; from whence he reached the foot of the Alps without oppoſition [u].

As, in a former part of this work, we have given a large account of Hannibal's paſſing the Alps, we ſhall have no occaſion to expatiate upon that head here. Nothing further is requiſite to be done, than to inſert all the moſt material

[t] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

[u] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſupra.

material circumstances and occurrences, relative to so famous a transaction, that have been hitherto omitted. This we shall do from those writers, whose authority is the most esteemed, and who have been the most particular in their descriptions of it; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to our readers [w].

He comes to the summit of those mountains.

NOTWITHSTANDING most, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whom Hannibal was to pass, had a mortal aversion to the Romans, yet, as they were incapable of friendship or fidelity, he frequently found both himself and his army in the most imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to ascend the Alps, soon after his escorte had left him. Being however informed, that the enemy only kept guard in the day-time, he found means to encamp not far from them; and, about the first watch of the night, ordering a great number of fires to be made in his camp, as though all his troops remained there, he moved, at the head of a choice detachment, to some passes in the neighbourhood, which the enemy had abandoned, their main body always retiring at night to a town at some distance. These he immediately seized upon, and soon after gave them a defeat, killing vast numbers of them upon the spot; upon which, advancing to the town, he found it deserted by the inhabitants. Here he met with plenty of cattle, and other provisions, with which, for three days together, he refreshed his forces. Continuing his march to the summit of the Alps, he encountered with many other difficulties. The sight of these mountains, which seemed to touch the skies, that were all covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few tottering cottages, scattered here and there on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fiery aspect; this dismal spectacle, we say, renewed the terror, which the distant prospect of this ridge of mountains had raised, and struck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the soldiery. Besides which, the whole army was brought upon the verge of destruction by the perfidy of a Gallic nation, who, under the specious appearance of friends, persuaded Hannibal to commit himself to their conduct, promising to shew him the best and most expeditious way to the summit of the Alps. But these faithless guides, having

[w] Univers. hist. ubi supra, p. 189, 190, &c.

having led him into a ſteep paſs, out of which they thought it would be impoſſible for him to make his eſcape, facing about on a ſudden, charged him with great fury, being ſupported by vaſt numbers of their countrymen, who, till that time, had kept themſelves concealed, but now ruſhed out from an eminence, that commanded this paſs, where they had placed an ambuſcade. However, Hannibal, by the wiſe diſpoſition of his forces, as well as the aſſiſtance of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, at laſt diſperſed them; and, having ſurmounted all other difficulties, the ninth day from his beginning the aſcent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It muſt be obſerved, that Hannibal was, in a great meaſure, obliged to the elephants for his eſcaping all the diſaſters the enemy threatened him with, ſince wherever theſe huge animals appeared, the Gauls were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately took to their heels; by which means the Carthaginian general gained the ſummit of the Alps with the leſs moleſtation[x].

Animates his troops.

HERE Hannibal halted for two days, to refreſh his wearied troops, which were greatly diſheartened by the ſnow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the higheſt hills he gave them a proſpect of the fruitful plains watered by the Po, the day before he decamped. He likewiſe pointed towards the place where Rome ſtood, which, he aſſured them, a battle or two would make them maſters of, and conſequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This inſpired them with ſuch vigour, that they ſeemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone; and to think of nothing but taking poſſeſſion of that haughty city, whoſe conduct towards their ſtate had been nothing but one continued ſeries of inſults ſince the concluſion of the Sicilian war[y].

Deſcends the Alps.

THEY therefore purſued their march; but the difficulty and danger encreaſed, in proportion as they approached nearer the end of the deſcent. We are told, that, about this time, Hannibal meditated a return home; but, from the main conduct and genius of that general, this ſeems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came

[x] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. Zonar. ubi ſup. [y] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

at laſt to a path naturally very ſteep and craggy, which being made more ſo by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thouſand foot deep. In fine, Hannibal found it would be impoſſible for him to accompliſh his deſign, without cutting a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants, might paſs; which, with immenſe labour, he effected. Approaching therefore gradually the Inſubrian foot of the Alps, he detached ſome parties of his horſe to forage, there appearing now ſome ſpots of paſture, where the ground was not covered with ſnow. Livy informs us, that, in order to open and enlarge the path above-mentioned, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was ſet to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame ſoon broke out; ſo that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was ſurrounded. Then Hannibal, according to the ſame author, cauſed a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftened it. In this manner, taking a large compaſs about, in order that the deſcent might be eaſier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free paſſage to the forces, baggage, and elephants, as above obſerved. As Polybius has paſſed over in ſilence the uſe Hannibal made of vinegar on this occaſion, many reject that incident as fictitious. However, Pliny mentions one extraordinary quality of vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and ſtones, after fire had been applied to them, and found ineffectual. And that the walls, or at leaſt a ſtrong tower, of the city Eleuthera in Crete, after a continued operation for ſeveral nights, were thrown down by the force of vinegar, is aſſerted by Dio. Appian likewiſe, and Ammianus Marcellinus, atteſt the fact we have, from Livy, here taken notice of. But, admitting this acid to be endued with ſuch a quality, it ſeems difficult to conceive how Hannibal could procure a quantity of it ſufficient for his purpoſe in ſo mountainous and barren a country [z].

He arrives in Inſubria.

THREE days after this, Hannibal gained the fruitful plains of Inſubria, where, taking a review of his army, he found

[z] Liv. ubi ſup. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xxiii. c. 1. ſub fin. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. p. 427. edit. Genev. Dio Caſſ. l. xxxvi. ſub init. Juv. ſat. 10. Corn. Nep. ubi ſup.

found, that, in five months and a half's march, (for ſo long was it ſince he had ſet out from New Carthage) he had loſt, by ſickneſs, deſertion, fatigue, and various engagements, thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; ſo that it amounted at preſent to no (G) more than twenty-ſix thouſand effective men. Of the ſoldiers miſſing, above twenty thouſand had periſhed ſince his departure from the Rhodanus. And here, that we may have a clearer idea of Hannibal's march, it will be proper to give the names and diſtances of ſome of the principal places, through which that general paſſed in his way to Italy; which we ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe from Polybius. From New Carthage to the Iberus were computed two thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the Iberus to Emporium, a ſmall maritime town, which ſeparated Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from Emporium to the banks of the Rhodanus, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from the Rhodanus to the Alps, fourteen hundred ſtadia; from the Alps to the plains of Inſubria, twelve hundred ſtadia. In all eight thouſand four hundred ſtadia, making much about a thouſand Engliſh miles [a].

Upon Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he, for ſome time, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to give his troops ſome reſt, they having ſuffered extremely in their paſſage over the Alps. He firſt took care to refreſh them, Takes Taurinum.

and

[a] Polyb. ubi ſup. p. 159. Strab. l. ii.

(G) We have followed Polybius in this particular, ſince he tells us, he extracted this account from the column at Lacinium, which ſpecified the number of forces here mentioned. It is highly probable, as Livy followed Polybius in moſt points, that this column is the altar, that author tells us, Hannibal erected in the temple of Juno Lacinia, whereon he engraved the general account of his great atchievements in Greek and Punic letters. We do not learn from this teſtimony of Livy, in what language theſe memoirs were written; but as either the Greek or Punic, or rather both, bids the faireſt for it, Livy's authority confirms what we have lately ſuggeſted on that head. Polybius, it is certain, has been entirely ſilent as to this particular; and therefore Livy's authority is not deciſive. However, with what we have lately advanced, it is nearly, if not abſolutely, ſo (13).

(13) Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l. xxviii. ſub fin. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 341. not. (D).

and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready to enter upon action. He then ſolicited the Taurini, who were at war with the Inſubres, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refuſal to conclude a treaty with him, he entered their territories in an hoſtile manner; and ſitting down before Taurinum, their capital city, after a ſiege of three days, took it by ſtorm, putting all, that made any reſiſtance, to the ſword. This ſtruck all the neighbouring Gauls with ſuch terror, that coming in to him as one man, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. By this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, he had not only his army plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions, but likewiſe ſtrongly reinforced by great numbers of theſe Gauls, who took on in the Carthaginian ſervice. The reſt of the Gauls would, in all probability, have done the ſame thing, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal therefore thought his wiſeſt courſe would be to march up directly into their country without loſs of time, and make ſome important attempt; ſuch as might encourage thoſe, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to join him, to put themſelves under his protection [b].

And advances towards the Romans.

In the mean time, Hannibal received intelligence, that Scipio had paſſed the Po with his legions, and was advancing, with all poſſible celerity, to give him battle. This, at firſt, he could ſcarcely believe, thinking it impoſſible, that he ſhould return from Gaul to Italy, croſs Etruria, paſs the Po, and be ready to receive him, in ſo ſhort a time. What gave him this notion, was an information from thoſe he could confide in, that the paſſage from Maſſilia, now Marſeilles, to Etruria, by ſea, was extremely difficult and tedious; and the way to the laſt place from the Alps, by land, almoſt impracticable. Scipio, on his ſide, was as much ſurpriſed at Hannibal's expeditious march, and rapid progreſs. The news of his arrival in Italy, and the conqueſts he had already made there, ſo alarmed the people at Rome, that they diſpatched an expreſs to Sempronius at Lilybæum, to repair, with the utmoſt expedition, to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. Having received an account of the poſture of affairs, he embarqued immediately for Rome with the naval forces, leaving orders with the reſpective tribunes to draw together what troops they could out

[b] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

out of their ſeveral garriſons, fixing a day for them to rendezvous at Ariminum, now Rimini, a town ſituated near the coaſt of the Adriatic, on the edge of the plains watered by the Po on the ſouth. Hannibal, beſides the method made uſe of to animate his ſoldiers formerly mentioned, in a ſet ſpeech, put them in mind of their glorious atchievements, and of the great difficulties they had ſurmounted. He told them, the Romans had never yet engaged men acted by deſpair, nor ſuch warriors as themſelves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fierceſt nations, into the very heart of Italy. His own ſuperiority to Scipio in military experience and exploits, he inſinuated, they were not ſtrangers to. They could not but be ſenſible, he went on, that he was almoſt born, at leaſt educated, in his father Hamilcar's tent; that he was the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what is ſtill more, of the Alps themſelves; that, by a little bravery, they would make themſelves maſters of Rome, and conſequently of all the Roman acquiſitions in Sicily, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their anceſtors. Laſtly, he rouſed their indignation againſt the inſolence of the Romans, who had the aſſurance to demand, that both he, and the other officers employed in the reduction of Saguntum, ſhould be delivered into their hands, in order to be put to the moſt exquiſite torture; endeavouring to inſpire them with a juſt abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch a proud and imperious people, who imagined, that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world [c].

He defeats the Romans near the Ticinus.

In the mean time, Scipio, advancing to the Ticinus, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort to defend it againſt all attempts of the enemy. It is not improbable, that he called it Ticinum, after the name of the river, and that this was the original of the city of Pavia, which, in the moſt antient authors, is called Ticinum. Whilſt the Romans were employed in raiſing this fort, Hannibal detached Maherbal, with a body of five hundred Numidian horſe, to lay waſte the territories of thoſe nations, that were in alliance with Rome; but gave him orders to ſpare the Gauls, and excite the various princes of that people, if poſſible, to a revolt. The Roman army, having

[c] Idem ibid.

having paſſed the Ticinus, advanced to a village of Inſubria, five miles from the fort they had built, and there encamped upon ſome heights, in ſight of the Carthaginians. Hannibal, upon this motion, called in the Numidian detachment under Maherbal, and made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the enemy. Before the ſignal was given, he thought it requiſite to animate his troops with freſh promiſes; which having done, cleaving with a ſtone the ſkull of the lamb he was ſacrificing, he prayed to Jupiter to daſh to pieces his head in like manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them. This rendered his troops impatient to come to blows with the enemy, eſpecially as two ill omens had juſt filled their army with terror and conſternation. In the firſt place, a wolf had ſtolen into the Roman camp, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt harm from thoſe who endeavoured to kill it; and ſecondly, a ſwarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the prætorium, or general's tent. However, Scipio moved at the head of his forces into the plain, where Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle; and, advancing with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and poſture of the enemy, fell in with the whole body of the Carthaginian horſe, commanded by Hannibal himſelf; upon which the fight immediately began. As we have already given a full account of this battle, it will be unneceſſary to be prolix here in our deſcription of it. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Hannibal poſted in the centre of his cavalry the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horſe on the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy; that the action was very hot and bloody, victory continuing, for a long time, in ſuſpenſe; that many troopers on both ſides, in the heat of the action, diſmounted, and fought on foot; but that at laſt the Numidians charged the Romans in flank with ſuch fury, that they broke them, put their centre into diſorder, and wounded the conſul himſelf; which obliged the Romans, after having loſt the greateſt part of their army, to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. The immediate conſequence of which victory was, that Scipio repaſſed the Ticinus in great confuſion, broke down the bridge he had lately thrown croſs that river, and left ſix hundred men in the fort to the mercy of the enemy, who ſurrendered at diſcretion to Hannibal upon his approach. It is

agreed

agreed that Hannibal owed this firſt victory to his ſuperiority in cavalry, and the diſpoſition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being more proper for ſuch troops to act in, than thoſe large open plains lying between the Po and the Alps [d].

And purſues them as far as the Trebia.

HANNIBAL, having thus driven the enemy out of the field, purſued them as far as the bridge above-mentioned; but finding it broke down, he marched up the river for two days, till he came to the banks of the Po. Here he diſpatched Mago, with the light Spaniſh horſe, to move after the Romans; who, having rallied their ſhattered forces, and repaſſed the Po, were encamped at Placentia. Aſdrubal immediately croſſed that river on a bridge of boats, and was followed by Hannibal with the groſs of the army, after he had given an audience to the deputies that came to him from ſeveral Gallic nations. Theſe nations, immediately upon Scipio's defeat, entering into an alliance with Hannibal, not only reinforced the Carthaginians by inliſting in their army, but ſupplied them plentifully with all ſorts of neceſſaries. Having given a moſt kind reception to the deputies above-mentioned, and concluded a treaty with them, he purſued his march with great expedition, ſoon joining Mago, who had advanced a days march beyond the Po, towards Placentia, where he halted, till Hannibal came up. Upon the junction of their forces, the two Carthaginian generals advanced to Placentia, and offered the Romans battle. But they judging it proper to decline accepting the challenge, the Carthaginians encamped ten miles from them, where a body of Gallic deſerters from the conſul's army came over to them, after they had cut to pieces a good number of the Romans. As the Boii likewiſe, about the ſame time, were guilty of an action equally black and perfidious, Scipio feared a general inſurrection of the Gauls; and therefore removing from the neighbourhood of their country, he paſſed the Trebia, a ſmall river which falls into the Po, taking poſt on an eminence near that river, on the frontiers of his allies. Here he encamped, being determined to remain in a ſtate of inaction, till the arrival of his collegue Sempronius with the forces from Sicily [e].

HAN-

[d] Idem ibid. Corn. Nep. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii p. 195. [e] Idem ibid.

HANNIBAL, being apprised of the consul's departure from Placentia, sent the Numidian horse to harass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them, in case of need. The Numidians, finding the Roman camp deserted, set fire to it; which gave the consul an opportunity of making his retreat without any loss: whereas, had not the Numidians spent their time in so trifling an action, they might have cut off a great part of the Roman army. However, they made such speed, that they arrived upon the banks of the Trebia, before the rear of the Romans had entirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival there. Soon after, Hannibal coming up, encamped in sight of the Roman army, on the opposite bank; and having, by his spies, soon learned the character of Sempronius, who had joined Scipio, and, during the disorder that general laboured under by reason of his wound, had the sole command of the Roman forces, formed a scheme to intrap him. In fine, Sempronius, being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of Scipio, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with Hannibal. To this he was farther excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Roman camp; whilst the Carthaginians enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence, Hannibal having lately seized the principal Roman magazine at Clastidium, a city betrayed to him by Publius a Brundusian. As a body of Numidians, by Hannibal's orders, were ravaging the country of the Gauls in alliance with the Romans, he detached his cavalry in quest of them, who, coming up with them, gained an inconsiderable advantage over them; which so puffed up the consul, that, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, it being now about the winter solstice, he commanded his troops to be ready at an hour's warning to pass the river, and attack the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal, in the mean time, posted Mago, with a detachment of two thousand horse and foot, in ambuscade, on the steep banks of a rivulet running between the two camps; and then detached a body of Numidian cavalry to pass the Trebia, and insult the enemy, with orders to repass it upon the first motion of their army, and, if possible, to draw the Romans after them. This stratagem had the desired effect; for Sempronius, not being able to bear seeing himself braved in this manner, dispatched all his horse, supported by his

his dart-men, after the Numidians, himſelf following with the reſt of the army. Upon this motion, a battle enſued, wherein, partly by the wiſe diſpoſition of the Carthaginian forces Hannibal had made, partly through the great imprudence of Sempronius, and partly by the bravery of his troops (H), Hannibal entirely defeated the Romans, in the manner by us already related. Almoſt the whole Roman army, except a body of ten thouſand men, who made their retreat to Placentia, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners. The Gauls, in the Carthaginian ſervice, ſuffered pretty much in the action; but the Carthaginians ſuſtained no conſiderable loſs, except that of their horſes and elephants, all of which laſt, but one, periſhed by the cold and in the battle. The Roman army conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries,

(H) We are told by the Roman authors, that the Carthaginians, at Hannibal's command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement began, making uſe of this expedient as a preſervative againſt the cold, a vaſt quantity of ſnow having fallen the day before. In like manner Xenophon tells us, that Cyrus's troops anointed themſelves with oil before large fires, when ſnow two cubits deep had fallen in Armenia. Frontinus inſinuates, that, on ſuch occaſions, the antients ſometimes uſed oil and wine mixed. It appears from Virgil, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, &c. that wreſtlers encreaſed their ſtrength and vigour, by applying oil to their bodies in the manner above-mentioned. In alluſion to which cuſtom, the antient chriſtian writers ſometimes called the Holy Spirit ΑΛΕΙΠΤΗΣ, or The Anointer; becauſe he ſupplies good chriſtians with an ample degree of courage and power in their ſpiritual warfare. The paſtors of the chriſtian church have likewiſe that name given them by ſome of the Greek fathers, on account of the aſſiſtance they afford the flocks committed to their care, in their ſtruggle with their ſpiritual enemies. That the antient Romans, as well as the Carthaginians, uſed oil for the ends juſt hinted at, is evident from many authors. Pliny relates, that when a perſon aſked Auguſtus in his extreme old age, how he came to preſerve ſuch vigour of body and mind ſo long? he anſwered, Intus mulſo, foris oleo, i. e. By refreſhing myſelf inwardly with wine, and outwardly with oil (14).

(14) Liv. l. xxi. c. 53, 54. Polyb. l. iii. c. 71. Flor. l. 2. c. 6. Frontin. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. & l. i. c. 4. ex. 7. Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. minor. l. iv. p. 224. Virg. Æn. v. ver. 135. Dion. Halicar. dict. eccleſiaſt. Nazianz. orat. xviii. de Cyprian. exul. Cic. xii. Attic. ep. 6. Plut. in Alex. Senec. ep. 80. Plin. l. xxiii. c. 24.

naries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, ſome companies of the Cœnomani, and four thouſand Roman horſe; Hannibal's of twenty thouſand Gallic, Spaniſh and African infantry, eight thouſand Spaniſh and Balearic ſlingers, and ten thouſand Gallic and Numidian cavalry. The Carthaginians purſued the routed enemy, with great ardour, as far as the Trebia; but did not think proper to paſs that river immediately, on account of the exceſſive cold. The next night Scipio decamped, and retired likewiſe with great precipitation to Placentia [f].

One cauſe of the defeat of Sempronius was his weakneſs in horſe.

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the Roman army, was their inferiority in horſe; for the Carthaginian cavalry amounted to ten thouſand, whereas that of the Romans did not exceed four thouſand; and this body, ſmall as it was, could not act with vigour, being ſoon thrown into confuſion by the enemy's elephants. The horſes could neither bear the ſight nor ſmell of thoſe monſtrous animals, and therefore were, in the higheſt degree, terrified upon their approach. Scipio undoubtedly had acquainted Sempronius with the danger he was in from the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, ſince he had loſt the battle of Ticinus juſt before by the weakneſs of his cavalry, and urged this among other topics, as a reaſon for him to decline an engagement. But Sempronius, being infatuated by his raſhneſs, as well as ambition, was deaf to all ſalutary admonitions, and, in conſequence of this infatuation, brought upon the Romans the ſignal loſs and diſgrace above-mentioned [g].

The Carthaginian operations by ſea.

The Carthaginians, upon Fabius's declaration of war, propoſed to act by ſea as well as land, againſt the Romans, and their allies; and therefore, beſides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out twenty galleys, with a thouſand ſoldiers on board, to ravage the coaſts of Italy. Nine of theſe ſeized upon the iſlands of Lipari, and eight upon the iſland of Vulcania, the other three not being able to approach the ſhore, by reaſon of the tide's being againſt them. They likewiſe equipped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, with a ſufficient land-force on board, to poſſeſs themſelves

[f] Polyb. ubi ſupra, c. 72. Liv. l. xxi. c. 55. Appian. de bell. Hannib. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 9. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 14. Zonar. l. viii. c. 24. Corn. Nep. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 195, 196. &c.

[g] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup.

themſelves of Lilybæum. This laſt attempt however miſcarried, the Carthaginians being defeated by the Romans, and loſing ſeven of their veſſels, together with ſeventeen hundred of their men taken priſoners, amongſt whom were three Carthaginian noblemen. From the coaſt of Sicily, Sempronius, with the Roman and Syracuſian ſquadrons, ſailed to Melita, now Malta, and had the iſland, together with the Carthaginian forces in it, ſurrendered to him by Hamilcar, the ſon of Giſco, the governor. From Melita the conſul ſteered his courſe to the iſland of Vulcania, thinking to meet with the Carthaginian fleet; but he was diſappointed in his expectation, the Carthaginians having before ſailed to the coaſts of Italy, and plundered the territory of the city of Vibo, threatening at the ſame time to attack that city itſelf; which the conſul being appriſed of when he returned to Sicily, and likewiſe receiving letters from Rome by an expreſs, notifying to him Hannibal's arrival in Italy, with orders to return home with all poſſible expedition, he found himſelf obliged to alter his meaſures. He immediately therefore diſpatched Sextus Pomponius, with twenty-five long ſhips, to protect the maritime coaſts of Italy from the inſults of the Carthaginian ſquadron; and haſtened himſelf to Ariminum, from whence he proceeded to the Trebia, where he met with the misfortune above related [h].

The tranſactions in Spain this campaign.

Whilst Hannibal was puſhing on his conqueſts in Italy, Hanno, who commanded in Spain, received intelligence, that the Romans, under the command of Cneius Scipio, had advanced as far as the Iberus, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and the Pyrenees. Upon this advice, Hanno aſſembled his forces, and marched to the city of Ciſſa, where he encamped in ſight of the Romans. The vicinity of the two armies ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were totally routed. Hanno himſelf was taken priſoner, together with Indibilis, a Spaniſh prince, entirely devoted to the Carthaginians. Their camp was forced, ſix thouſand of them ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners. All the heavy baggage Hannibal left with Hanno before his departure for Italy, fell a prey to the Romans; and many of the Spaniſh nations concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Scipio upon this defeat. However, this did not diſcourage the Carthaginians; for Aſdrubal, another Carthaginian

[h] Liv. l. xxi. c. 17. Appian. in Libyc. Zonar. l. viii. c. 22.

ginian commander, hearing that the Roman ſeamen and marines had diſperſed themſelves about the country, without any order or diſcipline, immediately paſſed the Iberus with a body of eight thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greateſt part of them to the ſword, purſuing the reſt to their fleet. Nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign in Spain, Aſdrubal taking up his winter-quarters at new Carthage, as ſoon as he had ended this expedition; and the Romans theirs at Tarraco, after Scipio had divided the booty got from the Carthaginians by the late victory amongſt his troops [i].

Hannibal's policy to win over to his intereſt the allies of the Romans.

THE Romans, having received an account of the two terrible blows given them by Hannibal upon the Ticinus and the Trebia, were ſtruck with the utmoſt terror and conſternation. However, they made vigorous preparations to continue the war. In the mean time Scipio removed from Placentia to Cremona, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. Hannibal, after the action upon the Trebia, ordered the Numidians, Celtiberians, and Luſitanians, to make incurſions into the Roman territories, where they committed great depredations: and not contented with this, he formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of a Roman fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Placentia; but miſcarried in the attempt. He likewiſe reduced Victumviæ, making the garriſon priſoners of war; which concluded the operations of this campaign. But, during his ſtate of inaction, he took care to refreſh his troops, and win the affections of the Gauls, as well as the allies of the Romans. He therefore declared to the Gallic and Italian priſoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to reſtore them to their liberty, and protect them againſt the Romans. To confirm them in the idea he was deſirous they ſhould entertain of him, he diſmiſſed them, without demanding the leaſt ranſom [k].

He marches into Etruria.

DURING the winter, Hannibal's troops were reinforced by a conſiderable body of Gauls, Ligurians, and Etruſcans, who, for various reaſons, thought proper to abandon the Romans. Hannibal however repoſed no great truſt in his auxiliaries, but rather entertained a ſuſpicion of them; on which account he diſguiſed himſelf this winter in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to do this by the variety

[i] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. ſub fin. Appian. in Iberic. [k] Polyb. ibid. c. 72. Liv. ibid. c. 57.

variety of languages he underſtood, amongſt which Zonaras mentions the Latin. By this conduct he found, that the moſt effectual way for him to ſecure himſelf, was to change the theatre of the war, and march into Etruria. This he did, after a briſk rencounter with Sempronius, wherein many fell on both ſides, as we have already obſerved in a former part of this hiſtory [1].

And advances to Arretium.

HANNIBAL having, to the great ſurprize of all, croſſed the Apennines, and penetrated into Etruria, received intelligence, that the new conſul Flaminius lay encamped, with the Roman army, under the walls of Arretium. Purſuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himſelf of the Roman general's capacity and deſigns, as well as the courſe and ſituation of the country. As his troops had been greatly haraſſed by the late fatiguing march, he halted ſome time in the neighbourhood of Fæſulæ to refreſh them. Here he learned the true character of Flaminius, that he was a good orator, but entirely ignorant of the military art: in fine, that he was raſh, proud, and of a fierce diſpoſition. This gave Hannibal no ſmall encouragement, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon be able to bring him to a battle. Hannibal, in the firſt ſtep he took, ſays Polybius, acted like a wiſe commander, ſince it ought to be the chief ſtudy of a general to diſcover the genius of his antagoniſt, in order to take advantage of his foible. To inflame the impetuous ſpirit of Flaminius, the Carthaginian general advanced towards Arretium, taking the way to Rome, and leaving the Roman army behind him, deſtroying all the country, through which he moved, with fire and ſword. As that part of Etruria abounded with corn, cattle, all ſorts of proviſions, in fine, with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life, being one of the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpots of ground in Italy, the Romans, and their allies, ſuſtained an incredible loſs on this occaſion.

Flaminius purſues Hannibal.

FLAMINIUS was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though Hannibal ſhould have lain ſtill, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of Rome ravaged in ſo dreadful a manner, he loſt all patience, thinking it would reflect the greateſt diſhonour upon him,

[1] Polyb. Liv & Zonar. ubi ſupra. S. Jul Frontin. l. i. c 5. ex. 28. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 5. Appian. in Hannib. Plut in Hannib. &c. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 202, 203, &c.

him, ſhould he permit Hannibal to continue his devaſtations with impunity, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without oppoſition. He reſolved therefore immediately to attack the Carthaginians; and ſo furiouſly was he bent upon this, that when the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his collegue, he ruſhed out of the council in a rage, giving orders to the army inſtantly to begin their march. "Yes truly, "ſaid he, we ought to ſit ſtill before the walls of Arre-"tium, ſince this is our native country, and here are our ha-"bitations! We ought to let Hannibal eſcape out of our hands, "and deſtroy all the country, to the very walls of Rome, "with fire and ſword! We ought, by no means, to move "from hence, till the conſcript fathers ſend for C. Flaminius "from Arretium, as they formerly did for Camillus from "Veii!" He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; which was conſidered as a bad omen. This, however, made no impreſſion upon him. Immediately after this, a meſſenger came to acquaint him, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him, "Doſt thou bring me a "letter likewiſe, ſaid he, from the ſenate, prohibiting me "to act againſt the Carthaginians? Go tell them, they may "dig the enſigns up, if their hands are ſo benumbed with "fear, that they cannot pull them out". As though therefore he had been certain of victory, he immediately decamped, approaching Hannibal with the utmoſt temerity, in order to attack him [m].

Hannibal defeats the Romans at the lake Thraſymenus.

In the mean time Hannibal kept on, ſtill advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left-hand, and the lake Thraſymenus on the right. At laſt, obſerving the diſpoſition of the ground to be very commodious for his purpoſe, he put himſelf into a poſture to receive Flaminius, who was upon the point of coming up with him. The lake Thraſymenus, and the mountains of Cortona, form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both ſides with hills of a conſiderable height, and cloſed at the outlet by a ſteep hill, of difficult acceſs. Upon this hill Hannibal encamped with his Spaniſh and African troops, poſting the Baleares and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in

[m] Polyb. l. iii. c. 75—78—85. Liv. l. xxii. c. 7. Appian. de bell. Hannib. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 23.

in ambuſcade, at the foot of the hill on the right-ſide of the valley, and lining with the Gallic cavalry the left-ſide of it, in ſuch manner, that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. Hannibal, having thus in the night ſurrounded the valley with his forces, lay ſtill, as though he had no intention to engage. This farther excited the conſul to fall upon the Carthaginians as ſoon as poſſible; for which end he ſo eagerly purſued them, that the following night he advanced to the valley, and entered it the next morning, moving with his vanguard at a ſmall diſtance from the lake Thraſymenus above-mentioned. Hannibal, now obſerving, that the greateſt part of Flaminius's troops marched in diſorder, and were ſo near him, that his men could not fail of doing great execution amongſt them, provided they inſtantly charged them with vigour, ordered them to be attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, at the ſame time. As the Roman officers could not ſee which way to lead their men, nor diſcover the enemy that charged them, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, the conſular army was, in a moment, thrown into confuſion. Flaminius however did his utmoſt to animate his men, exhorting them to cut themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords through the midſt of the enemy; but the tumult, which reigned eevry-where, the dreadful ſhouts of the enemy, and the fog that was riſen, prevented his being ſeen or heard. However, the Romans, ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſaving themſelves by flight, and a little recovering themſelves upon the diſſipation of the fog, for ſome time fought with unparallelled bravery; but Flaminius himſelf being ſlain by an Inſubrian, they began to give ground, and at laſt betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. The Roman army, according to Appian, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; of which fifteen thouſand (twenty thouſand, ſays Appian) fell upon the field of battle, and ſix thouſand, that retreated to a town in Etruria, ſurrendered the next day at diſcretion to Maherbal. According to Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, and Oroſius, five-and-twenty thouſand Romans periſhed in this action. Hannibal loſt only fifteen hundred men on this occaſion, moſt of whom were Gauls, though great numbers, both of his ſoldiers and the Romans, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it a decent interment; but it could not be found.

He

He likewiſe ſolemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who had been ſlain in the action; but was at a loſs how to diſpatch a courier to Carthage, with an account of the glorious victory he had gained. All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the Romans at the lake Thraſymenus, our readers will find in a proper place.

Maherbal routs Centenius.

HANNIBAL, being informed, that the conſul Servilius had detached a body of four, or, according to Appian, eight thouſand horſe from Ariminum, to reinforce his collegue in Etruria, ſent out Maherbal, with all the cavalry, and ſome of the infantry, to attack him. The Roman detachment conſiſted of choſen men, and was commanded by (I) Centenius a patrician. Maherbal had the good fortune to meet with him, and, after a ſhort diſpute, entirely defeated him. Two thouſand of the Romans were laid dead upon the ſpot, the reſt retiring to a neighbouring eminence, where being ſurrounded by Maherbal, they were obliged the next day to ſurrender at diſcretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake Thraſymenus, almoſt gave a finiſhing ſtroke to the Roman affairs. Appian tells us, that the people in Rome were ſo alarmed on this occaſion, that they expected an immediate viſit from Hannibal; and therefore not only poſted great numbers of dartmen on the ramparts to defend them, but likewiſe armed even the old men with the arms taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their temples. Hannibal however, now thinking himſelf ſo much ſuperior to the Romans, that they would not be able hereafter to make head againſt him, did not advance to Rome, but moved towards the territory of Adria, taking his route through Umbria and Picenum. As he plundered all the country through which he marched, upon his arrival in the territory of Adria, he was loaded with booty.

(I) We cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurprize, that Iſaac Caſaubon, in his Latin verſion of Polybius, ſhould prefer the name Centronius to Centenius, ſince, in the original, it is Centenius. That very learned man might have been convinced by Sigonius, in his excellent ſcholia upon Livy, that, tho' ſome antient copies of this laſt author have in one place Centronius, Centenius was the name of the general here mentioned. To what Sigonius has ſaid, we ſhall only beg leave to add, that Appian and Zonaras both call this proprætor Centenius; which is a confirmation of that great man's opinion (15).

(15) Car. Sigon. ſchol. in Liv. l. xxii. c. 8. Appian. in bell. Hannib. p. 553. edit. Tollii, Amſt. 1670. Zonar. l. viii. c. 25.

booty. Spoletum he attacked in his march; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence approaching the frontiers of Apulia, he ravaged the adjacent territories, viz. the country of the Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, together with the districts of Arpi and Luceria. The consul Cn. Servilius did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few slight skirmishes with the Gauls, and made himself master of an inconsiderable town. However, he thought proper to move towards Rome, to cover that capital from any attempts of the Carthaginians. Polybius tells us, that Hannibal treated the allies of the Romans with the utmost cruelty in this expedition, which that author attributes to the invincible aversion he had been inspired with by his father Hamilcar to the Romans.

Hannibal arms his soldiers after the Roman manner.

THE Carthaginian army at this time was very sickly, being troubled with a scorbutic disorder, called by the Greeks Lemopsoros. This seemed owing to the unwholsome encampments they had been obliged to make, and their march through so many morasses. As both the horses and men were infected with it, Hannibal found it absolutely necessary to repose his troops for some time in the territory of Adria, which was a most pleasant and fruitful country. In his various engagements with the Romans, he had taken a great number of their arms, with which he now armed his men after the Roman manner. Being now likewise master of that part of the country bordering on the sea, he found means to send an express to Carthage, with the news of the glorious progress of his arms. The Carthaginians received this news with the most joyful acclamations, at the same time coming to a resolution to reinforce, with a proper number of troops, their armies both in Italy and Spain. They also had frequent consultations how they might send them a plentiful supply of all necessaries with the utmost expedition, being determined to prosecute the war with all possible vigour [n].

And marches into Campania.

HANNIBAL, having refreshed his army, and over-run the territory of the Prætutii, Ferentani, Daunii, Messapii, and, in fine, the whole province of Apulia, encamped near Ibonium. In the mean time Fabius, for his singular virtue and abilities surnamed Maximus, was elected dicta-

[n] Idem ib'd. Vide & Flor. Corn. Nep. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi sup. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 24. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 204. 205. &c.

tor at Rome, and had the abſolute command of the Roman army given him. Fabius ordered the conſul Servilius to watch the motions of the Carthaginians by ſea, whilſt he, with the legions, and his general of the horſe, advanced to Ægæ, to have an eye upon Hannibal. The cunning Carthaginian made a great variety of movements, and had recourſe to an infinity of ſtratagems, in order to draw the Roman general to a battle, which it was his higheſt intereſt to do; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Hannibal therefore, having before ravaged all the country bordering on the Adriatic, croſſed the Apennines, and entered into Samnium, where he likewiſe committed great devaſtations. He plundered the territory of Beneventum, took the ſtrong city of Venuſia, and laid ſiege to Teleſia, a town at the foot of the Apennines. Fabius ſtill kept pace with him, tho' he did not think proper to approach the Carthaginians nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. Hannibal, being convinced, that a ſtate of inaction muſt prove fatal to him, in order to draw Fabius to a battle, marched his army into Campania, by the advice of ſome of the Italian priſoners he had diſmiſſed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Accordingly he ordered his guides to conduct him to the territory of Caſinum, being informed, that, if he could make himſelf maſter of this, he ſhould cut off all communication betwixt the Romans and their allies on that ſide. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, not having the true pronunciation of the Latin, named Caſilinum, inſtead of Caſinum, to his guides; who thereupon purſued a different route, leading him through the diſtricts of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales, into that of Stella, where finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains and rivers, he enquired in what part of the world he was; and received for anſwer from his guides, that he ſhould lodge that night at Caſilinum; when diſcovering the miſtake, he put to death the principal of them, and detached Maherbal, with a body of horſe, to plunder the territory of Falernum. That general, penetrating as far as the waters of Sinueſſa, deſtroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword, the Numidians making a terrible ſlaughter of the poor country people. However, the Campanians continued firm in their obedience to the Romans. Hannibal afterwards, encamping upon the Vulturnus, ravaged the whole province in a moſt dreadful manner, Fabius not offering to ſtir, though he beheld

beheld theſe devaſtations from the top of mount Maſſicus, where he had poſted himſelf to obſerve the motions of the Carthaginian army. This greatly incenſed both the Roman troops, and his general of the horſe, againſt him [o].

He cannot bring Fabius to a battle.

ALL methods had been now tried in vain by Hannibal to bring Fabius to a battle. He had at firſt advanced to his very intrenchments at Ægæ, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having loſt the valour of their anceſtors, tho' at the ſame time he inwardly fretted to find himſelf engaged with a general of ſo different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; he had endeavoured to rouze him by frequent removals from place to place, by laying waſte the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmoſt precipitation, and at another quite ſtop ſhort in ſame remote valley, to ſee whether he could not ruſh out, and ſurpriſe him in the plain; but, notwithſtanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and fineſſes, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his firſt reſolution, and thereby gave the crafty Carthaginian to underſtand, that the Romans, inſtructed by their defeats, had at laſt made choice of a general capable of oppoſing Hannibal [p].

He retires from Campania.

As Campania was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the ſubſiſtence of an army, and the Carthaginians would have been forced to have taken up their winter-quarters amongſt moraſſes, rocks and ſands, had they remained any conſiderable time longer there, Hannibal began to think of decamping. To this he was farther excited by an apprehenſion, that the Romans would receive plentiful ſupplies from Capua, and the richeſt countries in Italy. That he might not therefore conſume idly the proviſions he had amaſſed for the winter-ſeaſon, nor loſe the immenſely rich ſpoils gotten in the provinces he had ravaged, he began his march out of Campania towards the decline of ſummer, and purſued it for ſome time with great expedition [q].

And with great difficulty arrives on the confines of Samnium.

IT being natural to ſuppoſe, that Hannibal would return the ſame way he came, and Fabius being appriſed of this by his ſpies, the Roman general ordered a detachment of four thouſand men to advance, and poſſeſs themſelves of the paſs on mount Eribanus, exhorting them to behave

[o] Liv. Polyb. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Fab. Enn. in annal. xii. apud Var. de poet. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid.

with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the Carthaginians offered. After this, Fabius, that he might the more eaſily annoy Hannibal in his march, threw another body of troops into Caſilinum, a ſmall town ſituated on the Vulturnus, which ſeparated the territories of Falernum from thoſe of Capua, and at the ſame time took poſt with the main body of his army on mount Callicula. From hence he ſent a party of four hundred horſe, under the command of L. Hoſtilius Mancinus, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the firſt news of their approach. Mancinus, paying no regard to his orders, ſkirmiſhed with ſeveral ſtraggling parties of Numidians, who, retiring before him, drew him on by degrees nearer the Carthaginian camp; which Cartalo, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, obſerving, purſued him, at the head of a good body of horſe, five miles, and at laſt coming up with him, cut him off, with the greateſt part of his men. The reſt fled to Cales, from whence, through ſeveral by-paths, they made their eſcape to Fabius, bringing him the melancholy news of the diſaſter that had befallen them[r].

His ſtratagem to effect this.

HANNIBAL, with his forces, ſoon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped. Soon after, an action happened between him and Fabius, wherein he loſt eight hundred men, and the Romans two hundred. But here he found himſelf involved in great difficulties, being pent up in ſuch a manner, by reaſon of the Romans having ſeized upon Caſilinum and Callicula, that it ſeemed impoſſible for him to make his eſcape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice againſt him, and that he had fallen into much the ſame ſnare he had laid for Flaminius at the lake Thraſymenus. Fabius, in the mean time, thinking he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper diſpoſitions for an attack the next morning. At this critical conjuncture, Hannibal, by the aſſiſtance of two thouſand wild and tame oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven quietly in the dead of the night, to the top of the hills where the Romans lay encamped, found means to gain the paſs above-mentioned, which opened a way for him to Alliſæ. We are told, that, before he communicated this ſtratagem to his general officers, he maſſacred five thouſand Italian priſoners, to prevent its taking air by their means, as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his deſign ſhould

[r] Polyb. Liv. Appian. ubi ſupra.

ſhould miſcarry. By this ſingular contrivance, Hannibal eluded all the efforts of Fabius, and preſerved both himſelf and his army, when they were upon the very brink of deſtruction. It is certainly glorious for a general to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them ſubſervient to his fame. For the particulars of this ſtratagem we muſt refer our readers to the Roman hiſtory [s].

His motions afterwards.

As ſoon as day-light appeared, Hannibal obſerved, that his light-armed troops were advanced to the ſummit of the mountain, on which was the defile he had forced the Romans to abandon by the ſtratagem above-mentioned. Here they met with a ſtrong body of the Romans, who had aſcended the hill in the night; ſo that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces, eſpecially as the enemy had found means to ſurround them. Upon this, Hannibal detached a party of Spaniards to bring them off, which he imagined them capable of doing, as they were more uſed to craggy rocks and precipices, as well as more active and nimble, than the Romans. Accordingly, the Spaniards charged the Romans with ſo much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a thouſand of them upon the ſpot, and covered the retreat of their companions in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce a man was loſt on this occaſion [t].

Hannibal encamps at Gerunium.

HANNIBAL, upon his arrival near the confines of Samnium, made a motion, as tho' his intention had been to paſs through that province towards Rome; but, wheeling about on a ſudden, he fell into the country of the Peligni, which he ravaged a ſecond time. From thence he retired into Apulia, and took poſſeſſion of a defenceleſs town called Gerion; which the inhabitants abandoned upon his approach. This is Livy's account. But, according to Polybius, who calls the place (K) Gerunium, making it

[s] Idem ibid. Plut. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 26. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 5. ex 28. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 210, 211.
[t] Polyb. l. iii. c. 92. Liv. l. xxii. c. 15.

(K) We believe, with Gronovius, that the true name of this town was Gerunium, and conſequently that Livy's text ought to be emended. This ſeems to appear, not only from the ſuperior authority of Polybius, but likewiſe from Peutinger's table, in which the place under conſideration is called Geronium. Other reaſons might be offered, were there any occaſion for them (16).

(16) Vide Polyb. l. iii. c. 101. & l. v. c. 108.

about twenty-five miles diſtant from Luceria, it ſtood a ſiege, and was at laſt taken by ſtorm. Hannibal, if we chuſe to follow the ſame author, put all the inhabitants to the ſword; but made granaries of the houſes, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a retrenchment. From hence he ſent two thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile, ordering them by turns to relieve daily the other third part that remained with him. This he had always drawn up in battalia, not only to protect the others, but likewiſe to prevent the enemy from making any attempt upon his camp. In the mean time Fabius, being ſent for to Rome, left the command of the army to Minucius, his general of the horſe, with orders to obſerve the motions of Hannibal at a proper diſtance; but by no means to engage him [u].

Minucius gains ſome ſlight advantages over Hannibal.

MINUCIUS, being of a contrary diſpoſition to Fabius, reſolved not to keep in the path, which that general had chalked out for him. Being therefore informed, that the greateſt part of the Carthaginian army was diſperſed over the territory of Gerunium, in order to forage, and that Hannibal himſelf lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took poſt on an eminence called Calela, in the neighbourhood of Larinum, not far from Hannibal's camp. Hannibal, receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, recalled part of his foragers, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an aſcent about two miles from Gerunium, imagining, that this poſt would enable him to ſecure his other foragers from all inſults. The night after his arrival here, he ſent two thouſand of his light-armed troops to ſeize upon a riſing ground cloſe by the Roman camp; which they effected without oppoſition. But, the next morning, Minucius detached a body of his light-armed forces to diſlodge them from thence; which, after a briſk action, they did, putting many of them to the ſword, and diſperſing the reſt. Animated by this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, Minucius attacked the Carthaginian foragers, cut many of them to pieces, and, in a rencounter, had the advantage over Hannibal. Theſe things being known at Rome, greatly ſunk the credit of Fabius, and occaſioned there

[u] Polyb. l. iii. c. 101, 102, &c. Liv. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30. &c. Plut. in Fab. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 15, ſub fin. Cic. de offic. & in Caton.

there a general condemnation of his conduct; nay, as Hannibal had artfully ſpared his lands in the general devaſtation, ſome began to entertain a ſuſpicion of his having kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Carthaginians. The people and ſenate of Rome however did not take the command of the army abſolutely from him; but gave Minucius an equal authority with the dictator. After Fabius's return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each of them might have his ſeparate corps, Fabius, on account of his ſuperior ſkill in the military art, and that he might be able to preſerve at leaſt one part of the army, not being diſpoſed to give his conſent to an alternate command [w].

NOTHING could be more agreeable to Hannibal, than to hear of the diſgrace of Fabius, whoſe meaſures he ſo much dreaded. He flattered himſelf, that the diſſenſion between the two commanders, and the raſhneſs of Minucius, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embaraſſing the Roman affairs more than ever. He reſolved therefore to lay a ſnare for Minucius; which fortune ſoon pointed out to him a method of doing. Fabius encamped on the hills, after his uſual manner; and Minucius in the plain, near the Carthaginians. Hannibal in the mean time obſerving a ſmall riſing ground between him and Minucius, by which either might incommode the other, formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action between them. In order to which, he laid an ambuſcade of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, divided into parties of two and three hundred men each, poſted in different places near this eminence. He then commanded a body of his light-armed men to advance, and take poſſeſſion of that poſt; which Minucius endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambuſcade, and had been cut off with all his men, if Fabius had not ruſhed from the hills, like a torrent, to his aſſiſtance in the critical moment, and forced Hannibal to retire. Hannibal is reported to have ſaid on this occaſion, "That he had overcome Minucius, and Fabius him." Hannibal, after this action, fortified his camp, ſeized upon the eminence above-mentioned,

Fabius prevents Hannibal from cutting off his collegue.

[w] Idem ibid. Valer, Max. l. iii. c. 8. Enn. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii.

mentioned, drew a line round it, and then continued in a ſtate of inaction till the following campaign [x].

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians in Spain.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, Cneius Scipio, having, as we obſerved, conquered all the Spaniſh cantons from the Pyrenees to the Iberus, put his troops into winter-quarters at Tarraco. Aſdrubal however, as we at the ſame time informed our readers, gave the Romans a conſiderable blow towards the cloſe of the campaign; the conſequence of which, according to Livy, was, that the Ilergetes, who had left in Scipio's hands hoſtages for their fidelity, declared for the Carthaginians. Scipio, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces, and immediately inveſted their capital city Athanagia. He puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, though in the midſt of winter, that the Ilergetes found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to his clemency, Aſdrubal being then at too great a diſtance to afford them ſpeedy ſuccours. As the principal author of the revolt was fled, Scipio was the more readily induced to pardon them. Having therefore exacted a good ſum of money from them for their perfidy, and compelled them to give him new hoſtages for their future good behaviour, he took them again into favour. From hence he marched againſt the Auſetani, allies of the Carthaginians, ſeated near the Iberus, and ſat down before their metropolis. During this ſiege, he drew a great body of the neighbouring Spaniards, particularly of the Lacetani, who came to the aſſiſtance of the Auſetani, into an ambuſcade he laid for them, putting twelve thouſand of them to the ſword, and diſperſing the reſt. However, he could not reduce the city for the ſpace of thirty days, on account of the rigour of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, that the Roman engines of battery could not play upon it. At laſt, Amuſitus, their prince, having found means to retire to Aſdrubal, the garriſon delivered up the place to Scipio for twenty talents of ſilver; after which that general moved again into his winter-quarters. In the mean time Aſdrubal reinforced the ſquadron, his brother had left him, with ten galleys, ſo that it now conſiſted of forty-five ſhips of the line; and gave the command of it to one Hamilcar, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on various

[x] Idem ibid. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex 22. Vide etiam Sil Ital. l. vi. Virg. Æn. vi. Diod. Sic. in excerptis Valeſ. l. xxvi. Ovid. l. ii. faſt. Manil. l. i. Flor. l. ii. Corn. Nep. Aur. Vict. Eutrop. ubi ſup. Claud. de bell. Get. Macrob. in Saturn. Poſidon. alioſq; plurim.

various occaſions. Hamilcar, purſuant to his orders, put to ſea, with an intention to coaſt along, till he came to the mouth of the Iberus, where Aſdrubal was to meet him at the head of the land-forces, that they might in concert, begin the operations of the campaign. Scipio, receiving intelligence of their deſign, and at the ſame time hearing, that Aſdrubal was already in motion, immediately fitted out a fleet of five-and-thirty ſail, putting the flower of his land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of the Iberus, he diſpatched two Maſſilian veſſels to reconnoitre the enemy, who brought him advice that their ſquadron of galleys actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the river; upon which he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to attack it. Aſdrubal, receiving timely notice of this, drew up his army in order of battle on the ſhore, to aſſiſt, or at leaſt to animate, his naval forces; but they were not able to withſtand the efforts of the Romans, who, after a warm diſpute, entirely defeated them, forced all the veſſels on ſhore, killed great numbers of the ſeamen and marines, and carried off thirty-five galleys. From this time, the Carthaginian affairs began to wear a bad aſpect in Spain [y].

And gain ſeveral other advantages over them in Spain and Africa.

The Carthaginians, receiving intelligence of this blow, equipped another fleet of ſeventy ſail with the utmoſt expedition, knowing of what vaſt conſequence it was to them to be maſters of the ſea. With this, according to Polybius, they put in at one of the ports of Sardinia, and proceeded from thence to Piſa; where the admiral propoſed to have a conference with Hannibal. But Servilius, who commanded a Roman ſquadron of an hundred and twenty galleys, prevented that intercourſe, the Carthaginians thinking proper to ſheer off upon his approach, and return to Carthage. Servilius, for ſome time, gave them chace; but finding himſelf not able to come up with them, he left off the purſuit, and ſteered his courſe for Cercina, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of the Regio Syrtica; which he laid under contribution. From thence he ſailed to Coſſyrus, another little iſland, not far from Carthage; which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, and left a garriſon in the town. After this he ſet ſail for Sicily, and arrived ſafe with his ſquadron in the harbour of Lilybæum [z].

In

[y] Polyb. l. iii. c. 95. Liv. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22. Zonar. l. ix. c. 1. [z] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup.

The conſequencees of the deſeat in Spain.

In the mean time Scipio made a good uſe of his late naval victory. He firſt advanced to Honoſca, which he cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land, took it by ſtorm and levelled it with the ground. Then he made a deſcent in Africa, ravaged all the country about Carthage, and burnt ſeveral houſes adjoining to the haven and the wall. Loaded with ſpoil, he departed from thence to Longuntica, where he found a vaſt quantity of ſpartum, a ſhrub much uſed in the navigating of ſhips, amaſſed by Aſdrubal, which he either carried off for his own uſe, or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the iſland Ebuſus, now Yvica, plundered it, and burnt ſome ſtreets of its capital city; but could not reduce the town. However, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of this, and the other Balearic iſlands. Upon the fame of theſe exploits, Livy tells us, an hundred an twenty different cantons of Spaniards ſubmitted to the Romans, who penetrated as far as the Saltus Caſtulonenſis, Aſdrubal retiring before them into Luſitania, and thoſe parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean [a].

Aſdrubal reduced to great difficulties.

WHILST the Carthaginian affairs were in ſuch a melancholy ſituation in Spain, Mandonius, a perſon of diſtinction amongſt the Ilergetes, advanced to the frontiers of ſome of the allies of Rome, with a deſign to plunder them. Scipio, being appriſed of this, detached a body of three thouſand Romans, with ſome Spaniſh auxiliaries, to attack him; which they did ſo effectually, that they overthrew him, and drove him from thoſe frontiers with great loſs. Upon this, he applied to Aſdrubal for aſſiſtance, who preſently marched with all his forces to ſupport him. Scipio, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the Celtiberian princes in the Roman intereſt to aſſemble their forces, and fall upon the Carthaginians. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the Carthaginian territories with a powerful army, took three fortreſſes there by aſſault, and gave Aſdrubal two notable overthrows, killing him above fifteen thouſand men, and taking four thouſand priſoners. Nothing further material happened in Spain this campaign, except that the two Scipios paſſed the Iberus, and penetrated into the Carthaginian dominions as far as the gates of Saguntum, a particular account of which has been already given [b].

BUT

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 214.

Hannibal in great diſtreſs.

BUT to return to the armies in Italy: Hannibal remained quiet in his winter-quarters; till the following ſpring, and before the ſeaſon for action came on, had the pleaſure to hear of Fabius's being recalled to Rome, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to ſix months. The conſuls, Cn. Servilius Geminus, and M. Attilius Reguſus, who ſucceeded him, in all things regulated their conduct according to the model Fabius had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off ſeveral parties of Hannibal's foragers; but declined a general action, though he made uſe of all the art and cunning he was maſter of to draw them to one. Hannibal therefore found himſelf ſo ſtreightened for want of proviſions, that he had once thoughts of retiring into Gaul; but was diverted from this deſign by a ſuſpicion, that ſuch a retreat would look ſo much like a flight, that it might be an inducement to his allies to deſert him. His ſafety now ſeemed entirely to depend upon the meaſures the two new conſuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Æmilius Paulus, ſhould purſue. If they ſteadily adhered to Fabius's plan of operations, he muſt be irrecoverably loſt; whereas, by a departure from it, they might throw the game once more into his hands. His hopes were not a little raiſed, when he received intelligence from his ſpies, that Varro in diſpoſition and genius, nearly reſembled Sempronius, Flaminius, and Minucius; that there was a perfect want of harmony betwixt him and his collegue Paulus; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the ſenate, who had a very indifferent opinion of him. Notwithſtanding therefore the Roman army this year conſiſted of eight legions, beſides the troops of their allies, in all making about eighty-ſix thouſand effective men, he was far from deſponding, eſpecially as he believed, that however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops compoſing it, being new levies, would not be capable of coping with his veterans. The event juſtified the ſentiments he entertained, as we ſhall ſee immediately [c].

The Romans defeat a body of Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL had not only learned the true character of Varro, but likewiſe diſcovered his grand deſign. He had received advice, that this conſul, before he left Rome, declared in public, that he would fall upon the enemy the very firſt opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115, 116. Liv. l. xxii. c. 48, 49. Appian. in Hannib.

that it would never be terminated, ſo long as men of Fabius's complexion ſhould be at the head of the Roman armies. He had not been long in the Roman camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of Carthaginians, killing ſeventeen hundred of them upon the ſpot; which greatly encreaſed his boldneſs and arrogance. Hannibal conſidered this loſs as a real advantage, not doubting but it would ſpur him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he was reduced to ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions at Geruniun, that he found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt there ten days longer; and the Spaniards already meditated a deſertion, which could not but prove fatal to him. But his good fortune at this criſis interpoſed, and threw in his way an antagoniſt, that extricated him out of all the difficulties in which he was involved [d].

The Roman and Carthaginian armies meet near Cannæ in Apulia.

AFTER ſeveral movements, the two armies came in ſight of each other near Cannæ, a village and caſtle of Apulia, ſituated on the river Aufidus. Hannibal had taken the caſtle, which commanded all that part of Apulia, and ſeized therein one of the enemies principal magazines, before the approach of the Roman army. He had likewiſe taken care to encamp in a ſmooth and open plain, proper for his cavalry, in which the main ſtrength of his forces conſiſted, to act in. Paulus, conſidering Hannibal's great ſuperiority in horſe, was for drawing the Carthaginians to an irregular ſpot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal ſhare in the action; but Varro being of another opinion, that ſalutary deſign was dropped; which proved the total ruin of the Romans. As ſoon as the conſuls appeared, Hannibal moved towards them at the head of his horſe, and began an attack with great bravery; but the Romans, intermixing ſome of the legionaries with their light-armed troops, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the enemy with much firmneſs, and, being duly ſupported by their cavalry, repulſed them with conſiderable loſs. This a little diſcouraged Hannibal, eſpecially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the charge. However, to remove all impreſſions of terror, that might have ſeized upon his ſoldiers minds upon that event, he judged it expedient to re-animate them the next day by an harangue, which was to the following effect: "Return thanks to the gods, ſaid he, for having "brought

[d] Liv. ubi ſup.

" brought the enemy hither, that we may triumph over
" them; and, in the next place, make proper acknow-
" ledgements to me, for having forced them to come to a
" battle with us upon the most disadvantageous terms.
" After three glorious victories already won, is not the re-
" membrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you
" with courage? By your former renowned atchieve-
" ments, you have made yourselves masters of the open
" country; but another victory will put all the cities, as
" well as all the riches and power, of the Romans into
" your hands. It is not words that we stand in need of,
" but action; and I doubt not but, by the favour of the
" gods, you will soon find my promises fulfilled, and your
" most sanguine expectations answered." The army, receiving fresh life and vigour from this speech of their general, both by their voice and gesture, declared themselves to be entirely at his devotion. After which, remanding them all to their respective posts, he commanded them to be ready the next morning to enter upon action [e].

HAVING already given a full and particular account of the battle of Cannæ as well as of the dispositions of both armies at that battle, we shall here only endeavour to revive in our readers minds a general idea of that most memorable event, by reciting some of the most remarkable circumstances of it, and pointing at some of the principal causes, that determined victory to declare in favour of the Carthaginians [f].

The battle of Cannæ.

WE have before observed, that Paulus was for declining an engagement, being well assured, that a state of inaction must ruin Hannibal; but not being able to prevail upon his collegue to fall in with his sentiments, he then proposed fighting the enemy on such a spot of ground, as would enable the infantry, in which the Romans were much superior to Hannibal, to have the principal share in the action; but Varro, hurried away by his rashness and impetuosity of mind, was deaf to both these salutary proposals; and, being greatly exasperated, that a party of Numidians should dare to insult his camp, the next day of his command, he advanced into the plains of the Aufidus, to attack the Carthaginian army. This was the very thing that Hannibal wished for, who therefore moved towards him with great alacrity.

[e] Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup.

[f] Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 216, 217. &c.

alacrity. He had before paſſed the river, and drawn up his army in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance from the Romans, having poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the (L) wind Vulturnus, which riſes at certain ſtated times, ſhould blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight,

(L) The wind Vulturnus blew ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, or ſouth-eaſt, and was the moſt common of all other winds at Capua. The old Etruſcan name of that city, as we learn from Livy and others, was Vulturnus, or Vulturnum, being, in all probability, ſo called from its founder. This founder was undoubtedly deified by the inhabitants of his city after his death, and looked upon there, and perhaps through all Campania, as a tutelar deity. That the Etruſcan inhabitants of Campania worſhipped the god Vulturnus, or Volturnus, is paſt all doubt, as likewiſe that he was a deity peculiar to them. As Capua or Vulturnum lay ſouth-eaſt of Etruria, it is no wonder the Etruſcans ſhould call the ſouth-eaſt wind, eſpecially ſince it blew ſo frequently there, Vulturnus; and from them that name paſſed to the Romans. That it was an Etruſcan proper name, appears both from what we have juſt obſerved, and from its beginning with the word Vul or Vol, in common with many other Etruſcan proper names, viz. Volumnus, Voltumna, Volta, &c. The Etruſcans wrote it, in all likelihood, Ful-Turne, or Fal-Turne; ſince, inſtead of the V conſonant, they uſed the Æolic digamma, as appears from the Eugubian tables; and terminated thoſe words in E, that the Romans did in US. Let this be admitted, and it muſt be allowed probable, that Ful, or Fal, was a term of honour, ſignifying high, ſublime, &c. eſpecially as we have evinced in a former note, that this word, in the Etruſcan language, had that ſignification. Our notion, in this particular, will appear ſtill more agreeable to truth, if we farther conſider, that all the proper names, of which this word makes one part of the compoſition, were either applied to deities, great men, or ſomething which apparently bore an analogy to the aforeſaid ſignification. And as for the word Turne, or Turnus, that was a proper name of Latium in the ages preceding the Trojan war, when the language of that country agreed in many, if not moſt, points with the Etruſcan; and conſequently it might have been a proper name in uſe likewiſe amongſt the Etruſcans. Be that as it will, it is certain Turan, which comes extremly near it, as conſiſting of the ſame radicals, was an Etruſcan proper name, as we learn from an inſcription upon an antique Etruſcan patera. We own indeed, that Raphael Maffæus Volaterranus aſſerts the word Vola to have ſignified a city in the old Etruſcan tongue, which runs counter to what we have offered; but as this aſſertion has nothing to ſupport it but that writer's bare authority, which, in the point before us, is of no weight, we cannot adviſe our readers to pay any regard to it. That the word

fight, and cover them with duſt. On his left he had the river Aufidus, and placing his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spaniſh and Gallic infantry, which he poſted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the ſame line with the cavalry. Having made this diſpoſition, he cauſed the Spaniſh and Gallic infantry to move towards the enemy in ſuch a manner, as to form a large creſcent, that there might be no interval between them and the African foot, that were to ſupport them. Aſdrubal was poſted on the right, Hanno on the left, and Hannibal, with his brother Mago, commanded the main body. The Africans, ſays Livy, ſeemed to be a body of Romans, Hannibal having been enabled to arm them after the Roman manner by the

word Fal or Ful ſignified high, as likewiſe that the old Etruſcan language was at firſt oriental, is confirmed by the proper name Volaterræ, or, as the Etruſcans probably wrote it, Ful-tur, Ful-tir, Fultera, i. e. an height or eminence, or an height or eminence ſtrong by its ſituation; which exactly anſwers to the ſituation of that place, as deſcribed by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis and Strabo (17).

Zonaras obſerves, that the wind Vulturnus greatly contributed to the defeat of the Romans; ſince, till that began to blow, which, he ſays, was about noon, the Carthaginians had no proſpect of victory. Hannibal, according to the ſame author, ſoon after he arrived upon the banks of the Aufidus, ploughed up all the ſandy ſoil there, that, by having it more immediately expoſed to the heat of the ſun, clouds of duſt and ſand from thence might the more eaſily be blown into the faces of the Romans (18).

The Sirocco, anſwering to the Vulturnus, at preſent blows in ſeveral parts of Italy for many days together; and when this happens, the atmoſphere is extremely heated, which renders the place moſt diſagreeable, and ſometimes almoſt intolerable. A Tramontana, or cold north-eaſt wind, frequently ſucceeds the Sirocco; which occaſions a great mortality amongſt the Italians from the mal di petto; &c.

(17) Liv. l. iv. & l. xxxiv. Dion. Halicarn l. i. Serv. ad Æn. x. ver. 145. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Ant. Fran. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc. claſ. prim. p. 53, 54, 55. & p. 204. edit. Florent. 1737. Tab. Eugubin. 3, 4, 5. paſſ. Univerſ. hiſt vol. xvii. p. 328. not. (A). Virg. Æn. xii. & alib. Schind. pent. p. 1988. Ant. Fran. Gor. ubi ſup. p. 113. Raph. Maff. Volaterran. l. v. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l. iii. Strab. l. v. Tab. 4. apud Dempſt. de Etruſc. reg. tom. i. p. 78.
(18) Zonar. l. ix. c. 2.

the ſpoils taken from the enemy in the battles of Trebia, and the lake Thraſymenus. The Gauls and Spaniards uſed the ſame ſort of ſhields; but their ſwords were different, thoſe of the Spaniards being ſhort, and well-pointed, fit either to cut or thruſt; whereas thoſe of the Gauls were long and broad, deſigned for a downright cutting blow. The Gauls were naked from their waiſt upwards, and thereby rendered capable of giving a blow with the greater force. The Spaniards were clad in white linen-caſſocks, bordered with purple, after the manner of their country; which ſtrange habits, together with the vaſt ſize of body theſe nations were eminent for, exhibited an appearance, that not a little intimidated the Romans. Five hundred Numidians came over in a body to the Romans, with their ſhields thrown behind their backs, in the form of deſerters, before the beginning of the action. Upon their arrival at the Roman camp, they diſmounted, and laid down all their arms, except the ſwords they had concealed under their coats of mail. The conſuls had not then time to examine them; and therefore Varro ordered them to be placed behind the army, till the concluſion of the engagement. Here they remained quiet, till the diſpute grew very warm, when the Romans were ſo preſſed on all ſides, that they could not obſerve them; but then, ſupplying themſelves with the bucklers, that lay ſcattered on the field of battle amongſt the heaps of the ſlain, and making uſe of their own ſwords, they attacked the enemy's rear, killing many, and ſtriking the reſt of the Romans poſted there with the greateſt terror. Thus Hannibal, by this refined artifice, found means to lay an ambuſcade for the enemy in a plain, and behind their backs, when ſuch a ſtratagem ſeemed abſolutely impracticable. The conſular army was diſpoſed much in the ſame manner as in other engagements: Paulus commanded the right wing, Varro the left, and the proconſuls, Marcus Attilius and Cneius Servilius, the main body. The ſignal of battle being given, both armies moved with great ardour to the attack; but the wind Vulturnus blew ſo ſtrongly in the faces of the Romans, that they had their eyes filled with duſt, and could ſcarce ſee the enemy. After the light-armed troops had engaged, Aſdrubal, at the head of the Spaniſh and Gallic horſe in the left wing, charged the Roman in the right wing, commanded by Paulus, with ſuch fury, that, after a warm diſpute, he broke and diſperſed them; and having left, to purſue the

ſcattered ſquadrons, only ſuch forces as were neceſſary to prevent them from rallying, he advanced to the relief of the main body. Paulus, being wounded, at the firſt onſet, by a Balearic ſlinger, found himſelf obliged to diſmount; which induced the cavalry under his conduct to do the ſame. Hannibal, obſerving this motion, is reported to have ſaid, "I would much rather the conſul had delivered "his men to me bound," intimating thereby, that he looked upon them now as in his power and himſelf as ſure of victory. Nor can it be doubted but that this accident was of fatal conſequence to the Roman cavalry poſted in the right wing. In the mean time the Spaniſh and Gallic infantry, forming the large creſcent abovementioned, being hotly charged by the Roman legions, after a brave reſiſtance, by Hannibal's direction, gave ground, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans purſued them with the utmoſt eagerneſs and confuſion, as Hannibal had foreſeen; whereupon the African infantry, which was freſh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a ſudden towards that void ſpace, in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themſelves in diſorder, and attacked them vigorouſly on both ſides, without allowing them either ſpace or time to form themſelves. Whilſt matters were in this ſituation, Aſdrubal, with his victorious horſe, coming up, charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being puſhed on all ſides by the enemy's horſe and foot, was at laſt almoſt entirely cut to pieces, after having fought with unparallelled bravery. Two quæſtors, twenty-one military tribunes, many who had either been conſuls or prætors, Minucius, late general of the horſe to Fabius, Servilius, one of the proconſuls that commanded the main body, and the conſul Æmilius Paulus, all fell in the action, covered with wounds and glory. Neither did the left wing of the Roman army meet with a much better fate; for Aſdrubal, according to ſome authors hinted at by Polybius, before he advanced to the relief of the main body, by reinforcing the right wing under Hanno, enabled the Numidian cavalry poſted there entirely to defeat it. Varro, the author of this terrible deſtruction, eſcaped to Venuſia, with only ſeventy horſe, being ſoon after joined by three hundred of the allies. Of the ten thouſand men left by Paulus to guard the camp, immediately after the battle, two thouſand were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion.

In fine, very few of the Romans eſcaped either the carnage or captivity. Hannibal, upon a review of his forces after the battle, found, that he had loſt only four thouſand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and about two hundred horſe. Such was the defeat at Cannæ, the greateſt the Romans had hitherto ever received [g].

Cauſes of the defeat the Romans received there.

THE ſuperiority of the Carthaginians in horſe muſt be allowed to have been the principal cauſe of this terrible overthrow. Hannibal's army conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot; whereas the Roman cavalry did not exceed ſix thouſand, though, in the conſular army, the infantry amounted to eighty thouſand men. The ſtrange and aſtoniſhing figure made by the Spaniards and Gauls, together with the activity of the former, and fierceneſs of the latter, did not a little contribute towards throwing the enemy into confuſion, as is even allowed by Livy himſelf. The body of Numidians, that attacked the Roman rear, and the accident, which attended Paulus's wound above-mentioned, were alſo of ſingular ſervice to Hannibal on that auſpicious day the battle of Cannæ was fought. The confidence the Carthaginian troops repoſed in Hannibal, looking upon him as a general abſolutely invincible, likewiſe animated them to a prodigious degree, and conſequently enabled them to exert themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner. Hannibal did his utmoſt to inſpire them with a contempt of the Romans on all occaſions; which had the deſired effect. We are told, that when Mago, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, aſſured him, that the Romans were extremely numerous, he replied, "As numerous as they are, I give thee my word, brother, "thou canſt not find one amongſt them, whoſe name is "Mago." And having thus ſaid, he burſt out into a great laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him; which induced the ſoldiers to believe, that he thought himſelf ſure of victory, and of courſe ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that nothing could ſtand before them. The arming his Africans in the Roman manner was alſo a wiſe expedient made uſe of by Hannibal, as it enabled thoſe troops to attack

[g] Polyb. Liv. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 10. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 16. Appian. in Hannib. Frontin. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 7. & alib paſſ. Sil. Ital. paſſ. Plut. in Hannib. aliiq; quamplurim. Lucius Ampel. in lib. mem. c. 46.

tack and reſiſt the Romans in their own way, and, of courſe, not a little conduced to the victory. Theſe, we ſay, and many more concurring cauſes of the defeat at Cannæ, might be produced, and expatiated upon; but we think it ſufficient barely to have touched upon the circumſtances here mentioned, not at the ſame time forgetting to obſerve, that Hannibal himſelf, by the wiſe diſpoſition of his forces, by his ſingular addreſs, preſence of mind, vigilance, and perſonal bravery, during the heat of the action, contributed more towards this unparallelled overthrow, than all the other concurring cauſes that can be aſſigned [h].

Hannibal's motions after his victory at Cannæ.

THE immediate conſequence of this victory, as Hannibal had foreſeen, was a diſpoſition of that part of Italy, called The old province, Magna Græcia, Tarentum, Arpi, and part of the territory of Capua, to ſubmit to him. The neighbouring provinces likewiſe diſcovered an inclination to throw off the Roman yoke; but had a mind to ſee, whether Hannibal was abſolutely in a condition to protect them, before they declared themſelves. All the Carthaginian officers, except Maherbal, adviſed Hannibal to give his troops ſome repoſe after the great fatigues and hard ſervice they had lately gone through; but Maherbal, on the contrary, preſſed him to take directly the route to Rome at the head of his horſe, promiſing him, that, within five days, they ſhould ſup in the capitol. Hannibal anſwered, "That he deſerved commendation for the ardour he ſhewed; but that an affair of ſuch importance required ma-
"ture deliberation." To whom Maherbal replied, "I
"perceive the gods have not endued the ſame perſon with
"all ſhining talents. You know, Hannibal, how to
"conquer; but not how to make the beſt uſe of a victory."
Livy (M) ſeems to fall in with Maherbal's notion, and

[h] Idem ibid.

(M) Moſt of the Roman hiſtorians follow Livy in this particular, though this adds no weight to that author's notion. Zonaras tells us, that Hannibal himſelf was ſo chagrined afterwards at his conduct on this occaſion, that he fell into a deep melancholy, often crying out in a doleful tone, O Cannæ! Cannæ! However, Zonaras's authority is not capable of overthrowing the reaſons offered to prove this improbable (19).

(19) Zonar. l. ix. c. 2.

looks upon Hannibal as guilty of a capital error on this occaſion; but others, as we have elſewhere taken notice, entertained different ſentiments of this point of that renowned general's conduct; for which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, they aſſign the following reaſons: 1. Hannibal was one of the moſt conſummate generals antiquity ever produced; a vaſt military genius; a perſon of the greateſt prudence, foreſight and penetration, as the whole ſeries of his actions, as well as the character of him, that may be gathered from the Roman writers themſelves, prejudiced as they were, clearly demonſtrates. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in this ſingle inſtance, he ſhould either have failed to make choice of the beſt expedients, or been wanting in readineſs to put his deſigns in execution. 2. They are diſpoſed to judge favourably of him from the authority, or, at leaſt, the ſilence, of Polybius, who, ſpeaking of the memorable conſequences of this famous battle, ſays, that the Carthaginians believed they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of Rome at the firſt aſſault; but he gives us no room to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a project was feaſible, nor that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That as his infantry, before the battle of Cannæ, did not amount to above forty thouſand men, he had not ſtrength ſufficient to undertake the ſiege of Rome, eſpecially as that city was very populous, ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a garriſon of two legions. This will appear in a ſtronger light, if we conſider, that his infantry muſt have been conſiderably weakened by the loſs he ſuſtained in the action at Cannæ, which amounted, on their part only, to five thouſand five hundred men. 4. Hannibal was deſtitute of battering-engines, ammunition, and all things neceſſary for the carrying on of a ſiege; and conſequently, on this account, as well as the paucity of his troops, he muſt have been incapable of attacking in form ſo large a city as Rome. In proof of what is here advanced, it may be obſerved, that, for want of the neceſſaries abovementioned, even after his victory at the lake Thraſymenus, he miſcarried in his attempt upon Spoletum, a town of no great ſtrength; and after this at Cannæ, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Caſilinum, a little inconſiderable city. 5. Not any of the Italian nations had yet declared for him; ſo that, had he miſcarried in the attempt, he muſt have been utterly ruined. Theſe reaſons, with others that might be offered,

ſeem

ſeem to render dubious the opinion of thoſe, who have eſpouſed Maherbal's ſide of the queſtion [i].

WHEN Hannibal had thoroughly pillaged the Roman camp, he thought proper to march into Samnium, being informed, that the Hirpini, and other neighbouring nations, were diſpoſed to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He firſt advanced to Compſa, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a Carthaginian garriſon. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immenſe plunder he had amaſſed. After which, ordering his brother Mago, with a body of troops deſtined for that purpoſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of all the fortreſſes of that country, he moved into Campania, the moſt delicious province of Italy. The humanity Hannibal had all along ſhewn the Italian priſoners, as well as the fame of the complete victory lately obtained, wrought ſo powerfully upon the Lucani, Brutii, and Apulians, that they expreſſed an eager deſire of being taken under his protection; nay, even the Campanians themſelves, a nation more obliged to Rome than any in Italy, except the Latins, being ſtrangely affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of Hannibal, diſcovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends; of which the Carthaginian general receiving intelligence, he bent his march towards Capua, not doubting but that, by means of the popular faction which then prevailed there, he ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of that important place [k]. He advances to Capua.

SOME of the leading men in Capua had offered to deliver the city into Hannibal's hands immediately after the battle of the lake Thraſymenus; which induced that general to march his army to their frontiers, inſtead of advancing to Rome, as ſome think he might have done; tho', at that time, he was ſo narrowly watched by Fabius, that his partizans in Capua could not find an opportunity of executing the deſign they had formed. But, at the preſent juncture, the popular faction bearing an abſolute ſway in the city, and being entirely at the devotion of one Pacuvius Calavius, an ambitious nobleman, on account of his known attachment to Hannibal, the Carthaginian party put themſelves again in And has the city ſurrendered to him.

[i] Idem ibid. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 221. Vide & Aul. Gel. in noct. Attic. l. x. c. 24. Cat i origin. Cæl. hiſt. l. ii. Plut. in Fab. Macrob. ſaturn. l. i. c. 4. [k] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup. Zonar, l. ix. c. 2.

motion. Calavius having, by artful management, brought the ſenate under the power of the populace, and prevented the latter from maſſacring the former, as they intended to do, by this means united the whole city in favour of the Carthaginians; and the battle of Cannæ happening ſoon after this union was effected, Calavius thought he might, without any obſtruction, introduce them into the city. However, three hundred Capuan youths being at that time ſerving the Romans in Sicily, it was agreed to ſend a deputation to Varro, to learn the ſituation of the Roman affairs, that they might not only go upon ſure grounds, but likewiſe have an opportunity of obliging the parents of the above-mentioned youths, by getting them out of the hands of the Romans. Varro continued ſtill to act in character, that is, with the utmoſt imprudence; for he repreſented the Roman ſtate as unable to ſupport itſelf, much leſs to furniſh them with the neceſſary ſuccours; and therefore adviſed them to make war upon the Carthaginians with their own forces, that, by ſuch a ſeaſonable diverſion, they might adminiſter ſome relief to their old and faithful friends. This ill-judged repreſentation and advice made ſuch an impreſſion upon the deputies, that, when they returned home, they adviſed their fellow-citizens immediately to conclude a treaty with Hannibal. They therefore entered into an alliance with him upon the following conditions: That the Campanians ſhould be governed by their own laws; that the Carthaginians ſhould not arrogate to themſelves the leaſt dominion in Capua, but live there upon the foot of friends; and laſtly, that Hannibal ſhould give them three hundred Roman priſoners, ſuch as they ſhould chuſe, to be exchanged with the ſame number of Capuan youths in the ſervice of Rome. One Decius Magius however, a perſon of diſtinction in the city, did his utmoſt to obſtruct the negociation, by reminding his countrymen of the fatal conſequence of changing old friends with new ones, from the example of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines; nay, when the Carthaginian troops were about to enter the town, he would fain have prevailed upon his countrymen to ſally out upon them, and cut them to pieces, that they might thereby have made ſome ſort of reparation to the Romans for the great injury offered them. Hannibal was ſo incenſed at this conduct of Magius, that he inſiſted upon having him delivered into his hands; which being granted, he put him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him to Carthage; but being

driven

driven by ſtreſs of weather into the port of Cyrene, Ptolemy Philopater took him under his protection. Perolla, the ſon of Calavius, likewiſe for ſome time expreſſed a great averſion to Hannibal, and was even upon the point of aſſaſſinating him. However, Hannibal at laſt look peaceable poſſeſſion of Capua, and fixed there his winter-quarters. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, in his march to Capua, paſſed by Neapolis, now Naples; and that a body of horſe ſallying out of the town upon one of the Carthaginian parties, that advanced to the walls, was drawn into an ambuſcade, and almoſt entirely cut off, with one Hegeas, who commanded it; but that Hannibal could not form the ſiege of the place; which ſufficiently juſtifies what has been hinted above. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that Virius Sabius, one of the Campanian deputies ſent to Varro, endeavoured to perſuade the Capuans to a rupture with the Romans, by urging, that they had now not only a fine opportunity of ſhaking off the Roman yoke, but likewiſe of making themſelves maſters of all Italy; ſince Hannibal would undoubtedly return to Africa, when he had demoliſhed that proud republic he had ſo juſtly contracted ſuch an averſion to, and conclude a treaty with them upon their own terms. It was however agreed, our author goes on, that the ſame deputies ſhould be diſpatched to Rome, and propoſe this condition as the baſis of a future friendſhip between the two cities, viz. that from thenceforth one of the conſuls ſhould be a Campanian; which was rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and the deputies ordered immediately to depart Rome. Marius Bloſius, prætor of the city, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Hannibal's entry into Capua, commanding the citizens, with their wives and children, in a body, to meet him at ſome diſtance from the town. The night after his entry, Hannibal invited Calavius, with his ſon Perolla, and Jubellius Taureas, an officer of uncommon merit, to ſup with him; and the day following gave the Campanians flattering aſſurances of making their city the metropolis of Italy. By theſe ſteps, and in this manner, did Hannibal make himſelf maſter of Capua; which being an event of no ſmall importance to him, and the boundary, as we may ſtyle it, of his great ſucceſs, we could not avoid being thus explicit and particular in our account of it [k].

WHILST

[k] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 2—11. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 3. Plut. in Hannib.

The Carthaginians ravage the maritime part Hiero's dominions.

WHILST Hannibal was puſhing on the war in Italy with the utmoſt vigour, the ſtate of Carthage ſent two fleets to the coaſts of Sicily. One of theſe ravaged the maritime part of Hiero's territories, becauſe that prince was in alliance with Rome, whilſt the other ſtood off of the iſlands Ægates, in order to obſerve the motions of the Romans. The admiral of this laſt ſquadron had orders to attack Lilybæum both by ſea and land, as ſoon as the Romans advanced to the relief of king Hiero; of which T. Otacilius, the proprætor, being appriſed, he diſpatched an expreſs to Rome for a ſpeedy reinforcement of ſhips; but the ſenate, conſidering the deplorable condition the republic now was in, did not think proper to comply with his requeſt. He therefore found himſelf obliged to ſtand upon the defenſive, leſt he ſhould expoſe the Roman dominions in Sicily to an invaſion [l].

Hannibal cannot prevail upon the Romans to redeem their countrymen taken priſoners in the battle of Cannæ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the implacable hatred Hannibal bore the Romans, he diſpatched Carthalo to Rome, to treat with the ſenate there about a redemption of the priſoners taken in the battle of Cannæ. Though the ſum demanded for theſe priſoners was far from being exorbitant, the conſcript fathers refuſed the payment of it. The reaſons alledged for this refuſal by the Romans, have been already given; but the true one ſeems to have been the extreme poverty of the Roman ſtate at this melancholy juncture. Hannibal, upon Carthalo's return, ſent all the Roman priſoners of diſtinction to Carthage, and treated the others in the manner by us related in a former part of this hiſtory [m] (N).

SOON

[l] Liv. l. xxii. c. 56. [m] Polyb. l. vi. ſub fin. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 58—61. Appian. in Hannib. p. 570. edit. Tollii, Amſt. 1670. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 34. Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. vii: c. 18. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 2, Vide Budæum. de aſſ. l. ii. Glarean. in Eutrop. l. iii. c. 11. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 225.

(N) Appian and Zonaras intimate, that Hannibal ſold ſome of the Roman captives for ſlaves, and ſlew a vaſt number of the meaner ſort of them, with whoſe bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a paſſage for his troops. But this laſt inſtance of cruelty ſeems highly improbable, eſpecially conſidering the partiality of the hiſtorians from whom it comes, and that it is paſſed over in ſilence by Polybius. That excellent author, amongſt other things, obſerves, that the ſenate at Rome imagined, that a compliance with Hannibal's propoſal would look like a tacit acknowledgment of his great ſuperiority, and therefore declined

cloſing

He diſpatches Mago to Carthage, with an account of his great ſucceſs

SOON after Capua had made its ſubmiſſion, many cities of the Brutii opened their gates to Hannibal, who ordered his brother Mago to take poſſeſſion of them. Mago was then diſpatched to Carthage, with the important news of the great victory obtained at Cannæ, and the happy conſequences of it. Upon his arrival there, he acquainted the ſenate, that Hannibal had defeated ſix Roman generals, four of which were conſuls, one dictator, and the other general of horſe to the dictator; that he had engaged ſix conſular armies, killed two conſuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the field, with ſcarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horſe, who was of equal power with the conſuls; that the dictator was eſteemed as the only general fit to command an army, merely becauſe he had not had the courage to engage him. As a demonſtrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to ſome authors, three buſhels and an half of rings of Roman knights and ſenators. He likewiſe ſubjoined, that Capua, a city that was not only the metropolis of Campania, but, ſince the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, of Italy itſelf, had ſubmitted to Hannibal. For ſuch unparallelled ſucceſſes, he moved, that thanks ſhould be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement ſhould be ſent to Hannibal, who, being in the cloſing with it. Livy affirms, that many of the Roman priſoners were bought of Hannibal by the Greeks; which may poſſibly be true. But that great numbers of them were put to a vaſt variety of the moſt exquiſite tortures, purely to gratify the cruel and vindictive diſpoſition of that general, as Eutropius ſuggeſts, will not be ſo eaſily admitted by our candid readers, for the reaſons above aſſigned. We muſt beg leave to remark here, that, according to Diodorus Siculus, none of the Roman captives could be forced, by the moſt grievous ſufferings, to lift up their hands againſt their friends and relations, when Hannibal would have obliged them to act the part of gladiators, for the entertainment of his troops; though Livy aſſerts the contrary, as will further appear from what we have extracted from that hiſtorian on this occaſion, in the paſſage of the Univerſal hiſtory here referred to. The diſagreement therefore of two ſuch eminent authors, and the ſilence of Polybius on this head, ſeem to evince many, if not all, the inſtances of cruelty laid to Hannibal's charge at this juncture, to have been entirely fabulous (20).

(20) Diod. Sic. Liv. Appian. Eutrop. Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide & Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l. xliv. ſub fin, &c.

the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, eſpecially as his troops muſt have greatly ſuffered in the various engagements they had had with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people being ſtruck with an extraordinary joy on this happy occaſion, Himilco, the chief the Barcan faction, fanſying, that a fair opportunity of inſulting Hanno now offered, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: "Do you ſtill, Hanno, repent of the war we are embarqued in with Rome? Forbid, by all means, the appointment of a day of thankſgiving to the immortal gods, for ſo many ſignal advantages obtained! Come, for once let us hear a Roman ſenator declaim in the ſenate-houſe at Carthage"! Hanno, notwithſtanding this provocation, without any emotion, according to Livy, replied, "That he ſtill entertained the ſame ſentiments as formerly, in relation to the war; that he ſhould not ceaſe blaming their invincible general's conduct, till his glorious victories had procured them a tolerable peace; that the mighty exploits, on which Hannibal's creatures expatiated ſo much, ſuppoſing them real, could only give him joy, in proportion as they were made ſubſervient to ſuch a peace; that however, as it was prepoſterous in Hannibal to ſolicit ſuch ſuccours, as could only be deemed neceſſary for a general in deſperate circumſtances, at the ſame time that he was amuſing them with an account of the rapid conqueſts he had made, he could not help looking upon thoſe exploits as perfectly chimerical and imaginary". Then turning to Mago and Himilco, he aſked them, "Whether a ſingle member of any one of the thirty-five tribes had come over to Hannibal, or any of the Latin nations declared for him, after the ſo-much cried up victory at Cannæ"? To which Mago anſwering in the negative; "It is evident then, replied Hanno, that the Romans are ſtill very ſtrong. But, pray, what degree of courage are they inſpired with? What hopes or expectations have they of carrying on the war with ſucceſs, to animate them"? Of which queſtion Mago profeſſing himſelf incapable of giving a proper ſolution; "How! ſays Hanno; nothing can be more eaſy than this. Have the Romans ſent embaſſadors to enter into a negotiation with Hannibal? Has any mention been made of a peace at Rome"? No, replied Mago. Why then I find, ſubjoined Hanno, "we have the ſame happy proſpect before us now, that we had the firſt day Hannibal entered Italy. In what a fine ſituation were we, when

Lutatius

" Lutatius gave us that memorable defeat off of the iſlands " Ægates, which deſtroyed all our hopes, and reduced us to " the neceſſity of ſuing for an ignominious peace? This " may be again our caſe; and therefore I am for concluding " an advantageous peace with Rome, whilſt our affairs wear " a tolerable aſpect, leſt, upon ſome diſaſter, it ſhould not " be in our power to do ſo". Hanno therefore, with all his adherents, oppoſed the continuation of the war, and conſequently voted againſt ſending Hannibal any ſuccours; but the majority of the ſenate conſidering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealouſy, the Barcan faction prevailed, and orders were given to furniſh the army in Italy with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample ſupply of money and proviſions. A body of four thouſand Numidians, with forty elephants, was firſt deſtined for that country; a large detachment of Spaniſh forces was appointed to follow the Numidians; and that theſe laſt troops might be ready in due time, Mago ſet out immediately for Spain, to raiſe twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, there. The Carthaginians propoſed to recruit, with theſe new levies, not only Hannibal's army, but that likewiſe which acted in Spain [n].

The tranſactions in Italy immediately after the battle of Cannæ.

As ſoon as Hannibal had poſſeſſed himſelf of Capua, he attempted, both by promiſes and menaces, to make himſelf maſter of Naples; but the Neapolitans being proof againſt all his efforts, he advanced to Nola, and ſummoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmoſt extremities, if they did not immediately ſurrender. The ſenate, at leaſt the leading men in it, was wholly in the Roman intereſt; but the Carthaginians being maſters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was entirely at Hannibal's devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a diſpoſition to ſurrender the city to Hannibal; but at the ſame time inſinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to ſome terms of agreement with him. Under the pretence therefore of entering into a negotiation with the Carthaginian general, the ſenate of Nola found means to ſpin out the time, and ſend, with all poſſible expedition, meſſengers to Marcellus, the Roman prætor, acquainting him with the ſituation of affairs, and that the city would be obliged to capitulate, except

[n] Liv. ubi ſup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 50. Hannib. apud Lucian. in dial. Eutrop. Zonar. & Oroſ. ubi ſup.

except he instantly marched to its relief. Marcellus, leaving Casilinum, where he was then posted, advanced to Calatia; and having passed the Vulturnus, moved, with surprising celerity, through the districts of Satricula and Trebia, in order to succour Nola. Hannibal drew off upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon Naples; but without effect. After this, he laid siege to Nuceria, and starved it to a surrender. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that the inhabitants should be permitted to march out with all their cloaths, though disarmed. Thirty senators, and most of the people of fashion, retired to Capua; but were refused admission there, because they did not at first open their gates to Hannibal; but they met with a kind reception at Cumæ. Hannibal gave Nuceria up to his soldiers to be plundered, and afterwards burnt it. Marcellus, the Roman prætor, having thrown himself with a body of troops, into Nola, was under no apprehension for the safety of that place, though the Carthaginian army, after the destruction of Nuceria, encamped before it. The populace ardently desired to deliver it up to Hannibal; but Marcellus prevented the Carthaginian from possessing himself of it, by gaining over to the Roman interest L. Bantius, the chief of the Carthaginian faction. This he did, partly by the force of adulation and condescension, ordering the lictors to give him admission, as often as he desired it, and partly by dint of presents, desiring him to accept of a fine horse, and five hundred bigati (O). Hannibal drew up the Carthaginian army in order of battle before the walls, as Marcellus did the Roman forces within the town. His parties had frequent skirmishes with those of the Romans,

(O) The bigati, or nummi bigati, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the quadrigati, or nummi quadrigati, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from Pliny. According to the same author, the Phrygians invented the former kind of chariots, and Erichthonius the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will seem to follow, that the Romans had these chariots introduced amongst them by their neighbours the Etruscans, who were descended from the Lydians and Phrygians, since they were used at Rome before that city had any intercourse with the Greeks. Many Roman denarii, particularly of those coined in the times of the republic, with such images on their reverses, are to

mans, though neither ſide ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. By his emiſſaries, he engaged the populace to ſeize upon the gates, as ſoon as Marcellus had ſallied out of them with his whole force, as he had received intelligence the Roman general deſigned to do; by which means the Romans would have been hemmed in betwixt the garriſon and the Carthaginian army, and conſequently muſt all have been cut off. Marcellus, being informed of this, divided his army into three bodies, which he poſted at three gates fronting the enemy; having before iſſued out an order, forbidding any of the citizens to ſtir out of their houſes. Hannibal, in the mean time obſerving, that no parties were poſted on the ramparts for their defence, immediately concluded, that his whole ſcheme was unravelled, and Marcellus now engaged with the citizens. He therefore ordered his ſcaling-ladders to be brought immediately to the walls, and began the attack. The moment this happened, Marcellus, at the head of a choice body of veterans, ſallying out of the middle gate, fell upon the Carthaginians with ſuch fury, that he put them into diſorder. Hannibal, little dreaming of ſuch a ſally, with ſome difficulty rallied his troops, and made head againſt the enemy. During this conflict, the two other bodies ſallied out of the other gates, and attacked the rear of the Carthaginians; which ſtruck Hannibal with ſuch terror, that he retired into his lines, and ſoon after drew off from before the town. Though the Carthaginians, even according to the Roman accounts, did not loſe much above two thouſand men on this occaſion, yet the Romans looked upon this action, as one of the moſt conſiderable in its conſequences to them, of all that happened during the whole courſe of the war, ſince it demonſtrated Hannibal not to be invincible. Hannibal, advancing to Acerræ, made the proper diſpoſitions to beſiege it; but the inhabitants abandoning it, he laid it in aſhes. From thence he moved to Caſilinum,

to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious. Tacitus, and other Roman authors, as well as Livy, mention the coins we are now treating of (21).

(21) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. & l. vii. c. 56. Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 4. Val. Max. l. ii. ex. 17. Plut. in prob. Roman. c. 52. Tacit. in cert. Aſiat. urb. l. iv. Tertul. de pal. Vide etiam Joan. Meurſium, de fort. Athen. apud Jac. Gronov. in ant. Græc, theſaur. v. vol. p. 1707. & de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. diſſert. edit. Oxon. 1733.

Caſilinum, which he immediately inveſted. The garriſon defended itſelf with inexpreſſible bravery; neither could Hannibal have ever made himſelf maſter of it, had not famine forced it to ſurrender. Before the Carthaginian general preſented himſelf before the town, he detached a body of Gætulians, under the command of their captain Iſalca, to prevail upon the inhabitants, if poſſible, by fair means, to receive a Carthaginian garriſon; but, if this could not be effected, they had orders to attempt ſtorming it. Iſalca, upon his approach, finding a profound ſilence, and no enemy appearing, imagined the place to be abandoned; and therefore made the neceſſary preparations to force open the gates: which being obſerved by two cohorts that garriſoned the city, they, according to orders received, iſſued out in a moment, repulſed the Gætulians, and made great ſlaughter of them. Maherbal afterwards aſſaulted it with a greater force; but was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Laſtly, Hannibal himſelf, with his whole army, formed the ſiege of it; but loſt abundance of men, without making any conſiderable progreſs. However, he at laſt found means to ſurround almoſt the whole garriſon, in a ſally they made, with his elephants, and cut to pieces moſt of them, the reſt ſecuring their retreat by favour of the night. The next day Hannibal to inſpire his troops with the greater ardour, promiſed to the ſoldier, who firſt mounted the ramparts, a golden mural crown; and declared, "That it was matter of ſurprize to him, that an inconſiderable town, ſituated in a plain, ſhould be able to baffle the efforts of that army which took Saguntum, and defeated the Romans at Cannæ, Thraſymenus, and Trebia." Notwithſtanding which, the garriſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that he found himſelf obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and, after leaving a ſmall body of troops to guard his lines, to put his army into winter-quarters at Capua [o].

The pleaſures of Capua prejudicial to Hannibal.

It is intimated by the Roman hiſtorians, that Capua proved the deſtruction of Hannibal. Here it was, according to theſe authors, that thoſe ſoldiers, who had been long inured to the greateſt fatigues, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were vanquiſhed by luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, with which the minds of the Capuans, who were immerſed

[o] Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 14—19. Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 16.

merſed in a profuſion of the moſt charming delights, had long been corrupted. Livy in particular intimates, that Hannibal's delicious abode at Capua was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the falſe ſtep he was guilty of, in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ; for this laſt error, according to that hiſtorian, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him abſolutely incapable of conquering. This, we ſay, is the ſentiment of Livy, and has been adopted by ſeveral later writers; but whether or no it is entirely agreeable to truth, will, if we conſider things with due attention, perhaps admit of ſome diſpute [p].

For though we ſhould allow, that the martial genius of the Carthaginians was impaired by the bewitching retirement at Capua, yet it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſs, which afterwards attended Hannibal's arms, ought to be aſcribed to this, as its principal cauſe. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the Romans, the ſeveral towns he reduced in ſight of the Roman armies, the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in Italy for fourteen years after this event, in ſpite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. But Livy himſelf puts this beyond diſpute; that author points out to us a cauſe of the declenſion of the Carthaginian affairs in Italy, different from the delights of Capua [q].

The principal cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's affairs.

We have before obſerved from him, that the ſenate and people of Carthage ordered four thouſand Numidian horſe, forty elephants, and a conſiderable body of Spaniſh infantry, with a proper ſum of money, to be ſent to Italy, in order to enable Hannibal to maintain and extend his conqueſts there. Had this ample ſupply been ſent him with an expedition equal to the ſpirit with which it was granted, the Romans would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon Hannibal, on account of his conduct at Capua. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty

[p] Liv. ubi ſup. Val Max. l. ix. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 3. [q] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 13. & c. 32. Idem, l. xxvi. Idem ibid. Zonar. ubi ſup.

haughty rival of the Carthaginian republic to have submitted to the superior force of his arms the next campaign. But, notwithstanding the influence of the Barcan faction, Hanno, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended succours, but even to diminish them. Mago, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and even with this body of troops, inconsiderable as it was, he was sent to Spain. Hannibal, being thus deserted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a resolution to sacrifice the state, of which they were members, to their private resentment, found himself obliged to be on the defensive, his army being reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. As the Romans therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, sent every year two consular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the Gauls nor Italians were natural allies of the Carthaginians, and consequently would scarce fail of abandoning them, as soon as fortune began to declare against them; there is no need to have recourse to the pleasures of Capua, in order to account for Hannibal's being driven out of Italy[r].

At the return of the spring, Hannibal drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of Casilinum. He did not however push this on with vigour, as knowing, that the place must soon surrender through want of provisions. The famine raged so grievously amongst the citizens, that they were obliged, for some time, to feed upon the most loathsome animals. Valerius Maximus tells us, that one of them gave another an hundred Roman denarii for a single mouse; which supported him, till Hannibal granted the garrison a capitulation; but the person who sold it, in the mean time, perished with hunger. Pliny and Frontinus affirm, that this mouse was purchased with two hundred Roman denarii; and with these authors Livy, in the main, agrees. Marcellus, not being able to attempt raising the siege, by reason of an inundation of the Vulturnus, the troops in garrison were forced to have recourse to Hannibals clemency, who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the

[r] Vide Univers. hist. vol. xii p. 228. & alib.

the freemen's paying ſeven ounces of gold an head. Livy ſays, that, till the gold was paid, the Carthaginian general kept them in chains; but afterwards, with great honour, conducted them to Cumæ. Of the Prænestine garriſon, which, at the beginning of the ſiege, conſiſted of five hundred and ſeventy men, near one half arrived ſafe at Prænestе, with their prætor Manicius, the reſt having been deſtroyed by ſickneſs, famine, and the other caſualties of war. Hannibal reſtored Caſilinum to the Campanians, leaving there a Carthaginian garriſon of ſeven hundred men, to defend the place againſt the Romans, in caſe they ſhould think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of Italy, in conjunction with the greateſt part of the Brutii, he laid ſiege to Petilia, the only city of that nation, which held out againſt him. The Petilini immediately applied to the Romans for ſuccours in the moſt preſſing manner; but the perplexed ſtate of affairs would not permit the republic to aſſiſt them. Notwithſtanding which, they defended themſelves for ſeveral months againſt the reiterated attacks of the whole Carthaginian army, with incredible bravery and reſolution [s].

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, the war was carried on with great vigour in Spain. For ſome time Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general there, kept himſelf upon the defenſive, not being in a condition to face either the Roman fleet under Publius Scipio, or the land-forces commanded by Cneius. However, at laſt receiving a reinforcement of four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from Carthage, he ventured to move out of the faſtneſſes, wherein he had before poſted himſelf, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewiſe gave orders to have his fleet repaired, to protect the maritime parts of the Carthaginian provinces, and the iſlands adjacent to them, from all inſults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to ſea, he received intelligence, that ſeveral captains of ſhips had gone over to the Romans. Theſe captains, it ſeems, had been ſeverely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the Iberus, through cowardice, the laſt year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the Carthaginians. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

[s] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 20. Appian. in Hannib. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 57. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 5. ex. 20. Plut. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

to excite the Carpesi to a defection; in which they so far succeeded, that several towns were drawn off from their obedience to the Carthaginians, and another, that refused to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to Asdrubal, and a seasonable diversion in favour of the Romans; for the Carthaginian general, leaving the Romans to themselves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack Galbus, the Carpesian general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first sent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy, that should be found dispersed there; by which means many of the Carpesii were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the same time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were so far from being terrified at this motion, that they instantly issued out of their camp in a body, dancing and skipping after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the Carthaginians. This sudden instance of courage so damped the spirits of Asdrubal's main body, with which he was advancing to attack Galbus's camp, that he thought it proper to take post on an eminence, in itself of difficult access, but rendered more so by a river, which secured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally struck with terror at the enemy's approach; nay, under such terrible apprehensions were the Carthaginians at this juncture, that, notwithstanding their camp might have been looked upon as inaccessible, Asdrubal fortified it with an intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some skirmishes happened whilst the two armies lay so near one another; but without any considerable loss on either side. Livy tells us, that the Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Carpesian; nor the Mauritanian dartmen as the Carpesian targeteers, who, in activity, were equal to them, and in strength, as well as courage, excelled them. Galbus, finding it impossible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, seized upon Asena, a town where Asdrubal had fixed his principal magazine, when he first

firſt entered upon the Carpeſian frontiers, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the open country round about it. Aſdrubal, finding the enemy, not a little elated with their late ſucceſs, ſoon after to diſperſe themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, and to lay aſide all diſcipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The Carpeſians, not expecting ſo ſudden an onſet, being in confuſion, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were eaſily routed by the Carthaginians, who continued the ſlaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a ſmall party, that eſcaped, by a vigorous ſally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the ſword; which threw the Carpeſii into ſuch a conſternation, that the next day the whole nation ſubmitted to Aſdrubal. Soon after a courier arrived from Carthage, with orders to Aſdrubal to begin his march for Italy without delay. This changed the face of affairs in Spain; for the Spaniards, upon the publication of this news, conſidered the Carthaginians as not in a condition to protect them; and of courſe began to turn their eyes towards the Romans. Aſdrubal therefore diſpatched an expreſs to Carthage, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the ſame time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the Romans would be maſters of Spain, before he had paſſed the Iberus. To ſupport what he advanced, he declared, that after he had drawn the forces aſſigned him out of the Carthaginian provinces there, neither garriſons nor a general would be left capable of giving any oppoſition to the Romans; that, beſides this, the natives were not well affected to the Carthaginians; and that therefore it would be at leaſt proper for him to defer his march, till a ſucceſſor arrived in Spain, with a ſtrong body of forces, to preſerve the Carthaginian acquiſitions there; ſince, whatever ſucceſs might attend their arms againſt the Romans, the diſpoſition of the Spaniards themſelves would require no ſmall number of troops to be diſtributed amongſt them. But, notwithſtanding this juſt remonſtrance, the ſtate of Carthage perſiſted in its former reſolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to ſupport Hannibal. However, it ſo far complied with Aſdrubal's requeſt, as to ſend Himilco, with a competent army, and a conſiderable naval reinforcement,

into Spain, to watch the motions both of the natives and the Romans [t].

HIMILCO, having tranſported his forces to Spain, took care immediately to put himſelf into a ſituation not to fear any inſults of the Spaniards. He fortified his camp, drew his ſhips on ſhore, and ſurrounded them with a ditch and a wall. After this, he haſtened with the utmoſt expedition through the territories of ſeveral cantons, either open enemies to the Carthaginians, or diſpoſed to be ſo, to Aſdrubal's camp, eſcorted by a choice detachment of horſe. After he had imparted the orders of the ſenate to that general, and received from him inſtructions how to carry on the war in Spain, he returned to his own camp in ſafety, the extreme celerity, with which he poſted through the territories of the above-mentioned Spaniſh cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of diſcovering him. Before Aſdrubal began his march for Italy, he furniſhed himſelf with large ſums of money, which he exacted from the Spaniards ſubject to, and in alliance with, Carthage, being ſenſible, that Hannibal could never have reached the Alps, had he not been powerfully ſupported by gold. At laſt, having got all things in readineſs for the enterprize he was going upon, he aſſembled all his forces, and advanced to the Iberus. In the mean time he received intelligence, that the Romans, appriſed of his approach, had laid ſiege to Ibera, a town deriving its name from the river on which it ſtood, and the richeſt in all that part of Spain. To induce them therefore to raiſe that ſiege, he ſat down before another town, which had lately ſubmitted to the Romans. This had the deſired effect; for the Romans, leaving Ibera, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a ſpot about five miles diſtant from him. The conſequence of this action was a deciſive battle, wherein Aſdrubal gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared againſt him. The Spaniards in his army, not reliſhing an Italian expedition, took to their heels at the firſt onſet; the Mauritanian and Numidian horſe made but a faint reſiſtance; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. Aſdrubal did all that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind, and to animate his men by his example,

[t] Polyb. l. viii. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 26—29. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Appian. in Iberic. Zonar. ubi ſup.

example, till all things became deſperate; but, not being able to rally his troops, he found himſelf obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money he had amaſſed for the Italian expedition. According to Eutropius and Oroſius, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, in the action. Zonaras intimates, that Cneius was ſo poſted with a body of troops, that very few of the Carthaginians found it poſſible to make their eſcape. After this blow, all the Spaniards, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to Carthage, declared for the victors. Aſdrubal, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his ſhattered army, was ſo far from being in a condition to attempt ſuccouring Hannibal, that, with great difficulty, he maintained himſelf in Spain [u].

Livy partial in his relation of the tranſactions in Spain.

OUR readers will eaſily perceive, that this account of the Spaniſh affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from Livy; though they may at the ſame time diſcover, that we have inſerted ſeveral circumſtances not taken notice of by that hiſtorian, with which we have been ſupplied by other antient writers. They are not therefore to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhould meet with ſeveral improbabilities, and even inconſiſtencies, in the relation; ſince Livy muſt be allowed to have been moſt unreaſonably prejudiced againſt the Carthaginian republic, as well as in favour of his own. Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and others, from whom he compiled his hiſtory, were of the ſame diſpoſition with himſelf in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a deſcription of any great tranſactions, wherein the Carthaginians bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconſiſtencies juſt hinted at are ſo glaring, that they cannot eſcape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reaſon it is ſuperfluous, would the nature of our deſign permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-menſioned authors have tranſmitted to poſterity in the point before us, viz. that the defeat of Aſdrubal, in a great meaſure, ruined Hannibal's affairs in Italy, though it was not attended with ſuch fatal conſequences in Spain as Livy ſuggeſts. That hiſtorian himſelf puts this laſt obſervation

[u] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 29. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Val. & Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. &c. ubi ſup.

beyond diſpute, in ſome ſubſequent parts of his work. How greatly then are we to regret the loſs of that part of Polybius's excellent hiſtory treating of theſe campaigns in Spain! This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have ſet us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the Carthaginian affairs in Italy [w].

The Carthaginians reduce Petilia.

HIMILCO, who commanded the Carthaginian forces before Petilia, carried on the ſiege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmoſt fury, and haraſſing the garriſon by continual aſſaults. However, the Petiliani defended themſelves in a very gallant manner, deſtroying great numbers of the beſiegers, though they were but an handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the women, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much as the men on this occaſion. They made frequent ſallies, burnt the enemy's works, and retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithſtanding which, Hannibal, having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were ſo greatly preſſed by famine, that they found themſelves obliged to ſend all the uſeleſs people out of the city, who, according to Appian, were immediately butchered by the Carthaginians in the ſight of the garriſon. At laſt, they reſolved to make a ſally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greateſt part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having ſtrength enough either to make uſe of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the ſword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and eſcaped in a body to the Romans, who, after the concluſion of this war, reinſtated them in their former poſſeſſions, and always took care to diſtinguiſh them by ſuch marks of eſteem, as their ſingular fidelity intitled them to [x].

As likewiſe Conſentia, Croton, Locri, and other cities.

AFTER the reduction of Petilia, Hannibal, having been rejoined by Himilco's detachment, advanced to Conſentia; which ſoon ſurrendered to him. Locri opened its gates upon the firſt ſummons, the principal citizens having, for ſome time, kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Brutii, who had united themſelves with the Carthaginian army. Croto, which was, in a manner, deſerted by its inhabitants,

[w] Liv. l. xxvi. & alib. [x] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 35. Appian. in Iberic. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Plut. ubi ſup.

tants, and ſeveral other cities of Magna Græcia, did the like. Rhegium, though attacked by Hannibal with all his forces, held out bravely, and baffled all the efforts of the Carthaginians. Sicily in the mean time wavered in its fidelity to the Romans, the defeat at Cannæ giving it ſuch an idea of the Carthaginian power, that it could not avoid diſcovering an inclination to follow the example of the Italians. Even the family of Hiero was not entirely free from this diſpoſition; for Gelon, the heir apparent to the crown of Syracuſe, deſpiſing Hiero's old age, declared for Hannibal; and had not death taken him ſo opportunely, that Hiero himſelf was ſuſpected of haſtening his fate, he might have made a powerfull diverſion in favour of the Carthaginians [y].

Hannibal outwits the dictator Junius.

ZONARAS intimates, that ſomewhere about the period we are now upon, the dictator Junius, with a powerful corps, attended Hannibal, and mimicked all his motions. He encamped, decamped, refreſhed his troops at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, the ſubtle Carthaginian did; inſomuch that the movements of both armies correſponded in every particular. Hannibal, obſerving this, immediately began to conſider, how he might reap ſome advantage from the whimſical conduct of the dictator. He was not long at a loſs for a ſtratagem on this occaſion: the firſt dark, tempeſtuous night that happened, he detached a good body of forces out of his camp, ordering them to take poſt in ſome place at a ſmall diſtance from it, and to haraſs the Romans all night with continual ſkirmiſhes and alarms, if Junius made the ſame movement. With the other part of the army he repoſed himſelf in the camp till morning, and then recalled the above-mentioned detachment, commanding every man of it immediately to take his natural reſt. This artifice, according to our author, had the deſired effect; for Junius, at the beginning of the night, obſerving a large body of troops to march out of Hannibal's camp, and perceiving every thing there ſtill afterwards, imagined the whole Carthaginian army to have been in motion; and therefore drew all the forces out of his own camp, to obſerve the enemy. The commander of the Carthaginian detachment, in purſuance of his orders, kept the Romans in action the whole night, and then retired into the camp, to repoſe his troops. Upon Junius's doing

[y] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 30. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ.

doing the ſame, Hannibal, with his freſh corps, fell upon the wearied Romans, now aſleep, and not dreaming of any attack, forced their camp, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. The darkneſs of the night, as well as the tempeſtuous weather, did not a little contribute to the happy ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, ſince the Roman general was thereby rendered incapable, either of diſcovering the number, or penetrating the deſign, of the Carthaginians [z].

The Carthaginians prepare to invade Sardinia.

In the mean time a courier arrived at Carthage from the army in Spain, with letters from Aſdrubal, importing, that he had received a total defeat, and that the greateſt part of Spain had revolted to the Romans. The ſenate and people were thunderſtruck at this melancholy advice, which, for the preſent, diſconcerted all their meaſures. Mago was upon the point of ſetting out for Italy, with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and twenty elephants, beſides a pecuniary ſupply of a thouſand talents in ſilver; but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to embarque for Spain at a minute's warning. Whilſt matters were in this ferment at Carthage, embaſſadors arrived there from Sardinia, inviting the Carthaginians, in the name of Hamſicora, who, at that time, bore the chief ſway there, and the other Sardinian prime nobility, to ſend over a body of troops, in order to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. Theſe embaſſadors inſinuated, "That the Romans had ſcarce "any forces there; that the prætor Cornelius, a perſon "of diſtinguiſhed merit, had left the iſland; that a new "one, perfectly raw and unacquainted with the genius of "the Sardi, as well as their manners and conſtitution, was "expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman go"vernment, and extremely incenſed againſt their imperi"ous and avaritious maſters, for their grievous exactions "the laſt year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to in"duce them to ſhake off the Roman yoke, but an encour"agement thereto from ſome powerful ſtate, that would "take them under its protection." This embaſſy a little revived the drooping ſpirits of the Carthaginians, who thereupon immediately ſent Mago to Spain with the aboveſaid ſuccours,

[z] Zonar. l. ix. c. 3.

succours, and dispatched Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus [a], with the like number of forces to support the Sardi.

Hannibal concludes a treaty with Philip king of Macedon.

WHILST the two potent republics of Carthage and Rome were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, Philip, king of Macedon, had observed, with great attention, the progress of this war. This in point of prudence, he thought himself obliged to, as he was a neighbour to Italy, being separated from it only by the Ionian sea. At first, he was equally inclined to both parties; but finding Hannibal the favourite of fortune, he came to a resolution to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Carthaginian. To this end he sent an embassy, with Xenophanes, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to Hannibal's camp in Campania. This embassy happened to fall into the hands of the Romans, and was conducted to the prætor Valerius Levinus, in his camp at Nuceria; but Xenophanes, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the Romans, found means to pursue his rout; and, upon arriving at Hannibal's headquarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms: "Copy of the treaty concluded between Hannibal, "general of the Carthaginian army, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, all the senators of Carthage, together with the "whole body of forces then present, on the one side; and "Xenophanes, son of Cleomachus, an Athenian, minister plenipotentiary of Philip, son of Demetrius, king "of Macedon, the Macedonian nation, and their allies, "on the other. The articles of this treaty are agreed upon "in the most solemn manner by both the contracting "powers, in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; "of the Dæmon of Carthage, Hercules, and Iolaus; of "Mars, Triton, and Neptune; of those divinities who "are confederates with Carthage; of the Sun, Moon, "and Earth; of the Rivers, Meadows, and Waters; "of the tutelary deities of Carthage, Macedon, and "Greece; and lastly, of those deities, who, presiding "in war, assist at, and superintend, the signing of the "present treaty, Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian "forces, the senators above-mentioned, and the whole "Carthaginian

[a] Liv. ubi sup. c. 32.

" Carthaginian army, declare this, according to the
" mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of
" amity, by virtue of which the contracting powers are,
" from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends
" and brethren. In consequence therefore of this con-
" vention, king Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the
" Greeks their allies, engage themselves to defend and sup-
" port, to the utmost of their power, the lords the Car-
" thaginians (P), Hannibal their general, all the senators
" and forces with him, all governors of provinces under
" the dominion of Carthage, who govern by the same laws,
" the people of Utica, and all other cities and nations
" subject to the Carthaginian empire; all who bear arms
" in their service; all cities in alliance with them in
" Italy, Gaul, and Liguria; and all that shall hereafter
" become their allies in those countries. On the other
" hand, the Carthaginian armies, the inhabitants of Utica,
" all the cities and states subject to Carthage, all the
" Carthaginian allies, and their troops, all the nations of
" Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, that are in a state of amity
" with the Carthaginians, or that shall hereafter enter into
" an alliance with them, solemnly oblige themselves to
" preserve from all injuries and insults, and strenuously to
" support, Philip king of Macedon, the Macedonian
" nation, together with the Greeks their allies. No
" clandestine practices shall be carried on by either party
" to the prejudice of the other. Both powers shall, with
" the utmost sincerity and alacrity, act against the enemies
of

(P) We have translated here the OI KYPIOI KAPXHΔONIOI of Polybius, the lords the Carthaginians, and not Carthaginian lords; since the last expression seems to refer only to the senate and the suffetes; whereas the former includes likewise the people, who, at the signing of this treaty, were the most powerful part of the republic of Carthage; and that this alliance was concluded by Philip's ministers with the whole republic of Carthage, not with the senate and suffetes, in exclusion of the plebeians, no one can doubt. So we see in the treaty of Utrecht, to omit several others of late date, the states general are styled the lords the states general. However, we do not pretend to insist upon the truth of this translation, only offer it as a conjecture to our learned readers, leaving it to them either to admit of it, or reject it, as they shall think proper (22).

(22) Polyb. l. vii.

" Carthage and king Philip, except such kings, cities or
" ports, as shall have contracted a friendship with either of
" them. The Romans shall be looked upon as a common
" enemy, till such time as the gods shall be pleased happily
" to terminate the war already commenced. King Philip,
" the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, shall
" supply the Carthaginians with all necessaries, in order to
" carry on this war, in such manner as shall be hereafter
" settled by a particular convention. If Heaven should not
" vouchsafe success to the arms of the high allies, but they
" should be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the
" enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they shall
" all be comprehended in that treaty. The Romans shall
" never be permitted to have any footing in the island of
" Corcyra, nor to exercise any dominion over the inhabitants
" of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharus, Dimalle, Parthus,
" and Atintania. They shall be obliged to deliver up to
" Demetrius Pharius all his friends and relations, who shall
" be found in any part of their territories. If the Romans
" shall hereafter declare war against either of the contracting
" powers, they shall mutually assist each other, as occasion
" shall require. The same thing shall be done by both par-
" ties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either
" of them, except it be a king, state, or city, with which
" the other was before in alliance. It shall be lawful either
" to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new
" ones to it, by the mutual consent of both parties, if it
" shall hereafter be judged expedient so to do [b]."

This copy of the articles of the offensive and defensive alliance concluded betwixt the Carthaginians and Philip king of Macedon, preserved to us by Polybius, is a most curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as serving not only to give us a good idea of the most noted objects of the Carthaginian worship, but likewise to exhibit to our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties; for it appears pretty plain from Polybius, that the Carthaginians were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of the instrument we have given our readers here a translation of, was entirely left to Hannibal. It likewise further appears, that Livy has not so much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences and conclusions drawn from those articles, some of which were,

[b] Polyb. l. vii.

were, in all probability, falſe, taken from Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and others, who, in few particulars relating to the Carthaginians, paid the greateſt regard to truth. For theſe reaſons, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit the inſertion of a tranſlation of the copy above-mentioned in this work, which, we doubt not, will oblige all the curious and inquiſitive among our readers [c].

Philip's embaſſadors intercepted by the Romans.

WHEN the Macedonian embaſſadors returned home, Hannibal ſent three miniſters with them, viz. Giſco, Boſtar, and Mago, in order to bring him king Philip's ratification of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a veſſel waiting for them, privately ſtationed near the temple of Juno Lacinia in Calabria; but were ſcarce got out to ſea, when they were deſcried by the Romans. Some light galleys of Corcyra, being detached from the Roman ſquadron, then cruiſing off the coaſts of Calabria, ſoon came up with them, and obliged the veſſel they were on board immediately to ſurrender. In this emergency, Xenophanes had recourſe to another falſhood, aſſerting, "That all the paſſes and high ways in Campania "were ſo guarded by the Carthaginian parties, that he found "it impoſſible to go to Rome, as he was ordered," but without effect; for the Carthaginian miniſters were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the Romans diſcovered the whole ſecret, ſent both the Carthaginian and Macedonian embaſſadors priſoners to Rome, and diverted the impending ſtorm this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this hiſtory [d].

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by ſea and land.

ABOUT this time Hannibal received intelligence, that the Campanians, who had aſſembled an army of four thouſand men to act in favour of the Carthaginians, had been entirely defeated by Gracchus at Hamæ, to which place they had advanced, in order to ſeize upon Cumæ, with the loſs of above two thouſand men, together with Marius Alfinus their commander, and thirty-four colours. He therefore, without loſs of time, marched to Hamæ; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcaſſes of the Campanians who fell in the laſt action, with which the ground was ſtrewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to Cumæ. For the

[c] Polyb. ubi ſup. & Liv. l. xxiii. c. 33. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 12. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 16. [d] Juſtin. l. xxix. c. 4. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 34. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 242.

the preſent, Hannibal re-occupied his former camp upon mount Tifata; but, at the ſolicitation of the Campanians, after having ravaged all the country about Cumæ, he laid ſiege to that city. Having applied an high moveable tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous aſſault; but the Roman conſul, who had thrown himſelf into the town, having raiſed one upon the walls, that overtopped this, and poſted ſome men in it, who diſcharged a great number of flaming torches, beſides a vaſt quantity of other combuſtible materials ſet on fire, upon the beſiegers, the Carthaginians were put into diſorder; which being obſerved by the garriſon, a ſtrong party ſallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and purſued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile diſtant. Livy tells us, that Hannibal loſt fourteen hundred men on this occaſion upon the ſpot, beſides forty taken priſoners. However, the next day the Carthaginian drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the Romans to an engagement; but the conſul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took poſt again upon mount Tifata. Whilſt theſe things happened, Hanno was defeated at Grumentum in Lucania by T. Sempronius Longus, and loſt four thouſand men upon the field of battle, beſides forty-one colours. After this blow, Hanno abandoned Lucania to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the Brutii. Upon theſe repeated inſtances of ill ſucceſs, three towns of the Hirpini revolted from the Carthaginians to the Romans, who took a thouſand priſoners there, and cauſed them all to be ſold under the ſpear. A little before theſe diſaſters happened, Aſdrubal, ſirnamed Calvus, ſet ſail from Carthage, with the armament under his command, for Sardinia; but received great damage from a ſtorm he met with in his paſſage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the Balearic iſlands. Here he ſtaid a while, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the Romans time to make head againſt the Carthaginians in Sardinia, and conſequently not a little contributed to the ſignal overthrow Aſdrubal ſoon after received in that iſland [e].

Marcellus gains another conſiderable advantage over Hannibal.

PHILIP, king of Macedon, being informed, that his embaſſadors, together with the Carthaginian miniſters ſent by Hannibal, had fallen into the hands of the Romans, ſent Heraclitus Scotinus, Crito Berræus, and Soſitheus Magnes, three

[e] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 35, & ſeq. Plut. in Hannib.

three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a freſh treaty with that general. This they happily performed; but, as the ſummer was ſpent in this negotiation, Philip could not put himſelf ſoon enough in motion to make any diverſion in favour of the Carthaginians. Hannibal therefore now began conſiderably to loſe ground. Fabius, having paſſed the Vulturnus, in conjunction with his collegue, took the cities of Combulteria, Trebula, and Anſticula, by aſſault, making the Carthaginian garriſons therein priſoners of war. In the mean time Hannibal kept a ſecret correſpondence with the populace of Nola, who were at his devotion, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands; which being communicated to Fabius, he ſent the proconſul Marcellus with a body of troops thither, to garriſon the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the Roman intereſt; and, in the mean time, poſted himſelf betwixt Nola and the Carthaginian camp upon mount Tifata, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. Marcellus likewiſe made frequent incurſions into the territories of the Hirpini and the Samnites Caudini, where he committed great depredations. This induced the Hirpini and the Samnites to ſend deputies to Hannibal, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That Marcellus ſeemed rather to be the conqueror at Cannæ than Hannibal. To whom Hannibal replied, That as the blow given the Romans at Cannæ had eclipſed all his other victories, ſo they ſhould ſoon ſee the glory of that obſcured by another more illuſtrious atchievement; and then, diſmiſſing them with magnificent preſents, he advanced towards Nola, after having left a ſufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount Tifata. Upon his approach, he ſent Hanno, with a detachment of the forces, to perſuade the Nolans to ſurrender their city to the Carthaginians. To which end, by Marcellus's permiſſion, he had a conference with Herennius Baſſus, and Herius Petrius, two perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the place; but without effect. Hannibal therefore, ſitting down before the city, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it with the utmoſt vigour; which Marcellus obſerving, ſallied out upon his forces with ſuch fury, that the action then had become general, had not the combatants on both ſides been obliged to draw off by a violent ſtorm. On this occaſion the Carthaginians, according to Livy, loſt thirty men; but the Romans not one. Two days afterwards, a bloody engagement happened within a mile

a mile of Nola, wherein the Carthaginians were worſted, being driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, and ſixteen hundred made priſoners, beſides nineteen military enſigns, two elephants, &c. taken, and four of the laſt-mentioned animals ſlain. A body of near thirteen hundred Spaniſh and Numidian horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the Romans; which was a great loſs to Hannibal, as theſe were ſome of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. Fabius, now laying aſide his uſual caution, penetrated into the very heart of Campania; and hearing of Hannibal's retreat into Apulia, moved towards Capua, deſtroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword; which concluded the operations of this campaign in Italy [f].

The Carthaginians once more driven out of Sardinia.

In the mean time, Aſdrubal being detained in one of the ports of the Balearic iſlands by the accident above-mentioned, Manlius landed his forces at Caralis, and, upon taking a review of them, found them to conſiſt of twenty-two thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near Hamſicora, the Sardinian general, who, being gone into the diſtrict of the Pellidi Sardi, to aſſemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his ſon Hioſtus to command in his abſence. Hioſtus, being a raſh young man, ventured an engagement with Manlius, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having thirty thouſand of his men killed upon the ſpot, and thirteen hundred taken priſoners. The body aſſembled by Hamſicora, upon this melancholy news, immediately diſperſed itſelf over the fields and woods; but, at laſt, retired to a city called Cornus, the capital of the aforeſaid diſtrict. Sardinia now muſt have been totally loſt, had not Aſdrubal arrived in the critical moment with his forces ſent from Carthage for the ſupport of the Sardi. Hamſicora ſoon joined him with all the Sardinian troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the Roman allies, laying waſte the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched

[f] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 38—48. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

marched directly to Caralis, and ſeized upon that capital but Manlius came up with them before they could put their deſign in execution. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action enſued, wherein the Sardi were ſoon put to the rout; but the Carthaginians continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, inſomuch that victory hung in ſuſpenſe for above the ſpace of four hours. However, they were at laſt entirely defeated, and diſperſed beyond a poſſibility of rallying. Twelve thouſand of the Sardi, and three thouſand Carthaginians, fell in this battle; ſeven hundred of both nations were made priſoners, and nineteen colours taken. Mago, a near relation of Hannibal, Hanno, another Carthaginian nobleman, the chief fomenter of all theſe troubles in Sardinia, and Aſdrubal the general, were in the number of the latter; but Hioſtus, the ſon of Hamſicora, in that of the former, which threw his father into ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſhattered remains of the Carthaginian and Sardinian army fled to Cornus, and, upon the firſt ſummons of the conqueror, ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the cities and fortreſſes likewiſe, either in the Carthaginian juriſdiction, or that of Hamſicora, in a few days made their ſubmiſſion to Manlius: who ſoon ſet ſail from Caralis for the coaſt of Italy, with the priſoners, as well as vaſt booty, he had acquired in this ſucceſsful expedition [g].

The Carthaginians worſted at ſea.

ASDRUBAL had no ſooner landed his troops in Sardinia, as already related, than he ſent the fleet back to Africa, the admiral of which, in his paſſage, was attacked by a Roman ſquadron of fifty ſail, under the command of T. Otacilius the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of Carthage, was ſteering his courſe towards Sardinia, in queſt of this very fleet. The Romans, took ſeven Carthaginian galleys, with their crews, the reſt eſcaping by ſheering off in time, and by favour of a tempeſt, that aroſe during the heat of the action. About this time Bomilcar arrived at Locri with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, from Carthage. After a ſhort ſtay here, he joined Hanno, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the Brutii, having narrowly eſcaped being cut off by Appius, who,

[g] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 40—42. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 16. Sil. Ital. l. xii. Eutrop. l. iii. Zonar. l. ix. c. 5.

who, having ſuddenly paſſed the ſtreights of Reggio, unexpectedly advanced to the gates of Locri, in order to have ſurpriſed him. Appius took poſt in the neighbourhood of Locri immediately after Bomilcar's departure; ſo that the city, being abandoned by the Carthaginians, opened its gates to him. However, he miſſed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, ſoon after returned to Meſſana [h].

State of affairs in Spain.

THE Carthaginians, according to Livy, ſuſtained this year a very conſiderable loſs in Spain. Aſdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar the ſon of Bomilcar, three Carthaginian generals, laid ſiege to Illiturgi, which had revolted to the Romans. The Romans, with no ſmall difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and ſupplied their allies with all things neceſſary, when they were upon the point of ſurrendering for want of ſuch a ſupply. This encouraged the Scipios to venture a battle with the Carthaginians, whoſe army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men, though theirs did not amount to above ſixteen thouſand. Aſdrubal's camp, being by far the moſt conſiderable, was firſt attacked by the Romans; which being obſerved by Mago and Hamilcar, they advanced, each of them at the head of his reſpective corps, to ſupport him. But, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, according to the ſame author, all the Carthaginian camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loſs of above ſixteen thouſand men upon the ſpot, three thouſand made priſoners, five elephants ſlain, beſides a thouſand horſes, ſixty military enſigns, and five elephants taken. The conſequence of this defeat was the raiſing the ſiege of Illiturgi, from whence the Carthaginians retired with great precipitation to Incibili, and in a ſhort time found means ſo to recruit their forces out of the Spaniſh provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the Scipios; but their unhappy fate ſtill attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men killed in the action and the purſuit. Three thouſand priſoners, above forty colours, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds Livy, all the different nations of Spain revolted to the Romans [i].

[h] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 41.

[i] Idem ibid. Vide & Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. & Zonar. ubi ſup. ut & in not. Oudendorp. in S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1.

OUR readers will be beforehand with us in obſerving with what improbabilities, not to ſay abſurdities, this narration of Livy is clogged. How can it be ſuppoſed poſſible for Aſdrubal, after the complete defeat he met with in Spain only the laſt year, to aſſemble another army of ſixty thouſand men ſo ſoon in the ſame country, eſpecially ſince the Carthaginians had reinforced their troops in Italy, and ſent a very conſiderable body of forces to invade Sardinia? If Aſdrubal, after the terrible blow he received laſt year, could ſcarce maintain himſelf in any part of Spain, as this author himſelf expreſly aſſerts, what probability is there, that, in the ſpace of a very few months only, he ſhould have become ſo prodigiouſly ſuperior in ſtrength to his conquerors the Romans, eſpecially ſince the Spaniards in general had declared againſt him? Laſtly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the ſecond fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the Carthaginian general could form ſo numerous an army out of the Spaniſh nations, who had before eſpouſed the Roman intereſt? The inconſiſtencies couched in theſe queries are certainly ſo glaring, that it would be entirely needleſs to expatiate upon them; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this ſufficient to confirm what we have elſewhere obſerved of the partiality of this hiſtorian, or at leaſt of thoſe he extracted his materials from [k].

The troops in Italy on both ſides go into winter-quarters.

No conſiderable movements happened during the time the troops on both ſides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of Croton however was abandoned to the people of Locri, allies of the Carthaginians, after the concluſion of the campaign. Hannibal took up his winter-quarters at Arpi, and the conſul Sempronius his at Luceria. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagoniſt, and endeavoured to animate his men, the Carthaginian and Roman parties frequently ſkirmiſhing with one another [l].

Hannibal raiſes commotions in Sicily.

ABOUT this time Hannibal found means to raiſe commotions in Sicily, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of HIERO, by ſeveral artful ſteps, he fixed his grandſon Hieronymus, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Syracuſe, in the intereſt of the Carthaginians. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen

[k] Vide Liv. l. xxiii. c. 29. & c. 49. [l] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 1—4.

thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he ſhewed a moſt abandoned diſpoſition; and that many prodigies at Syracuſe preceded his acceſſion. Polybius however differs from theſe authors, in relation to his character; though he allows, that he was a weak and unjuſt prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with Hannibal and the ſtate of Carthage, he was aſſaſſinated by the direction of Indigemenes, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of Carthage and Syracuſe, we muſt refer our readers to former parts of this hiſtory [m].

The Romans gain ſome advantages over Hannibal.

THE Capuans, hearing of the vaſt preparations made in all the Roman provinces for the vigorous proſecution of this war, no leſs than eighteen legions being deſtined for the ſervice of the current year, were thrown into a great conſternation, eſpecially as they knew themſelves, to be above all others, obnoxious to the Romans. They therefore, in the moſt preſſing terms, entreated Hannibal to move immediately to their aſſiſtance, and prevent the Romans from taking poſt before their city. Hannibal, in compliance with their requeſt, advanced with all expedition to mount Tifata near Capua, where the former year he had encamped; and, after leaving one body of Spaniards and Numidians to defend the advantageous ſpot of ground he had then poſſeſſed himſelf of, and another to reinforce the garriſon of Capua, he marched to the lake Avernus, under the pretence of ſacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himſelf maſter of Puteoli, into which Fabius had, ſome time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of Cumæ, as far as the promontory of Miſenum, he preſented himſelf before Puteoli, and ſummoned the garriſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to ſurender; but finding the Romans determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulſe, the populace of Nola, upon his approach towards their city, ſent to Hannibal, deſiring of him ſome forces to defend them againſt the ſenate, who were friends to the Romans. But Marcellus, having with great difficulty paſſed the Vulturnus, reinforced the garriſon of Nola with ſix thouſand

[m] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 4—8. Polyb. l. vii. in excerpt. Valeſ. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 344, 345, &c. & vol. xii. p. 242.

foot, and three hundred horſe, and thereby prevented the Carthaginian from been admitted into the place. In the mean time Hanno, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped within three miles of Beneventum, upon the river Calor; which Gracchus being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, conſiſting chiefly of ſlaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated, with very conſiderable loſs. During theſe tranſactions in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, Hannibal appeared again before Nola; but Marcellus, having joined the proprætor Pomponius, and ordered Claudius Nero, with a ſtrong body of horſe, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a briſk diſpute, the Roman gained the advantage, and might have entirely overthrown the Carthaginian, could Nero have executed his orders; but the commander having, by ſome unforeſeen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. Hannibal ſoon after drew his forces from before Nola, and retreated towards Tarentum [n].

Hanno defeats Gracchus.

HANNO, after the diſgrace he had received near Beneventum, retired into Lucania, where meeting with a body of Romans ſent by Gracchus to ravage the country, ſoon diſperſed them, putting a great number of them to the ſword; which made him ſome amends for his former diſaſter. Fabius and Marcellus now jointly carried on the ſiege of Caſilinum, which they puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that it was at laſt obliged to capitulate. Fabius granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they ſhould have leave to retire to Capua; but Marcellus, Roman like, broke this, maſſacring many of them, and ſending all the reſt, except fifty, that eſcaped to Fabius, priſoners to Rome. After this exploit, the Romans, in a very heroic manner, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the whole country of the Caudine Samnites, carried off from thence an immenſe quantity of plunder, and took by ſtorm the cities Compulteria, Teleſia, Compſa, Melæ, Fulfulæ, and Orbitanium. Blandæ in Lucania, and Ancæ in Apulia, likewiſe underwent the ſame fate. Hanno, with the booty he

[n] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 11—13. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 243, 244. Vide & Liv. ubi ſup. c. 13—88, Appian. & Plut. in Hannib.

he got in the late action, arrived ſafe in the country of the Brutii, the Roman forces in thoſe parts not being ſtrong enough to intercept him [o].

Hannibal advances to Tarentum, but without any effect.

WHILST Hannibal was encamped on the lake Avernus, five young Tarentine noblemen, that had been taken priſoners in the battles of the lake Thraſymenus and Cannæ, and diſmiſſed, with great politeneſs, by that general, arrived there as embaſſadors from the city of Tarentum. They told him, "That, in return for his kindneſs to "them, they had prevailed upon the Tarentines to prefer "his friendſhip to that of the Romans; and that they "would open their gates to him upon his preſenting him-"ſelf before the town." Hannibal, relying upon this aſſurance, ſoon after advanced into the neighbourhood of Tarentum; but finding that nobody offered to ſtir, the proprætor Valerius having thrown a body of troops into the place juſt before, he bent his march to Salapia, ordering vaſt quantities of proviſions, amaſſed in the territories of Metapontum and Heraclea, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewiſe ſent detachments of Moors and Numidians to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the diſtrict of Salentum, and the adjacent woody parts of Apulia. Amongſt other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horſes, four thouſand of which, being tamed, were very ſerviceable to Hannibal in the remounting of his cavalry [p].

FROM the continent of Italy, we ſhould now paſs over to the iſland of Sicily, which was the theatre of very conſiderable tranſactions during this period, according to Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. But as ſo full and ample an account of theſe tranſactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a ſingle circumſtance of note relative thereto has been omitted, we cannot ſo much as touch upon them, without being guilty of a repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed ſufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of Sicily, however interwoven with thoſe of other nations, do moſt properly belong to the hiſtory of Syracuſe [q].

[o] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 19—21. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.
[p] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 13. & c. 20. [q] Idem ibid. c. 21—40. Polyb. l. viii. Plut. in Marcel. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 344, 345, &c.

The transactions in Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the losses the Carthaginians sustained the last year in Spain, Asdrubal and Mago, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of Spaniards; which might have been of bad consequence to the Romans, had not Publius advanced with all expedition to the Iberus, in order to support his confederates. The Romans encamped at Castrum Altum, a place famous for the death of the great Hamilcar. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, Publius, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their horse, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The Carthaginians cut off above two thousand Romans, in various rencounters, during Publius's short stay at Castrum Altum. Publius, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places; which being observed by the Carthaginian general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him, and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother Cneius came to his relief. Castulo, a strong and noble city of Spain, and so strictly allied with the Carthaginians, that Asdrubal had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians, not discouraged at this, laid siege to Illiturgi, wherein was a Roman garrison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. Cneius, hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully, with every thing needful, and the next day sallying out upon the enemy, killed so many of them, that, in the two actions, they lost twelve thousand men upon the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners, together with thirty-two colours; and all this with a single legion only. The Carthaginians, being thus obliged to abandon the siege of Illiturgi, marched from thence to attack Bigerra, another city in alliance with Rome; but Cneius forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the Carthaginian general moved to Munda, whither he was followed by the Romans. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the Romans would have been victorious, had not Scipio been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartened

tened his troops, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. In this action the Carthaginian troops, according to Livy, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of thoſe huge animals periſhed by the enemy's darts. Twelve thouſand Carthaginians loſt their lives on the field of battle, and three thouſand of them, with fifty-ſeven military enſigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the Carthaginians retreated with great precipitation to Oringis, and were purſued by the Romans. There Cneius, being carried in a litter, again attacked Aſdrubal, and entirely routed him; but did not make ſuch a carnage as in the former engagements, becauſe the Carthaginian forces were not at that time ſo numerous. Notwithſtanding all the diſaſters, Mago ſpeedily raiſed ſuch a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the Romans again in the face. Another battle enſued, wherein the Romans met with their uſual ſucceſs. Above eight thouſand Carthaginians, with eight elephants were ſlain, and about one thouſand, with fifty-eight military enſigns, and three elephants taken. Mænicapto and Civiſmaro, two famous kings of the Gauls, who came to aſſiſt their allies the Carthaginians, likewiſe fell in this battle. A vaſt number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other Gallic ſpoils, alſo came into the poſſeſſion of the victors. The Romans, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to Saguntum, forced the Carthaginian garriſon to abandon it, and then reſtored it to the antient inhabitants, that had ſurvived the calamities of their country. As for the Turdetani, who had been the occaſion of this bloody war, Cneius cauſed them to be ſold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account Livy has given us of the military operations this year in Spain; which is juſt as conſiſtent with itſelf, as that extraordinary relation of the action near Syracuſe, in the beginning of the firſt Punic war, Philinus vouchſafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquiſhed; or, as the conduct of ſome of our neighbours in a late war, when they ſung Te Deum for a defeat. In ſhort, our readers will, from a curſory view of this account, be fully convinced, that conſiſtency and impartiality are qualifications not eſſential even to thoſe, who are reputed the beſt Roman hiſtorians [r].

THE

[r] Philinus apud Polyb. l. i. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 41—43. Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 242.

The campaign in

THE following ſpring Hannibal received intelligence, that Caſſius Altinius, who abandoned the Roman intereſt after the battle of Cannæ, had offered to deliver up Arpi into the hands of the Romans for a ſum of money. This news did not at all diſpleaſe the Carthaginian, who had long ſuſpected Altinius of holding a correſpondence with the enemy; ſince ſuch a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures that wealthy citizen of Arpi poſſeſſed; but, that he might ſeem not ſo much influenced by avarice as reſentment, as ſoon as he got Altinius's riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This ſtory depends upon the authority of Livy, and is as probable as ſome of the preceding. Appian calls this traitor Daſius, and tells us, that he was deſcended from Diomedes of Argos, the founder of Arpi. According to the ſame hiſtorian, he had like to have been deſtroyed by the Romans, for making ſuch a villainous propoſal to them, and afterwards wandered about as a vagabond, in continual fear of being cut off either by the Carthaginian or Roman parties. Hannibal immediately put a garriſon of five thouſand Carthaginians into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thouſand citizens, in order to ſecure it againſt any attack of the Romans. However, the Fabii, having guarded all the avenues to it, ſurpriſed it in the manner already related. About a thouſand Spaniards, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the Romans, and prevailed upon them to permit the Carthaginian garriſon to retire. In purſuance of the capitulation, thoſe troops were conducted by a Roman eſcorte to Hannibal's camp at Salapia, without the leaſt injury offered them. This is Livy's account. But Appian relates, that the Fabii did not reduce Arpi by force, but, by means of ſome traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the Carthaginians found therein to the ſword. Nothing further very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the Roman hiſtory, happened this campaign in Italy [a].

Some motions in Africa.

THE Romans this year entered into an alliance with Syphax, a Numidian prince, who had ſuddenly conceived an averſion to the Carthaginians. In conſequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the Romans ſent

Q

[a] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 45, 46, 47. Appian in Hannib. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 243, 244, &c.

Q. Statorius into Africa, to train up a body of Numidian infantry after the Roman manner. This, above all things, Syphax deſired, the Numidians having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field; which rendered them incapable of coping with the Carthaginians. Statorius, upon his arrival in Numidia, ſoon inrolled a conſiderable body of foot out of Syphax's youth. Theſe he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and ſwiftneſs, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the Roman model; ſo that in a ſhort time Syphax had a body of infantry, which he could entirely depend upon. The Carthaginians, finding the Numidian forces beginning to deſert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects ſuch a formidable union might produce, diſpatched embaſſadors to Gala, king of the Maſſyli, another Numidian prince, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to him. They inſinuated, "That, out of regard to his own ſafety, he "ought to join them without loſs of time, before either "Syphax could tranſport any troops into Spain, or the "Romans into Africa; that Syphax was, at preſent, void "of all ſupport from the Romans, and might therefore "be eaſily cruſhed." Gala, at the inſtigation of his ſon Maſiniſſa, then but ſeventeen years of age, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſent an army to aſſiſt his new allies. Maſiniſſa, to whoſe conduct that army was committed, gave Syphax two ſuch total overthrows, the firſt in conjunction with the Carthaginians, and the ſecond with the Maſſylian forces only, that he found it impoſſible to make a diverſion afterwards in favour of the Romans [t].

The Romans take a body of Celtiberians into their ſervice.

The tranſactions in Spain this year are ſcarce worth relating. Nothing of the leaſt moment paſſed there, except that the Romans took a body of Celtiberians into their ſervice, and ſent three hundred perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Spain to Italy, to encourage a deſertion amongſt their countrymen in Hannibal's army. Appian relates, that this ſcheme took ſome effect; but at the ſame time intimates, that Hannibal himſelf made uſe of the ſame method of acting, in order to draw off the Spaniards incorporated with the Roman forces with equal ſucceſs. The Celtiberians, who took on in the Roman ſervice, were allowed

[t] Appian. in Iberic. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 47, 48, 49.

lowed the ſame pay, that their countrymen received from the Carthaginians [u].

Hannibal has Tarentum delivered up to him.

THOUGH Hannibal ſtood upon the defenſive the laſt campaign, towards the cloſe of it, ſome inconſiderable cities of the Salentines ſurrendered to him. However, to compenſate this, the Thurians and Conſentini revolted from him to the Romans. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal conſequences, had not Hanno overthrown a body of Roman forces under the command of L. Pomponius Veientanus in Lucania, after they had made dreadful incurſions into the country of the Brutii, pillaging and laying waſte all before them. The commander himſelf was taken priſoner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented ſeveral petty ſtates from abandoning the Carthaginian intereſt, though a few ſmall towns of Lucania, after that defeat, opened their gates to Sempronius. In the mean time Phileas, who had a long time reſided at Rome as miniſter from Tarentum, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition, retired privately from Rome, with ſome Tarentine hoſtages, whom he had aſſiſted to make their eſcape; but being cloſely purſued, they were all taken near Tarracina, brought back to Rome, whipped publicly there in the comitium, and afterwards thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. This barbarity extremely incenſed the Tarentines, who before were far from being well affected to the Romans. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were Nicon and Philomenes, formed a deſign to maſſacre the Roman troops in garriſon, and deliver the city up to the Carthaginians. Hannibal, being informed of this, moved with his forces towards Tarentum. As ſoon as the approach of the Carthaginian army reached the ears of the conſpirators, Nicon and Philomenes, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged the next day in a hunting-match. Nicon and Philomenes, as had been before concerted, rode up ſo near Hannibal's lines, that they were ſeized by one of his advanced guards, their aſſociates having taken care before to diſperſe themſelves in the neighbouring woods. At firſt they refuſed to give any account of themſelves; but only intimated, that they had ſomething of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore

[u] Liv. l. xxiv. ſub fin. Appian. in Hannib. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 16.

fore conducted to him, they deſired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the diſpoſition of the Tarentines, exclaiming bitterly at the ſame time againſt the Romans. Hannibal received them with great kindneſs, commended their reſolution, loaded them with promiſes, and agreed to have a ſecond conference with them. In order to blind the Romans, as well as the people of Tarentum, and conceal the true end of this excurſion, he ordered ſeveral head of cattle to be driven out of the camp, that they might fall into the hands of his new friends, and be carryed by them into the town; which being done, both the Romans, and the citizens, were extremely pleaſed at the ſucceſs that had attended the ſuppoſed hunting-match, as well as excurſion upon the enemy (for this likewiſe Nicon and Philomenes related to them); inſomuch that neither of them entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of what had been really tranſacted. So conſiderable a booty as they brought with them, enabled them to invite both their countrymen, and the Romans, to frequent entertainments; which not only paved the way to a ſecond hunting-match, but likewiſe excited great numbers of the citizens to turn marauders in hopes of meeting with the ſame ſucceſs; and this ſerved to render the deſign of the Tarentine leaders ſtill more impenetrable. At the ſecond conference, Nicon and Philomenes concluded a treaty with Hannibal on the part of the Tarentines, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the "Carthaginians ſhould not exact any tribute from the Ta- "rentines, nor exerciſe any dominion over them; but, on "the contrary, maintain them in the poſſeſſion of all their "privileges; that they ſhould ſend a garriſon into the city, to "deliver the inhabitants from the Roman yoke; that it ſhould "be lawful for them to plunder all the Roman houſes in "Tarentum, and put every Roman they could meet with "to the ſword; and laſtly, that the Tarentines ſhould have "free acceſs to Hannibal, whenever they approached his "camp, in order to confer with him." By virtue of this laſt article, Nicon and Philomenes often viſited Hannibal; which they found it no difficult matter to do, as Philomenes had contracted an intimacy with Caius Livius, the Roman commandant, by the veniſon he gave him, as well as the ſplendid manner in which he frequently regaled him, and won over to his intereſt the captain of the Roman guard poſted

poſted at the gate Temenis. That he might effectually ſecure that guard, his conſtant practice was to make a preſent to the captain, as well as the ſoldiers, either of ſome veniſon he took in hunting, or ſome cattle, that he was ſupplied with by Hannibal; inſomuch that he had ingreſs and egreſs at pleaſure, the gate being opened to him whenever he approached it, upon a whiſtle, or ſome other ſignal given. The heads of the conſpiracy receiving intelligence, that Livius had appointed a day for a feaſt, to which all his officers and friends were invited, in the muſeum, a place near the forum, they, after having held a conſultation with Hannibal, pitched upon that day for the execution of their deſign. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the Carthaginian and his new allies, when the time drew nigh, he ordered a body of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. To hinder the Romans from conceiving any diſtruſt from the long ſtay he made in his preſent camp, he cauſed it to be given out, that he had for ſome time, laboured under an indiſpoſition, which had detained him there. At laſt, his troops having ſupplied themſelves with proviſions for four days, began their march at the fourth watch of the night, with their general himſelf at the head of them. He detached a party of Numidians to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to advance thirty ſtadia before the reſt, to ſcour the country as far as the gates of Tarentum, in order to prevent the enemy from diſcovering his forces, and to make them believe, that an inconſiderable party only had advanced out of the Carthaginian camp for the ſake of plunder. This had the deſired effect; for advice being brought to Livius, then in the height of his entertainment, that a detachment of Numidians were laying waſte the country within ſight of the town, he commanded ſome of his troops to drive them from thence the next morning, without giving himſelf any further trouble, for the preſent, about them. In the mean time Hannibal contrived matters ſo, as to take poſt before the town about midnight, on the ſide of the gate Temenis. Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, Tragiſcus and Nicon, Philomenes ſerving as a guide to Hannibal in this expedition, found means to ſecure all the avenues leading to the forum; which it was no difficult matter to do, Livius having ſo intoxicated himſelf, that he could think of nothing but taking his repoſe. Hannibal adverti ſed his friends in the city of his arrival by a great fire, which he cauſed to be lighted;

ed; and was informed by them, that the plot within doors was ripe for execution, by the ſame ſignal, as had been before concerted betwixt them. Upon this, he ſent Philomenes, with a thouſand Africans, to poſſeſs himſelf of the gate Temenis. Philomenes acquainted the guard poſted there, that he had brought them a wild boar, and therefore deſired a ſpeedy admiſſion. Upon their opening the gate, the Africans entered, and put them all to the ſword; whilſt Hannibal, with the main body of his troops, found a paſſage through another gate, by Nicon's aſſiſtance, into the town. All the Carthaginian and Tarentine forces met, as had been appointed, in the forum; from whence Hannibal ſent a detachment of two thouſand Gauls, divided into three bodies, each commanded by two Tarentine captains, into three different parts of the town, to ſecure every poſt of importance. After this diſpoſition, he iſſued out an order, enjoining all the citizens not to ſtir out of their houſes; at the ſame time aſſuring them of his protection. The Tarentines, finding the Carthaginians entered, were at firſt thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; but when ſome of their own nobility told them, that Hannibal was come to deliver them from a proud and inſulting enemy, and to reſtore them to their former liberty, their fears ſoon ſubſided. Livius, upon the firſt alarm, being ſo drunk, that he was incapable of giving out his orders at ſo critical a conjuncture in a proper manner, withdrew himſelf, with his family, into the port, notwithſtanding the conſpirators had taken care to place a guard before his houſe, where getting on board a Roman veſſel, he made his eſcape to the citadel. In the mean time Hannibal commanded every Tarentine to poſt over his door the word TARENTINI, that the citizens might be diſtinguiſhed from the Romans, and then gave up all the Roman houſes to his ſoldiers to be plundered, with a permiſſion to put to the ſword every Roman, that ſhould fall into their hands. That the Romans might be ſtruck with the greater terror, as well as the more effectually maſſacred, Philomenes had cauſed Roman trumpets to be blown towards the citadel, which ſtood in the mouth of the harbour, as well as in other parts of the town, imagining, that this artifice would draw them thither, where troops were prepared to fall upon them. A conſiderable number of Romans loſt their lives by this device; but many of them retired into the citadel, which Hannibal immediately blocked up. As he had drawn up his forces in order

order of battle, to support the detachments sent to plunder the Romans, if they met with any resistance, there was little blood shed on the Carthaginian side. When he found the city entirely at his devotion, he ordered the citizens to appear before him unarmed, and made them a speech, filled with assurances of his kind intentions towards them; which was answered with the loudest acclamations. In order to secure the city from the insults of the Roman garrison in the citadel, Hannibal surrounded the former with a line, which, in a manner, cut off all communication betwixt it and the latter. However, he could not effect this without a considerable opposition from the enemy. During the time his men were at work upon it, one very brisk action happened, wherein the Romans were defeated, and lost a great number of men. Hannibal, after this, carried on the siege of the citadel with inconceivable vigour; but the Romans, receiving a strong reinforcement from Metapontum, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, and destroyed the greatest part both of their works and military machines. This made the Carthaginians despair of taking it at present by force; so that they drew off from before it. Hannibal, upon this disappointment, assembling the Tarentines, told them, they would never become masters of the citadel, unless they could cut off all supplies from the Romans by sea. This they were sensible of; but as the Romans kept their ships blocked up in the port, they thought it would be impossible to exclude them from the dominion of the sea. But Hannibal, by dint of genius, surmounted this difficulty; for observing, that ships of a moderate size might be drawn on shore, and conveyed through the middle of the city into the sea on another side, he made use of this expedient to annoy the enemy. The Tarentines therefore, shutting up the citadel on all sides, both by sea and land, soon reduced the Roman garrison to great extremities. Hannibal then, leaving some troops in the city, to support the Tarentines against any attack or surprize of the enemy, returned to the camp he had marked out upon the Galesus immediately after he was admitted into the town. Here he continued in a state of inaction, till the commencement of the next campaign[w].

ACCORDING to Appian, the name of the person, who introduced the Carthaginians into Tarentum, was Cononeus, and

[w] Polyb. l. viii. Liv. l. xxv. c. 7—12. S. Jul Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 6.

and that of the Roman commandant Junius. Cononeus, ſays the ſame author, being extremely fond of hunting, prevailed upon the guard poſted at one of the gates to let him out and in whenever he pleaſed in the night, under the pretence, that he was obliged to purſue his favourite diverſion in the night-time, for fear of the enemy's parties. By this artifice, he found means frequently to confer with Hannibal; and at laſt enabled a body of Carthaginians, dreſſed like hunters, but with coats of mail and ſwords under their hunting habits, to take poſt in the town; who, being ſoon joined by a greater number of forces, that lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place. Five thouſand Romans, together with a body of Tarentines in the Roman intereſt, retired into the citadel. Theſe troops, being reinforced by half of the garriſon of Metapontum, repulſed the beſiegers in all their attacks, burnt their works and military machines, and deſtroyed many of their men in the frequent ſucceſsful ſallies they made. This ſo diſcouraged Hannibal, that he retired into Apulia, leaving Hanno, with a body of forces, to keep the place blocked up. But the Romans, being maſters of the ſea, received copious ſupplies of all things neceſſary, and ſtreightened both the town and the Carthaginian camp in ſuch a manner, that Hannibal, upon his return, which happened ſoon after, found them almoſt reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. He therefore put them into a method of conveying their ſhips out of the port into the ſea on the ſouthern ſide of the city. After this, the Tarentines and Carthaginians intercepted the Roman convoys by ſea, and greatly diſtreſſed the garriſon. At laſt receiving intelligence, that the troops in the citadel expected a large ſupply of corn from the Thurians, they poſted a ſquadron of galleys at a proper place in ambuſcade, which, without much difficulty, ſeized upon the Thurian veſſels, and made all the crews priſoners. The people of Thurium therefore ſent deputies to Hannibal to redeem the captives, who, being by the Tarentines introduced to that general, found a moſt kind reception, and had their priſoners releaſed without ranſom. This made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the deputies, that ſoon after they put Hannibal into the poſſeſſion of their city, tho' againſt the conſent of the inhabitants, the garriſon, upon the approach of the Carthaginians, retiring privately to Brunduſium. As the reduction of the city of Tarentum was an event of the utmoſt importance to Hannibal and what,

what, in all probability, not a little contributed to the protracting of this destructive war, we thought ourselves obliged to give our readers, in this place, a circumstantial account of it, though, prolix as this may seem to be, it is but an abridgement of that to be found in Polybius, Livy, and Appian [x].

Hanno defeated by the Romans.

WHILST Hannibal lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, the consuls, towards the beginning of the following year, threatened Capua with a siege. This greatly alarmed the Capuans, who were under dreadful apprehensions of a famine, as the Romans had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore entreated Hannibal to send them a supply of provisions, before the Romans had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the Carthaginians, and their allies, had erected magazines. Whereupon Hanno, in pursuance of an order received from Hannibal, moving out of the country of the Brutii, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from Beneventum; and, having amassed a vast quantity of corn, appointed a day for the Capuans to send a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The consuls being informed of this, Fulvius marched with all expedition to Beneventum, and from thence to Hanno's camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of Vibius, a centurion of the Pelignian troops, Valerius Flaccus, tribune of the third legion, and T. Pedanius, the first centurion of it, carried, after an obstinate resistance. Of the Carthaginians, above six thousand were slain, and seven thousand taken prisoners. A great number of Campanian peasants, together with their waggons, and the corn Hanno had collected for the use of the Capuans, as well as an immense quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the Romans. Hanno himself was not in the action, but at some small distance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it by one Cominius Ceritus, he retired, with great precipitation, into Brutium, attended only by a few of his horse. This blow so terrified the Capuans, that the principal of them seemed afraid the enemy would as easily possess themselves of Capua, as they had before done of Arpi. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incursions of the Roman parties, Hannibal sent the garrison a reinforcement of two thousand

[x] Appian. in Hannib.

thouſand men. In the mean time the Carthaginian garriſon at Tarentum, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the ſiege of the citadel there, Hannibal, with his army, purſuing all the meaſures, that he thought neceſſary to facilitate the reduction of that place [y].

The Carthaginians admitted into Thurium.

THE body of troops left to defend Metapontum being ſo weakened by the large detachment ſent to the citadel of Tarentum, that the Romans there were not in a condition to make head againſt the citizens, who were well affected to the Carthaginians, Hannibal found means to make himſelf maſter of that city. Appian tells us, that the Metapontini put all the Romans to the ſword; and that Heraclea, a town ſituated between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed the example of thoſe two cities. The Thurians likewiſe, being nearly related to the people of the two laſt-mentioned cities, as deſcended from the Achaians, and highly reſenting the cruel treatment of the Tarentine hoſtages, meditated a revolt from the Romans. They therefore ſent a deputation to Hanno and Mago, who then commanded a Carthaginian army in Brutium, inviting them to come and take poſſeſſion of Thurium. Atinius, the commandant, had but a ſmall garriſon, his chief dependence being upon the townſmen, whom he had armed and diſciplined, that they might be the better enabled to ſupport him, in caſe of a viſit from the enemy. Hanno firſt preſented himſelf before the town with a body of infantry, whilſt Mago, with the cavalry, lay in ambuſcade by favour of ſome eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were ſent to reconnoitre the Carthaginians. Atinius therefore imagining, that he ſhould be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conſpiracy the Thurians had entered into, did not in the leaſt doubt but that he ſhould eaſily repulſe the enemy. Hanno, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the Romans, drawing both them and the Thurians inſenſibly to the foot of the eminences poſſeſſed by the Carthaginian horſe; who immediately ruſhing down upon them with a great ſhout, the Thurians, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conſpirators into the city. The Romans in the mean time, notwithſtanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, be-

[y] Liv. ubi ſupra. c. 13, 14. Appian. in Hannib.

haved with great bravery; but being at last likewise put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themselves denied admission, the conspirators on the walls crying out, "That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans, "would certainly enter, unless the gates were immediately "shut". They were all therefore cut to pieces, except Atinius, with a few of his principal officers, whom the Thurians saved from the general carnage, out of the great personal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and gentle government. After they had sent these on board a galley, prepared for that purpose, to the next port belonging to the Romans, the conspirators delivered Thurium into the hands of the Carthaginians. In the mean time the consuls moved towards Capua, in order to form the siege of that important place [z].

The proconsul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

WHILST the Romans were thus preparing to attack Hannibal in the most sensible part, they sustained an almost irreparable loss by the death of Sempronius Gracchus. That excellent commander, having made the necessary dispositions for marching out of Lucania into the neighbourhood of Capua, with a body of Volones, to prevent the enemy from throwing any succours into the place, was, by the treachery of Flavius Lucanus, drawn into an ambuscade, and cut off, with all the small party that attended him. Livy tells us, that authors do not entirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, some affirming, that he was massacred by two troops of Numidians, as he repeated a sacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at some distance from the camp, before he left Lucania; others, that a Carthaginian detachment put him, and three lictors, with some servants attending them, to the sword, near the river Calor, in the territory of Beneventum, as they were going to bathe themselves; and lastly, others, that he fell in the manner first related. The Roman writers differ likewise as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; some intimating, that Hannibal celebrated his funeral obsequies with great pomp and magnificence, the Spaniards distinguishing themselves above any other nation in the Carthaginian army on that occasion; and others, that he sent the body to the Roman camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, Hannibal reaped considerable

[z] Liv. ubi supra, c. 15. Appian. in Hannib.

conſiderable advantage from this accident, ſince it, for ſome time, retarded the attack of Capua [a].

HOWEVER, the conſuls at laſt approached that city, with an intention to inveſt it; of which the Capuans being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a ſally upon the enemy. As the Romans plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, ſupported by a body of Carthaginian cavalry, under the command of Mago, fell in with a numerous party of them, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or diſcipline. Theſe troops Mago routed at the firſt onſet, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the ſpot, took many priſoners, recovered a vaſt quantity of booty, and diſperſed the reſt. This action ſo intimidated the conſuls, that, for the preſent, they thought proper to ſtand upon the defenſive, and ſo encouraged the Carthaginians and Capuans, that they frequently inſulted the enemy. Hannibal, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to Capua, and attacked the Romans. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the queſtor Cornelius appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by Sempronius, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehenſion, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their reſpective camps. The conſuls, after the action, in which the Romans ſuffered moſt, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige Hannibal to leave the territory of Capua. Fulvius, with one of them, retreated into the diſtrict of Cumæ, whilſt Claudius took his march into Lucania. Hannibal purſued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a Roman corps of ſixteen thouſand men, under the conduct of M. Centenius Penula, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the ſenate by P. Cornelius Sulla the prætor, had the aſſurance to tell the conſcript fathers, that, if they would truſt him with only a body of five thouſand men, he would turn the tables upon the Carthaginians, and give a good account of Hannibal. Inſtead of five thouſand, they aſſigned him eight thouſand, which, by the acceſſion of voluntiers in his march to Lucania, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he encreaſed to double the number. Being a man of wonderful reſolution,

Hannibal gives Centenius Penula a great defeat.

[a] Liv ubi ſup. c. 16—18. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. Appian. in Hannib. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 17.

he engaged the Carthaginians upon Hannibal's first offering him battle; but, not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was entirely defeated. As Hannibal, by guarding all the passes and avenues in the neighbourhood of his camp, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the Romans, except a thousand men, together with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which, Claudius having taken a large compass, in order to get clear of Hannibal, arrived once more before Capua, and, in conjunction with his collegue, blocked up that city [b].

As likewise the prætor Fulvius.

HANNIBAL, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the Roman generals, receiving intelligence from his emissaries in Apulia, that Cn. Fulvius the prætor, being elated with some late instances of success, despised the enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of discipline to take place amongst his troops, advanced to Herdonia, where the Romans lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he distributed three thousand light-armed troops in a woody spot of ground, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached Mago, with two thousand horse, to block up all the passes and defiles on that part, where, he foresaw, the enemy wou'd endeavour to make off, in case they were pushed. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was easily drawn by Hannibal into the ambuscade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole Roman corps, consisting of eighteen thousand men, except the prætor, and two thousand, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the Carthaginians, were put to the sword. The two last blows coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the Roman senate into a great consternation, and obliged them to send M. Mitilius and C. Lectorius to the consuls, with fresh instructions [c].

Hannibal in vain attempts to excite the citizens of Brundusium to a revolt.

NOTWITHSTANDING these misfortunes, the consuls, pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the necessary dispositions for forming the siege of Capua. Hannibal, after the defeat of the enemy at Herdonia, returned to Tarentum, where he attempted, both by force and persuasion, to bring the Roman garrison in the citadel to a capitulation; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to Brundusium, to excite the citizens there to a revolt;

[b] Liv. ubi sup. c. 18—23. [c] Liv. ubi sup. c. 25. Plut. in Hannib.

revolt; but being diſappointed in this view, he entertained ſome thoughts of moving towards Capua, at the earneſt deſire of the citizens, who now ſent a deputation to him. At this time the tranſactions in the iſland of Sicily were very conſiderable, and the Carthaginians exerted themſelves there, notwithſtanding the numerous armies they employed in Italy and Spain. However, as the particulars of theſe tranſactions do not fall under our province, we muſt refer our readers for them to the hiſtory of Syracuſe, to which they properly belong[d].

Otacilius ravages the coaſts of Africa.

ABOUT the time of the reduction of Syracuſe, Otacilius ſailed with eighty quinqueremes from Lilybæum to Utica; where entering the port in the night, he took a great number of veſſels laden with corn. After which, he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very conſiderable booty. The Carthaginians giving him no obſtruction in this excurſion, either by ſea or land, he arrived ſafe at Lilybæum three days after he left the harbour of Utica, with an hundred and thirty tranſports, that conveyed the corn, and other ſpoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By ſuch a ſeaſonable ſupply, he was enabled to relieve the people of Syracuſe, who, as well as the Roman garriſon there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine[e].

The tranſactions in Spain.

THE Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain; one commanded by Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, another by Mago, and the third by Aſdrubal the brother of Hannibal. The two former generals encamped cloſe together, about five days march from the Romans; and the latter poſted himſelf at Anitorgis, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the Romans to divide likewiſe their forces. Cneius, with one third of the Roman troops, and a body of thirty thouſand Celtiberian auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of Anitorgis, to obſerve the motions of Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar. The two armies encamped on oppoſite banks of the ſame river, with an intention ſoon to come to an engagement. Aſdrubal, having a perfect knowledge of the Spaniſh perfidy, and being beſides well ſkilled in the Celtiberian tongue, eaſily found means to bribe the Celtiberian troops to a deſertion; which obliged Cneius to paſs the

[d] Idem ibid. c. 23. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 339.—395.
[e] Liv. ubi ſup.

Iberus, and to ſecure himſelf, by keeping that river betwix him and Aſdrubal's army. In the mean time Mago, and the other Aſdrubal, by the aſſiſtance of Maſiniſſa, and Indibilis regulus of the Lacetani, gave the Romans a complete overthrow, and killed Publius. The ſame generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in queſt of Cneius, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the ſword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the reſt to fly to Publius's camp, which was guarded by a ſmall body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called T. Fonteius. However, the Carthaginians, towards the cloſe of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young Roman knight named C. Martius, who had collected the remains of the Roman army, as we have elſewhere related. According to Claudius, who tranſlated the Annales Aciliani out of the Greek into Latin, two Carthaginian camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by Martius, thirty-ſeven thouſand Carthaginians killed, eghteen hundred made priſones, beſides many ſpoils taken, amongſt which was a ſilver ſhield, weighing an hundred and thirty pounds, with the effigies of Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar, upon it. Valerius Antias relates, that only Mago's camp was taken, when ſeven thouſand of the enemy were put to the ſword; and that, in a pitched battle, Martius defeated Aſdrubal, killing ten thouſand of his men, and making four thouſand three hundred and thirty priſoners. Piſo affirms, that the Romans drew the Carthaginians into an ambuſcade, and by that means cut off five thouſand of them. In ſhort, from this ſpecimen, we may form a true idea of the authors Livy followed; which is the reaſon of our inſerting theſe laſt particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and ſubſequent operations of the Carthaginian and Roman armies in Spain, as may be collected even from Livy himſelf; nay, that hiſtorian, partial as he is, allows ſome of theſe to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the ſlain in the battles they have deſcribed; which is a tacit acknowledgment of his own partiality, and conſequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of Spain during ths period, we have ſo frequently obſerved [f].

In

[f] Claud. Val. Antias, & Piſo apud Liv. l. xxv. ſub fin. ut & ipſe Liv. ibid. Vide & Appian. in Iberic.

In the mean time the conſuls, and the prætor Claudius, having drawn a line round Capua, puſhed on the ſiege of that important place with the utmoſt vigour. The Capuans at firſt made frequent ſallies, eſpecially upon the workmen employed upon the ſaid line, which was flanked with parapets and towers placed at proper diſtances. The Capuans, in this diſtreſs, ſent meſſengers to Hannibal, complaining, "That they were deſerted by him, and "upon the point of ſurrendering to the Romans; at the "ſame time conjuring the Carthaginian, by their fidelity "to him, to ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours." This however could not induce Hannibal to abandon the blockade of the citadel of Tarentum; but being at laſt informed by a Numidian horſeman, who had paſſed through the Roman camp undiſcovered in the night, that Capua was reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, with ſome regret he moved from his camp upon the Galeſus near Tarentum, to the relief of his beloved city. Though for ſome time, after the arrival of the Numidian, he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of Tarentum, or the relief of Capua, would turn out moſt to his advantage, yet, out of the ſingular affection he bore the Capuans, he at laſt came to a reſolution to ſuccour them. It is probable likewiſe, that he took this ſtep, in order to preſerve his reputation amongſt his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous ſupport of thoſe, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in Brutium, he advanced with a ſtrong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards Capua, taking poſt in a valley behind mount Tifata. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he firſt took a fort called Galatia by ſtorm, and then, without loſs of time, attacked the Roman camp, the Capuans at the ſame inſtant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and Hannibal, making a vigorous ſally with their whole garriſon; but, after a warm diſpute, both the Carthaginians and Capuans were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs. Livy tells us, that in the heat of the action, the Spaniards and Numidians, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that thoſe huge animals, by overturning the Roman tents, and frighting the beaſts of burden there, ſcattered terror where ever they moved; and that Hannibal, taking advantage of this confuſion, ordered

The Roman generals puſh on the ſiege

ſome

ſome of his men, who could ſpeak Latin, to cry out, "That, ſince the Roman camp was taken, every ſoldier "was at liberty to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could, "and to fly to the neighbouring mountains." However, the elephants being ſoon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpoſe, and Hannibal's artifice defeated, the Romans recovered themſelves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, Hannibal, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a paſſage through their camp into the town, laid aſide all thoughts for the preſent of relieving Capua [g].

Hannibal advances to Rome.

HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of ſchemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at laſt hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly anſwer his purpoſe. He propoſed to march with ſuch expedition to Rome, as to preſent himſelf at the walls of that metropolis, before the Romans could have any notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. In order to facilitate the execution of his project, Hannibal ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and to get ready as many tranſports as would waft them over the Vulturnus in one night. But notwithſtanding the privacy with which this whole affair was tranſacted, Fulvius, by means of his ſpies, received intelligence of Hannibal's intended motion, and diſpatched a courier to Rome, to give the ſenate early notice of his approach. As the Carthaginian did not march directly to Rome, but took a large compaſs, and ſtaid to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the Romans had time to make proper diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the ſenators themſelves, were ſtruck with incredible terror at the appearance of the Carthaginian forces. Hannibal, having marched through the territores of Fruſinum, Ferentinum, Anagnia, Labicum, Algidum, Tuſculum, and Gabii, encamped on a commodious ſpot of ground within eight miles of Rome; his Numidian parties, that preceded the main body of the army, putting to the ſword, or taking priſoners, all the Romans they met with in their rout. After a ſhort ſtay here, he moved to the banks of the Anio, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, eſcorted by a choice detachment of two thouſand horſe, he advanced

[g] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 4.

advanced to the very gates of Rome, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city. But not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion, or the attempts he afterwards made, Hannibal retired six miles from Rome, where he pitched his tents upon the Tutia. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess Feronia, where stood a temple sacred to her, enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the Capenates, a people inhabiting that particular district; which he plundered. Livy affirms, that after Hannibal's departure, great heaps of brass were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left there, in the room of the treasure they had carried from thence, out of a religious motive. According to Strabo, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess Feronia, in the grove where she was worshipped, at the foot of the mountain Soracte, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On several Roman denarii, preserved in the cabinets of the curious, she is represented with a crown on her head. Hannibal, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have cried out, "That at one "time his own will, and at another fortune, would not per-"mit him to take Rome." Livy seems to intimate, that the routes Hannibal took in his passage to Rome and retreat from it, could not be ascertained, some authors confounding them, though one of these, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We shall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, since all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place [h].

HANNIBAL, instead of marching to the relief of Capua, the siege of which his late enterprize could not divert the enemy from, moved with such expedition to Rhegium, that he had like to have surprised that city. This little pleased the Capuans, who prevailed upon Bostar and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian forces in Capua, to press Hannibal, in the strongest and most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters however had no effect; for Hannibal either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the Romans, Seppius Lælius being at that time the me-

Capua surrenders to the Romans.

diastuticus,

[h] Liv. ubi sup. c. 7—12. Polyb. l. ix. Strab. l. v. Sil. Ital C. Flor Europ. Oros. Zonar. omnesq; fere al. historic. Roman. Vide & Univers. hist. vol xii. p. 251, &c.

diaſtuticus, or chief magiſtrate, there. Vibius Virius, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poiſon, as did twenty-ſeven other ſenators. In what a ſhocking and inhuman manner Fulvius treated the Capuan ſenators, both before, and even after, the conſcript fathers at Rome had granted them mercy, may be ſeen in a former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirſt after power may make a ſtate capable of, than what even the partial Livy himſelf has tranſmitted down to poſterity on this occaſion, except the late villainous and unchriſtian behaviour of a moſt chriſtian prince, as famous for his obſervation of ſolemn treaties, as either the Romans or Carthaginians were. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the Romans a viſible ſuperiority over the Carthaginians, and diſpoſed the Italian ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters [i].

State of affairs in Spain.

SOME time after the reduction of Capua, Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar, being encamped at a place called Lapides Atri, in the country of the Auſetani, between Illiturgi and Mentiſſa, was informed, that Claudius Nero, who had been employed before Capua, was arrived in Spain with a ſtrong reinforcement; and that the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the Carthaginians in Spain was given to him, in the room of L. Martius and T. Fonteius. Aſdrubal ſoon after, by a falſe point of conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up on an iſthmus in ſuch a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the moſt honourable methods. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in Spain, that no perſon of diſtinction, except P. Cornelius Scipio, the ſon of Publius, who had lately loſt his life in Spain, offered himſelf a candidate for the proconſulate there. He was therefore choſen proconſul for Spain, and ſent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from moſt of the Spaniſh nations, who diſcovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a cloſe union with the Romans. When Scipio, amidſt the applauſe and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at Rome, took upon himſelf the command of

[i] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 12--17. Polyb. ubi ſup. Vide & Univ. Hiſt. vol. xii. p. 257.

of the army in Spain, he was ſcarce twenty-four years of age [k].

NOTHING of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in Spain. At the end of it, Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, extended his winter-quarters as far as Gades, and the ocean. Mago took up his above the Saltus Caſtulonenſis, in the maritime parts; and Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of Saguntum. About this time the Carthaginians ſent a ſquadron to Tarentum, to cut off all ſupplies from the Roman garriſon in the citadel there; but they incommoded their allies the Tarentines more than the enemy, ſince it was found impoſſible to convey, either by ſea or land, a quantity of proviſions, ſufficient to ſupport both the people of Tarentum, and the forces on board the Carthaginian galleys. Though the latter therefore for ſome time blocked up the citadel by ſea, they could not carry their point, the Romans there being amply provided with all things neceſſary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. Hannibal, now finding the Carthaginian affairs going ſwiftly to decay in Italy, as well as Sicily and Spain, could not forbear curſing Hanno, and his faction, for the detention of thoſe ſuccours, which had ſo long been promiſed him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conqueſt of Italy, but proved the total ruin of the African republic, the hitherto formidable rival of Rome, as will more clearly appear in the future courſe of this hiſtory [l].

Hannibal's affairs go to decay in Italy, Sicily, and Spain.

THE next campaign the Romans made themſelves maſters of Salapia, by the aſſiſtance of one Blaſius, a Salapian, who had always been a ſecret well-wiſher to the Romans. As the particulars of this action have been already related at large, we ſhall not dwell upon them here; but only obſerve, that Hannibal loſt a body of his beſt horſe in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loſs of Salapia, ſince his cavalry could never after this blow, if Livy may be credited, make head againſt that of the Romans, to which it had always been before ſuperior. About this time a Tarentine ſquadron, commanded by Nicon, defeated a Roman fleet ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, under the conduct of D. Quintius, who was killed in the action.

The Romans take Salapia; but are defeated at ſea by the Tarentines.

[k] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 20, &c. Polyb. l. x. [l] Idem ibid

action. But, to make amends for this disaster, a Roman detachment, consisting of two thousand men, fell upon four thousand Tarentine foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader C. Persius, entirely defeated them, putting the greatest part of them to the sword [m].

The Romans draw four thousand robbers from Agathyrna to ravage Bruttium.

ABOUT this time, the Romans being resolved to chastise the Brutians for their attachment to the Carthaginians, Lævinus, the Roman general in Sicily, transported a body of four thousand men, consisting chiefly of robbers, from Agathyrna to Rhegium, in order to enable the garrison of this last city to lay waste the whole country of Bruttium. As most of the men, of which this corps was formed, had been guilty of the most enormous crimes, and committed great depredations in Sicily for a considerable period of time, the Romans could not have pitched upon any troops more proper to execute such a design. Lævinus likewise served another wise end by sending this band of villains to Rhegium; for by this means he preserved the tranquillity and repose of the island of Sicily, which must have been greatly disturbed by the continuance of such a gang of banditti at Agathyrna [n].

Scipio takes New Carthage.

SCIPIO, having taken care to get his naval forces in readiness to put to sea early in the spring, and appointed Tarraco the place of rendezvous for the forces of his Spanish allies, upon their assembling there, ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence to the Iberus, himself following at the head of five thousand Spaniards. Here he harangued the soldiery, insisting largely upon all those topics, that, he thought, would be the most apt to inspire them with resentment and resolution. After this, leaving M. Syllanus, with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to prevent all disorders in those parts of Spain, he passed the Iberus, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. As almost all the riches of Spain were deposited in New Carthage, a city situated like Old Carthage, upon a peninsula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which last served as a fence to the western and northern parts of the wall, he formed a design upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewise further excited by the commodiousness of its harbour, which was

[m] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 39. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. l. ix. c. 7.
[n] Liv. ubi sup. c. 40.

was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and ſo near the coaſt of Africa, that the Romans, when in poſſeſſion of it, might eaſily make a deſcent on the Carthaginian territories there. Upon his arrival here, Scipio made a ſpeech to his troops, importing, "That as all the wealth of the enemy "amaſſed in Spain, all their engines of battery and military "machines, all the hoſtages of the Spaniards to the Car- "thaginians, which alone ſecured the fidelity of the former "to the latter, together with the principal, if not only, "granary the Carthaginians had in Spain, were lodged in "that city, by the reduction of it they ſhould in a manner "terminate the war, at leaſt in that part of the world, "with their proud rival." Mago, who, according to ſome authors commanded in the town, or, as Valerius Antias will have it, Arme, upon Scipio's approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. He poſted two thouſand of the citizens in that part of the town which fronted the Roman camp, five hundred Carthaginians in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eaſtern part of the city. He likewiſe ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy ſhould render their aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a moment's warning. The Romans did not only repulſe the enemy in a ſally they made upon them, but likewiſe purſued them with ſuch ardour, that, had not Scipio cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, they had entered pell-mell with the Carthaginians into the town. This ſo intimidated the troops in garriſon, that they abandoned many of their poſts, and in a manner, deſerted the ramparts; which when Scipio obſerved, advancing to an eminence called Mercurius Teutates, he immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on thoſe parts of the wall, which were moſt expoſed, his fleet at the ſame time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by aſſaulting the town on the ſea ſide. After a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, the Romans carried the place ſword in hand, Scipio greatly animating his men, by flying from place to place to give his orders, as occaſion required; and ſome fiſhermen of Tarraco enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the ſide of the ſtagnum or moraſs, which ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the Romans, that he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Till the ſurrender of the citadel, the ſlaughter

was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the ſoldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The Romans made ten thouſand freemen, beſides a prodigious number of women, children and ſlaves, priſoners, together with three hundred, or, according to others, ſeven hundred twenty-five Spaniſh hoſtages, whom the Roman general immediately diſmiſſed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults; two hundred eighty-one of the leſſer ſort; twenty-three of the larger baliſtæ, fifty-two of the ſmaller; an inconceivable number of darts, and other miſſive weapons; beſides many of the machines called ſcorpions, together with ſeventy-four military enſigns. An immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, both in money and plate, fell into Scipio's hands. But as the authors Livy followed, particularly Silenus and Valerius Antias, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the ſtrength of the Carthaginian garriſon, the number of captives, the quantity of ſhipping ſeized in the port, and the proviſions, naval ſtores, &c. found on board, we ſhall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further ſatisfaction on thoſe heads, to that writer himſelf, and to the circumſtantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our hiſtory[a].

The Carthaginians ſeem to deſpiſe the Romans, notwithſtanding the progreſs of their arms.

THE Carthaginians, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the blow they had received in Spain by the reduction of New Carthage, being apprehenſive, that as ſoon as the Spaniards received intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the Romans. But not being able long to conceal ſo remarkable a diſgrace, they were obliged at laſt to own it, though they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs, in order to palliate their own ſhameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That Scipio had ſtolen the "town by Surpriſe; that the conqueſt was of little impor-"tance, notwithſtanding the young commander affected to "cry it up as equivalent to a ſignal victory; and that, "upon the approach of three Carthaginian generals, at the "head

[a] Polyb. l. x. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 43, & ſeq. Appian. in Iberic. Flor. l. ii. c. 6 Eutrop. l. iii. c. 15. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 1. Sil. Ital. l. xv. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 18. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide Serv. in Virg. Æn. 1. & Univerſ. hiſt vol. xii. p. 260. ut & Silen. & Valer. Ant. apud Liv. ubi ſupra.

"head of three victorious armies, he would preſently be "thrown into a panic, and have his mind entirely occupi- "ed by the frightful idea of the havock lately made in "his family." Notwithſtanding which ſuggeſtions, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of ſo important a fortreſs muſt neceſſarily have upon their affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, regulus of the Ilergetes, all the daughters of Indibilis, thoſe of the principal Spaniſh nobility, a young lady of the moſt attractive charms bethrothed to Allucius, prince of the Celtiberians, and Allucius himſelf, met with from Scipio, will more naturally fall under our obſervation, when we come to the hiſtory of Spain; for which reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with having barely mentioned it in this place [P].

Hannibal defeats the proconſul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea.

MARCELLUS, after the taking of Salapia, advancing into Samnium, made himſelf maſter of Maronea and Melæ, two cities of that country, by aſſault. Three thouſand Carthaginian ſoldiers, left there by Hannibal, were all either killed or taken priſoners. Two hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thouſand of barley, and ſome plunder, that the troops partook of, were found in thoſe fortreſſes; but this could by no means be deemed a ſufficient compenſation for the great defeat Hannibal gave the proconſul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea about the ſame time. The Roman general, being appriſed, that the citizens of Herdonea ſhewed a diſpoſition to abandon the Carthaginian intereſt, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themſelves. Hannibal, by his ſpies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reaſon of it, advanced likewiſe into the neighbourhood of that city, with ſuch celerity, that Fulvius had no notice of his approach. However, upon Hannibal's offering battle to the Romans, an engagement enſued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to ſurround them with his horſe. Then they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the field, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men, the reſt flying to Marcellus in Samnium by different routs. After this victory, Hannibal burnt the city of Herdonea, put to death as many of the nobility, who had

[P] Polyb. Liv. & Appian. ubi ſup.

had kept a secret correspondence with Fulvius, as he could discover, and transplanted the body of the citizens to Metapontum and Thurii. Upon the first news of Fulvius's overthrow, Marcellus moved out of Samnium into Lucania, to give a check to the progress of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with Hannibal near the town of Numistro. Both sides immediately shewed a disposition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. Hannibal posted his right wing on an eminence, and Marcellus his left close by the town. The action was very sharp, but not decisive, the night obliging both sides to retire. Hannibal, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for Venusia, where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some slight skirmishes happened here betwixt the advanced guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conspiracy, formed against the Roman troops in Capua, being detected, the conspirators received condign punishment. Syphax, about this time, sent an embassy to Rome, notifying to the senate certain advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians, with a declaration, that no power was considered by him in a more hostile light, than the state of Carthage, nor in a more friendly one, than that of Rome. Towards the close of this campaign, Hamilcar, with a Carthaginian squadron, consisting of forty galleys, hovered about the coasts of Sardinia, and, not meeting with any Roman fleet to oppose him, ravaged all the country about Olbia and Caralis. The Sicilian banditti above-mentioned, about this time, did not only destroy with fire and sword a good part of Brutium, but likewise laid siege to the city of Caulonia [q].

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus.

HANNIBAL, having taken up his winter-quarters near Canusium, used all possible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the Romans; which reaching the ears of Marcellus, he advanced to Canusium, encamped over-against Hannibal, and soon found means to draw him to a battle. The contending armies, being separated by the night, at first parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, Hannibal worsted the Romans. This extremely chagrined Marcellus, who hitherto had never received

[q] Polyb. l. x. Liv. l. xxvii. sub init. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Marcel. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

received any diſgrace from the Carthaginians; but now, beſides the field of battle, loſt near three thouſand men, amongſt whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with ſix ſtandards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and reſentment, he reſolved to venture another engagement with Hannibal, who, on his part, ſeemed determined not to decline the challenge. Marcellus poſted the left wing, and thoſe cohorts, that, in the laſt action, had loſt their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Nero to command both wings, whilſt the main body was committed to his conduct. Hannibal poſted the Spaniards in front, and diſpoſed his other forces in the uſual manner. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, the Carthaginian elephants overthrowing many of the Roman ſtandards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot ſuch a number of them, that their army muſt have been abſolutely ruined; had not Decimus Flavius, a military tribune, advanced boldly againſt them, at the head of a party of dartmen, who wounding moſt of thoſe huge animals by a ſhower of their pila diſcharged upon them, they turned upon their own men with ſuch fury, that they were thrown into diſorder; which enabled the Romans to drive Hannibal to his camp, after they had laid eight thouſand Carthaginians dead upon the ſpot. Marcellus however loſt above three thouſand men in the action, and had almoſt all the reſt wounded; inſomuch that he found himſelf not capable of purſuing Hannibal, when his ſpies informed him, that he was retreating into Brutium. During theſe tranſactions, the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volſcentes, ſubmitted to the conſul Fulvius, delivering all the troops Hannibal had left in their cities for garriſons, into his hands. Pactius and Vitius likewiſe, two of the principal noblemen amongſt the Brutii, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the ſame terms, that had been granted to their neighbours. Q. Fabius, the other conſul, about the ſame time, took by ſtorm Manduria, a city of the Salentines, making four thouſand men therein priſoners of war. After this inſtance of ſucceſs, Fabius ſat down before Tarentum. As the Carthaginians had then no fleet in thoſe ſeas, having ſent all their galleys to the iſland Corcyra, in order to aſſiſt king Philip, then at war with the Ætolians, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by ſea as well as by land. Whilſt theſe things happened, Hannibal advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to Caulonia; which obliged

the Sicilian forces above-mentioned to retire to an eminence at some distance from that town [r].

Fabius takes Tarentum.

FABIUS had no occasion to push on long the siege of Tarentum. An accident, that could not be foreseen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of the Brutian garrison, which Hannibal left for the defence of that place, fell desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was a soldier in the Roman army. This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to Fabius, who ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the Romans into the town. This was happily effected, without any great effusion of blood, since the Tarentines found themselves not able to make head against the Romans, after the Brutians had deserted them. Nicon and Democrates, two of the Tarentine leaders, died gloriously, on the bed of honour, fighting for the liberties of their country; and Philomenes, by whose agency Tarentum had been betrayed to Hannibal, was supposed to have thrown himself headlong from off his horse into a well, after the end of the action. Carthalo, who commanded the body of native Carthaginians in the place, was put to the sword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the Tarentines, and many even of the Brutians themselves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here was immense, and even equal to what Marcellus found in Syracuse. The number of slaves made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. Fabius took care to dismantle Tarentum, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel. About this time Hannibal, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of Sicilian banditti posted on the eminence near Caulonia above-mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion [s].

Asdrubal defeated by Scipio in Spain.

THE Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain, commanded by three of their best generals, viz. Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar, Asdrubal the son of Gisco, and Mago. Edeco, or Edesco, a general of great fame amongst the Spaniards, abandoning the Carthaginian interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to Scipio. His wife and children

[r] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Zonar. ubi sup. in Fab. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi supra.

[s] Idem ibid. Plut.

children had been, for ſome time, in the Roman camp; but a regard to their ſafety did not ſo much induce him to act the part he had done, according to Livy, as that ſincere affection for the Romans, with which Scipio had inſpired all the Spaniards, by his great humanity, politeneſs, and condeſcenſion. Indibilis, Mandonius, and moſt of the other Spaniſh reguli, charmed with the ſame amiable qualities, joined Scipio with all their forces. By this acceſſion of ſtrength, that general found himſelf enabled to hazard an engagement with Aſdrubal the ſon of Hamilcar, who lay encamped near the city of Bætula, or, as Polybius calls it, Bæcula. Scipio was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of Aſdrubal and his collegues. The Carthaginian diſcovered the ſame eagerneſs for a battle on his part, as finding the Roman army to be daily reinforced by the acceſſion of Spaniſh troops, and his own diminiſhed in proportion, by the continual deſertion of thoſe troops. Scipio, upon his approach towards the Carthaginian camp, detached ſome parties of his velites to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with ſome of their advanced guards, defeated them, purſued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loſs, to their own army. Animated by this event, Scipio, the next day, attacked the Carthaginians, though Aſdrubal had taken care to poſt himſelf upon an eminence in the midſt of a plain, ſurrounded ſo by a river, as to form a peninſula, the preceding night, in a moſt advantageous manner. The Carthaginians, for ſome time, defended themſelves with great bravery; but were at laſt totally routed, and forced to fly, according to Livy, with the loſs of eight thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, beſides ten thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, taken priſoners; though the ſame moſt conſiſtent hiſtorian had juſt before informed us, that their retreat was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. This blow, next to the bravery of the Roman troops, may be attributed to the violence of the Carthaginian elephants, which, being galled by the enemy's pila, recoiled upon the forces with which they were intermixed, and ſtruck them with as much terror, as did the Romans. Scipio gave the Carthaginian camp up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, and releaſed all the Spaniſh priſoners found there without ranſom; but ordered the Africans to be ſold for ſlaves. Aſdrubal, rallying the remains of his ſhattered army, purſued his march towards the Pyrenees, having ſent his elephants that way be-

fore the beginning of the engagement. The Spaniſh princes, who had entered into an alliance with Scipio, received conſiderable preſents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; Indibilis in particular being ordered by the Roman general to pick three hundred horſes out of thoſe taken from the enemy, for his own uſe. Notwithſtanding the glorious victory Scipio had gained, he thought proper to retire from Bætula, and the Saltus Caſtulonenſis; which gave the other two Carthaginian commanders an opportunity of joining Aſdrubal. At a conſultation held for that purpoſe, each of theſe generals had his particular province aſſigned him. Aſdrubal, the ſon of Hamilcar, was to march into Italy, to aſſiſt Hannibal, with all the Spaniſh forces he could draw together; Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, was to take upon himſelf the command of the corps lately committed to Mago's conduct, and to retire into Luſitania; but induſtriouſly to avoid an engagement; and Mago was ſent to the Balearic iſlands, with a large ſum of money, to make new levies there. Maſſiniſſa had likewiſe a choice detachment of three thouſand horſe, being the flower of the cavalry, aſſigned him, in order to ſupport the Carthaginian allies in Hiſpania Citerior, as well as to deſtroy the enemy's country there with fire and ſword. As Scipio, by his generous and affable deportment, ſeemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the Spaniards, it was judged neceſſary to make theſe diſpoſitions, that the Spaniſh ſoldiery, in the Carthaginian ſervice, might be drawn immediately either into Gaul, or the remoteſt part of Spain, where the Romans had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual ſtop to that general deſertion, which then prevailed amongſt thoſe troops [t].

ALL perſons of penetration and attention, upon their peruſal of above the account, will be naturally inclined to enquire, how it was poſſible for Aſdrubal to have ſent all the elephants away, with the train that attended them, towards the Pyrenees, if many of them remained in his camp, and occaſioned a greater carnage amongſt his troops there, upon the Romans forcing it; how theſe troops ſhould have been hemmed in, and ſo ſurrounded on all ſides, by a victorious enemy, that their retreat was entirely cut off, and yet that many of them, nay, the greateſt part of them, ſhould have made their eſcape; how Aſdrubal's army ſhould have been

[t] Polyb. l. x. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 19—23. Appian. in Iberic.

been entirely ruined, and yet that Scipio, immediately after the action, should have been obliged to retire to Tarraco, which enabled the other two Carthaginian generals to join Asdrubal, and concert with him the operations of the remaining part of the campaign, which the Romans, above all things, ought to have prevented; lastly, what were the happy consequences of this defeat, which Scipio is said to have given the Carthaginians. In short, from the above-recited particulars, it appears that, to use Sir Walter Raleigh's witty expression, the Romans beat Asdrubal out of Spain into Italy, there to join Hannibal with the most numerous Carthaginian army, that ever appeared in that country, (for so Livy represents it) had not a disaster prevented that junction. If Polybius countenanced such relations as these in any manner, (and even that most incomparable historian is not absolutely void of weakness and partiality) he is so far to be censured. But to proceed:

THE next year, being the eleventh of the second Punic war, the Carthaginians threatened to ravage the coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet of above two hundred sail; of which Scipio being apprised, he detached fifty galleys to cruise off the ports of Sardinia, and protect that island from all insults of the enemy. The consul T. Quinctius Crispinus sent for a large train of battering engines from Sicily, intending soon to form the siege of Locri, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the sea-side. But he laid aside that design on Hannibal's approach to Lacinium, and on receiving advice, that his collegue Marcellus had drawn his forces from Venusia, in order to join him. Hannibal, being apprised, that both the consuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt Bantia and Venusia, moved that way, pitching his tents at a small distance from them. Notwithstanding the summer was far advanced, the consuls wrote to L. Cincius, ordering him to come with a fleet from Sicily to Locri, a body of Romans from Tarentum being commanded to invest that city by land at the same time. This being discovered to Hannibal by some Thurians, he placed an ambuscade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thousand of them to the sword, took twelve hundred prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He afterwards decoyed the two consuls into another ambuscade of Numidian horse, together with M. Marcellus son to one of them, and A. Manlius, both

A party of Numidians cut off the famous Marcellus, and disperse the escorte that attended him.

both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an eſcorte of two hundred and twenty horſe, of which forty were Fregellani, and the reſt Etruſcans. The brave Marcellus, one of them, who had acquired ſuch renown by the ſeveral advantages he got over Hannibal, loſt his life, through the cowardice of the Etruſcans, who fled at the firſt onſet. But Criſpinus, his collegue, with the two tribunes abovementioned, L. Arennius, M. Aulius, two prefects of the Roman allies, and others, by their own bravery, and that of the Fregellani, made their eſcape in the manner we have already related [n].

Hannibal obliges the Romans to raiſe the ſiege of Locri.

MAGO, the Carthaginian commandant at Locri, found himſelf ſo preſſed by Cincius, that he was upon the point of ſurrendering; but receiving advice of the blow Hannibal had given the Romans, by the ſlaughter of Marcellus, he reſolved to defend the place to the laſt drop of blood. Soon after, an expreſs arrived from Hannibal, with an account, that the Numidian cavalry had already begun their march for Locri; and that he himſelf, with the groſs of the army, would follow them with all poſſible expedition. Upon the firſt appearance of the Numidians, Mago made a ſally with his whole force upon the beſiegers, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the Numidians coming up in the nick of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering engines, and other military machines, behind them; ſo that Hannibal, upon his arrival at Locri, found no enemy to oppoſe him there. About this time, Valerius, the Roman admiral, after having ravaged the coaſt of Africa, attacked a Carthaginian ſquadron of eighty-three galleys off of Capua. The Carthaginians, not being able to withſtand the efforts of the Romans, were ſoon obliged to ſheer off, with the loſs of eighteen ſhips; which Valerius carried off in triumph. From thence ſteering for Sicily, he arrived in a ſhort time, with an immenſe booty at Lilybæum [w].

The Carthaginians are guilty of a breach of faith with regard to to Philip king of Macedon.

THOUGH the Carthaginians had lately ſent a fleet to aſſiſt Philip againſt the Romans and Ætolians, which, in all probability, was at this time either cruiſing off of the iſland Corcyra, or riding at anchor in the port there, yet we do not find, that this fleet did any important ſervice to that prince. It neither protected his coaſts from the inſults of

[n] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 23—30. Plut. in Marcel. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 16, 17. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Marcel. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. [w] Liv. ubi ſup.

of the Roman and Ætolian privateers, nor enabled him to tranſport any forces to Italy, or any other country, that it might have been his intereſt to have invaded. The Carthaginians therefore by no means obſerved the treaty of alliance they had entered into with that prince; which doubtleſs incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he, for the future, broke off all correſpondence with them. Be that as it will, it is certain he not only made a peace with the Romans exclusive of them, which was an apparent infraction of the late treaty, provided they had paid any regard to it, but likewiſe left them to cope with the Romans alone, both before and after his accommodation with that people; which was alſo contrary to the late treaty, upon the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. But as the diſcuſſion of this point belongs more properly to the hiſtory of Macedon, we ſhall at preſent paſs by every thing farther relating to it, and proceed to the Carthaginian affairs in Italy [x].

Asdrubal beſieges Placentia.

ASDRUBAL, as we have lately obſerved, being obliged to abandon his camp near Bætula, had afterwards a conference with the other two Carthaginian generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were ſettled. In purſuance of the plan then formed, Aſdrubal advanced towards the Pyrenees, at the head of the forces aſſigned him, with all poſſible expedition. The Pyrenees, as far as we can collect from hiſtory, he croſſed, without any great difficulty, though, if Livy may be credited, Scipio had detached a body of troops to diſpute the paſſage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the ſilver-mines (Q) near Bætula had ſupplied

[x] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup.

(Q) Polybius tells us, that, near New Carthage, there was a ſilver mine ſo rich, that the Carthaginians extracted out of it every day twenty-five thouſand drachms of ſilver. Aletes, the diſcoverer of this mine, was, according to the ſame author, deified by the Spaniards after his death, for the ſervice he thereby did his country. Ariſtotle and Poſidonius intimate, that Spain, in the moſt early ages, abounded with ſilver; inſomuch that the Phœnicians exported vaſt quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchaſed for oil, and other trifles; nay, the firſt author aſſures us, that the Phœnicians, by this means, had not only immenſe quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ſhips were made of ſilver. But of this more, when we come to the hiſtory of Spain (23).

(23) Polyb. l. x. c. 10. Poſidon. apud Diodor. Sic. l. v. Ariſtot. in mirab. auſcult.

ſupplied him with a very conſiderable quantity of treaſure, upon his arrival in Gaul, he not only prevailed upon the Gauls to grant him a paſſage through their territories, but likewiſe to furniſh him with a proper number of recruits. The Ligurians received him in the ſame manner, as would alſo the Etruſcans, could he have advanced to their frontiers. Aſdrubal therefore, meeting with as little oppoſition, and as many favourable circumſtances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at Placentia ſooner than either the Romans, or even his brother Hannibal himſelf, expected. But ſitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of ſound policy, and continuing the ſiege of it, he gave the Romans an opportunity of aſſembling all their forces to attack him, and at the ſame time, by his too great ſecurity, as well as the enterprize he had undertaken, prevented Hannibal from joining him, as he had propoſed to do, upon the firſt news of his having paſſed the Alps. This indolence of Hannibal proceeded from a notion, that Placentia would not be ſoon reduced, and that therefore, though they ſhould unite their forces, they could not ſpeedily enter upon any military operation. Thus Aſdrubal not only loſt all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendſhip of the Arverni, and other Gallic nations, who had ſo greatly expedited his paſſage to Italy, by this ſingle ſtep, but likewiſe totally ruined the Carthaginian affairs in that country, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [y].

Hannibal receives ſeveral blows.

As ſoon as Hannibal moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the Salentines, with an intention to ravage it, before the conſul Claudius could take the field; but this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of C. Hoſtilius Tubulus, who attacked the Carthaginians with a body of light-armed troops, and entirely defeated them, killing four thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. After this diſaſter, Hannibal retired into Brutium, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance againſt him from ſeveral parts. In the mean time Tubulus, with his forces, joined the conſular army under Claudius at Venuſia. Hannibal, having drawn all his garriſons out of Brutium, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to Grumentum

[y] Liv ubi ſup. c. 41—43.

tum in Lucania, in order to recover ſome towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the Romans. As, immediately after the late junction, Claudius had ſent a detachment, under the command of Tubulus, to reinforce the proconſul Fulvius at Capua, and, with the remaining corps, conſiſting of forty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, had himſelf gone in queſt of Hannibal, he arrived at Grumentum ſoon after the Carthaginian, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. Claudius, by the ſtratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of C. Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, gave Hannibal another defeat here, cutting off eight thouſand of his men, and taking ſeven hundred priſoners. Four elephants were likewiſe killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military enſigns, and ſome plunder, alſo fell into the hands of the Romans, who, according to Livy, loſt only two hundred men on this occaſion. Hannibal, ſoon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few Numidian horſe in his intrenchments to amuſe the enemy, made good his retreat to Venuſia; but here the conſul came up again with him. At this place, in another rencounter, the Carthaginians loſt two thouſand men; upon which Hannibal retired, with great precipitation, to Metapontum, where he was joined by Hanno, and from thence made the beſt of his way to Canuſium [z].

DURING theſe tranſactions, Aſdrubal, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria. Of this the conſul Claudius being informed by a letter, ſent from that general to his brother Hannibal, which was intercepted near Tarentum, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, the very flower of his troops, and poſted with incredible celerity to join his collegue Livius. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the Roman laws; yet in a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety, and even the very being, of Rome lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no ſooner received the letter abovementioned from L. Virginius, a legionary tribune, who had eſcorted the Carthaginian couriers with a Samnite detachment

The conſul Claudius moves towards his collegue.

[z] Idem ibid. c. 43—45.

tachment to him, and read it, than he ſent it to the ſenate at the ſame time diſpatching his orders to the Larinates Marrucini, Frentani, Prætutiani, &c. through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to provide a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and carriages for his troops, that he might purſue his march without the leaſt interruption. As nothing could ſave Rome, after the junction of the two Carthaginian armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to ſtrike ſuch a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his collegue vigorouſly charge Aſdrubal with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to Q. Catius, one of his lieutenants [a].

And joins him.

CLAUDIUS gave not the leaſt hint of his deſign to any of his officers, till he was got at ſuch a diſtance from Hannibal, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill conſequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That he was leading them to certain "victory; that his collegue wanted a reinforcement; that "in war all depended upon reputation; that the bare "rumour of their arrival would diſconcert all the meaſures "of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this "battle would fall to them." He marched with ſuch expedition, that in ſix days he arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Soon after his arrival, Aſdrubal, taking a view of the Roman army, diſcovered ſeveral ſhields of an antient make, that he had never ſeen before, many thin, lean horſes, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the Roman army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By theſe, and ſeveral other circumſtances, that able general ſuſpected Claudius to have joined his collegue with a body of troops. This threw him into a ſort of melancholy, as imagining, that Hannibal had been overthrown, and conſequently that he came too late to ſupport him [b].

The Romans defeat Aſdrubal upon the banks of the Metaurus.

BEFORE the arrival of Claudius, the prætor L. Portius Licinius was encamped, with ſome forces, at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul Livius. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders

[a] Polyb. l. xi. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 43.—49. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1 ex. 9. [b] Idem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 9.

manders preſided. Livius gave his opinion, that an action, for ſome days, ſhould be deferred, that Claudius's troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, after ſo tedious and fatiguing a march. Claudius himſelf entertained different ſentiments, imagining, that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the leaſt delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the ſignal of battle accordingly given. However, Aſdrubal, under the apprehenſions above-mentioned, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the Metaurus, now the Metaro, and was preparing to croſs it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to avoid coming to an engagement, and therefore did all things, which could be expected from the preſence of mind and courage of a conſummate warrior. He ſeized an advantageous poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing, compoſed of Gauls, and the weakeſt part of his army, in ſuch a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, conſiſting of Spaniards, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the centre, and firſt moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the conſul Livius, well knowing that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. Aſdrubal eſpecially ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and quite completed the glory he had acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers, who were trembling, and quite deſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back thoſe who fled; till at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a Roman cohort,

cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and brother of Hannibal [c].

This victory almost entirely owing to the conduct and bravery of Claudius.

THIS victory, which Livy makes equal to that of Cannæ, was almost entirely owing to the bravery and activity of Claudius. That general flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, insomuch that he seemed to be in all places at once. Observing that the enemy's right wing, composed of Spaniards and Ligurians, the flower of Asdrubal's troops, charged the left of the Romans with such resolution, that fortune seemed to be on the point of declaring for the Carthaginians there, and that the enemy's elephants, after having thrown the Roman vanguard into confusion, and overturned the standards there, occupied the void space betwixt the two armies in such a manner, that it was difficult to discover to what party they belonged, their guides now not being capable of governing them, he cried out to his men in an angry tone, "To what purpose then have we made so long a march with such expedition?" and immediately made an effort to possess himself of an eminence, that covered the Gauls, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that side; but, finding this impossible, he drew out a detachment of some cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to sustain Livius, he charged the Spaniards and Ligurians in front, and in flank, and in rear, almost at the same time. This changed the face of affairs, especially as such an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmost fury. The Spaniards and Ligurians therefore, not being able to sustain so violent a shock, were soon put to the rout, and almost all cut to pieces; after which the Gauls were, for the most part, massacred without opposition. The leaders themselves destroyed most of the elephants, to prevent the destruction they would have occasioned amongst their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to Livy, fifty-six thousand of Asdrubal's men fell in this bloody action, and near six thousand were taken prisoners; though Polybius makes the whole

[c] Idem ibid. Flor. ubi supra. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 18 Sil. Ital. l. xv. Appian. in Hannib. Sueton. in Tiber. Cic. in Brut. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Claud. & Asd. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Horat. l. iv. od. 4. Oros. l. iv. c. 18. Zonar. l. ix. c. 9. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 8.

whole loſs of the Carthaginians not to have exceeded ten thouſand men. Be that as it will, the Romans ſeemed to have been weary of killing, ſince when a perſon told Livius after the battle, that it would be an eaſy matter to cut off a body of Caſalpine Gauls and Ligurians who had either not been in the fight, or eſcaped out of it, then flying in great confuſion, with a ſmall detachment of horſe, he anſwered, "It is fit that ſome ſhould ſurvive, to carry the "enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery." Livy affirms, that the Romans carried off an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but Polybius is ſilent on that head. This action proved deciſive, ſince we may juſtly eſteem it to have determined the fate of Italy, as the battle of Zama a few years afterwards did that of Africa [d].

HANNIBAL received no intelligence of this blow, till Claudius adverti ſed him of it, by throwing his brother Aſdrubal's head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the Roman camp near Canuſium. This inhumanity was the more inexcuſeable, as Hannibal had given the Romans recent inſtances of a generous and noble diſpoſition, by treating with the utmoſt decency, not to ſay tenderneſs and reſpect, the bodies of Gracchus and Marcellus. That treatment, in our opinion, demonſtrates the great humanity of Hannibal, if not of the Carthaginians in general, on ſuch occaſions; as the ſavage barbarity of Claudius does that of the Romans. As Claudius ſent two captives in chains, which, one ſhould have imagined, would have been mortifying enough, to inform Hannibal of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of Metaurus, which certainly ought not to be denied him, ſerved only to render him more hateful and deteſtable, ſince nothing can be more monſtrous, than ſuch a contraſt of qualities in the ſame perſon. That the fact, here alledged againſt him, was real, is allowed by the moſt prejudiced Roman hiſtorians themſelves, who ſeem to relate it with pleaſure, and thereby reflect an eternal diſhonour both upon themſelves and their republic, as intimating, that they were all pleaſed with it, and conſequently of the ſame diſpoſition with Claudius. The juſtneſs of this reflection

The inhumanity of Claudius cenſured.

[d] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. ex. 15. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.

flection is confirmed by the high encomium Valerius Maximus passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of Hannibal hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe reprehension of the conduct of Claudius. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the Roman disposition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the Carthaginian annals for this particular period; they would doubtless have set the Romans in their true and proper light [e].

Hannibal greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.

THE melancholy news imparted to him by Claudius, filled Hannibal with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage: "It is done," said he, according to Horace, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is described, "I will no longer send triumphant messages to "Carthage! In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my "hope, all my good fortune"! After this fatal event, Hannibal retired to the extremity of Brutium, where, assembling all his forces, he remained for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the Romans not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the Carthaginian affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. Livy tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, Brutium being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to subsist there, especially as no manner of supplies were sent him from Carthage. The people there were as solicitous of preserving their possessions in Spain, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in Italy, as if Hannibal had met with an uninterrupted course of success, and not the least disaster had befallen them since his first arrival in that country [f].

The Carthaginians worsted in Spain.

AFTER Asdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno was sent to succeed him in Spain. The body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that Mago com-

[e] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Val. Max. Zonar. &c. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 0. ex. 2. [f] Polyb. l. x. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. Appian. in Hannib. Her. ubi sup.

commanded in Celtiberia, formed a conſiderable army. Theſe forces encamped in Celtiberia, and at ſome diſtance from them, in the ſame province, nine thouſand Celtiberians had poſted themſelves. Scipio ſent a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of M. Syllanus the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of both camps from ſome Celtiberian deſerters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a ſignal advantage over the enemy. He ſurpriſed the Celtiberians, being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed men, putting many of them to the ſword, and obliging the reſt to diſperſe in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their reſpective habitations. Hanno and Mago, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewiſe defeated, and Hanno taken priſoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco. Theſe two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for ſome time, in the neighbourhood of Gades [g].

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay in Spain.

ACCORDING to ſome authors, Scipio, being appriſed of Aſdrubal's march for Italy, had before ſent a conſiderable reinforcement to the conſul Livius, to enable him to make head againſt the Carthaginian forces under Aſdrubal and Hannibal, provided neither of the conſular armies could hinder their junction. But the greateſt part of the Roman hiſtorians have omitted this circumſtance; which ſeems to invalidate the authority of thoſe writers in this particular. Be that as it will, Scipio had no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in Italy, than he put himſelf in motion, and began to meditate the entire conqueſt of Spain. His brother, L. Scipio, being detached with a body of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to take the city of Oringis, on the confines of Lower Bætica, executed his orders with great bravery, making the Carthaginian garriſon, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who ſhut the gates againſt him, priſoners of war, with the loſs only of ninety men. Livy ſays, that the Roman detachment killed two

[g] Liv. l. xxviii. ſub. init. Appian. in Iberic. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 18.

two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that Lucius, in order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, left the citizens in possession of the town, and all their effects. The territory of Oringis was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself Asdrubal had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little harassed the Romans and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The Carthaginians therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. Scipio is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of New Carthage. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which Gades was seated, since Asdrubal had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, M. Valerius Lævinus the proconsul, who commanded in Sicily, committed great ravages on the coasts of Africa, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about Carthage and Utica, he returned to Lilybæum, defeating, in his passage, a Carthaginian squadron of seventy galleys. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the Romans victorious every-where this campaign, the Carthaginians not being able to cope with them either by sea or land [h].

Lucania submits to the Romans.

THE next year, Hannibal sent a detachment of Numidians to observe the motions of the Roman army, under the command of the consuls Q. Cæcilius and L. Veturius, in the territory of Cosentia. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to Hannibal's camp. But this small advantage did not make amends for the loss of Lucania, which submitted to the Romans. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in Italy [i].

The Carthaginian generals and Masinissa overthrown in Spain by Scipio.

THE Carthaginian generals, that commanded this year in Spain, were Mago the son of Hamilcar, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco. These two commanders, in the spring, moved

[h] Liv ubi sup. c. 4. Appian. in Libyc. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5. [i] Liv. ubi sup. c. 11.

moved from Gades, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, ſeventy, thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe. Advancing with all expedition towards the Romans, whom they were determined to engage, they at laſt took poſt in the plains of Silpia, at no great diſtance from them. Scipio, being extremely alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a power, diſpatched in all haſte Syllanus to Colcas, a neighbouring prince, who had promiſed Scipio a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of Tarraco, and, being joined by ſome of his allies, advanced to Caſtulo, where he was ſoon met by Syllanus, with a reinforcement of three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from Colcas. From thence he marched to Bætula, or Bætula, with an army forty-five thouſand ſtrong. Mago and Maſiniſſa, at the head of the Carthaginian cavalry, fell upon the Romans as they were encamping, and had put them into diſorder, had not Scipio placed ſome troops of his horſe in an ambuſcade behind an eminence, near the ſpot upon which he intended to encamp. Theſe, ſallying out upon the Carthaginians, obliged them at firſt to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly ſupported, ſo puſhed them, that they betook themſelves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops on both ſides, for ſome time after this, ſkirmiſhed with one another; but without any conſiderable loſs. Both Aſdrubal and Scipio, for ſeveral days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though Aſdrubal appeared firſt in the morning, and retired the laſt in the evening. At length Scipio, reſolving to give the Carthaginians battle, ordered his men to refreſh themſelves before day-break; and then ſent his horſe and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. Aſdrubal poſted the Spaniards in the wings, the elephants in front, and the Carthaginians, intermixed with the other Africans, in the centre. After having made this diſpoſition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horſe in play. Scipio took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagining that the Carthaginians muſt wax faint by that time, as being entirely void of ſuſtenance, and conſequently that he ſhould break them without much difficulty. Accordingly then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked Aſdrubal's Spaniſh auxi-

liaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the ſame time with the velites, ſuſtained by ſeveral cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpoſe. The Spaniards, after ſome reſiſtance, were routed, the Carthaginian and African forces not being able to ſupport them, ſince the Spaniards, that formed Scipio's main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occaſioned greater confuſion in the Carthaginian army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithſtanding therefore Aſdrubal did his utmoſt to animate his men, they were defeated, and purſued by the Romans to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent ſtorm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action [k].

Maſiniſſa abandons the Carthaginian intereſt.

THE night after the battle, Aſdrubal cauſed his camp to be ſtrengthened by ſome additional works, as expecting the next day another viſit from the enemy. In the mean time Attanes, regulus of the Turdetani, with a conſiderable body of troops, went over to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortreſſes of note ſurrendered to Scipio, who made their garriſons priſoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Aſdrubal thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had juſt before ſo fatigued his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inacceſſible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who ſo haraſſed him in his retreat, that the legionaries at laſt came up with him, and, after a faint reſiſtance, put all his men, except ſeven thouſand to the ſword. However theſe, with Aſdrubal at their head, gained an advantageous poſt, where, for ſome time, they defended themſelves, till at laſt Aſdrubal finding them to deſert in great numbers, abandoned them and made his eſcape to Gades. In the mean time Syllanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to block up the enemies troops in the poſt above-mentioned, found means to draw Maſiniſſa their commander

[k] Polyb. l. xi. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12——16. Appian. in Iberic. & Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & l. ii. c. 3, ex. 4. aliiq; auctor. ſup. laudat.

mander off from the Carthaginian intereſt. This unexpected event proved the total ruin of the Carthaginians in thoſe parts, as will hereafter more fully appear. Mago, after the example of Aſdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring provinces, or deſerted to the Romans. Maſiniſſa, after his late conference with Syllanus, by the connivance of that general, paſſed over into Africa, with ſome of the leading men of the Maſſyli, in order to diſpoſe that nation to ſecond his views. However, this was done in ſuch a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue [1].

Scipio brings over Syphax to the Roman intereſt.

MASINISSA, to ſerve more effectually the party he intended ſoon to declare himſelf in favour of, made but a ſhort ſtay in Africa. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he haſtened to Gades, to confer with Mago and Aſdrubal about the future operations. Syllanus likewiſe retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his head quarters. Scipio, ſoon afterwards paſſing into Africa with two quinqueremes, perſuaded Syphax, king of the Maſæſyli, to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Aſdrubal was then at Syphax's court, and did his utmoſt to traverſe the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, beſides Gades, in alliance with, or ſubject to, Carthage, were Illiturgi, Caſtulo, and Aſtapa. Illiturgi the Romans took by ſtorm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Caſtulo, in which was a Carthaginian garriſon compoſed of the fugitives, that eſcaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one Cerdubellus to Marcius, and Himilco the commandant, with his whole corps, made priſoners of war. Marcius, then paſſing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Certius, poſſeſſed himſelf of two opulent towns, which ſurrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Aſtapa, and, after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of it in the manner already related. In the mean time Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as of

[1] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 15, 16. Polyb. l. xi. c. 21. Appian. in Libyc. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. ſub. fin. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. ex. 7. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

ſome Spaniſh troops levied by Hanno, made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sucro, during theſe tranſactions, mutinied, a report of Scipio's death, that was induſtriouſly propagated, occaſioning that commotion; but the mutineers being, by a ſeaſonable puniſhment of ſome of their ringleaders, brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, Marcius attacked four thouſand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp and either took or killed the greateſt part of them. The engaging Syphax to confederate with the Romans, was a very conſiderable point gained, though this was not effected without ſome difficulty. Scipio firſt ſent Lælius, with five quinqueremes, to make propoſals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent preſents. Lælius executed his commiſſion with great dexterity, putting Syphax in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithſtanding which, Scipio, as we have juſt obſerved, found himſelf obliged to viſit in perſon that prince's court, where by his uncommon addreſs, if we will believe Livy, he defeated the intrigues of Aſdrubal, and put the laſt hand to the treaty [m].

Scipio ſends Lælius to attempt the conqueſt of Gades.

SOON after the reduction of Aſtapa, ſome deſerters arrived at Gades from Scipio's camp. Theſe fugitives promiſed that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garriſon and commandant, into his hands, but likewiſe to make him maſter of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light-armed troops, aſſiſted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and ſeven triremes, to put the conſpirators in motion. In the mean time the conſpiracy being diſcovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to ſeize the principals of it, and ſent them on board a quinquereme, in order to tranſport them to Carthage. Aſdrubal the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this veſſel to precede the reſt of the fleet, he himſelf following at a ſmall diſtance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he deſcried Lælius's ſquadron coming out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for ſome time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him

[m] Idem ibid. Vide & Liv. ubi ſup. c. 17——31.

him to attack the Romans; but this ſtate of ſuſpenſe gave Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worſted, he made the beſt of his way towards the coaſts of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius miſſed his aim, ſince Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to Gades; of which being appriſed by the priſoners, he returned to Carteia, from whence he diſpatched an expreſs to Marcius. who was moving with a powerful corps to ſupport him, to inform him of what had happened. Both theſe commanders therefore, judging the ſiege of Gades too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at preſent, laid aſide that deſign, and, in a ſhort time, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage [n].

THE diſappointment the Romans had met with in their deſign upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legions above-mentioned, gave Mago hopes, that he ſhould ſtill be in a condition to make head againſt the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a ſpeedy reinforcement, aſſuring the ſenate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had loſt in Spain. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans, for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio's death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Sueſſetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio's ſeverity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were Romans, they concluded, that Spaniſh revolters muſt be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by deſpair, they aſſembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced againſt Scipio. That general moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at laſt found them poſted in a plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains, and ſcarce capable of containing ſuch a number of men. Having ſecured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Lælius, with the cavalry, to take a compaſs round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilſt he charged them in front with the legionaries. This diſpoſition being made, Scipio attacked the

Scipio gives the Spaniſh regulı a great overthrow.

[n] Liv. Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſup.

reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almoſt their whole army to the ſword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this hiſtory [o].

Scipio holds a conference with Maſiniſſa.

THOUGH Syllanus and Maſiniſſa had ſettled the preliminaries, yet, by ſeveral intervening accidents, the concluſion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred to this time. The chief obſtacle to the ſigning of it was, that Maſiniſſa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently deſired. Scipio, being informed of this, and that Maſiniſſa was at Gades, took a journey thither with a good eſcorte, purely out of a deſire to have a conference with him. Maſiniſſa, receiving intelligence of this from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to ſend him, with a detachment from the iſland of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with Scipio. At their firſt interview, Maſiniſſa told the Roman general, "That, from the time "he had ſo generouſly and politely releaſed his nephew, "for which he was greatly obliged to him, he had concei-"ved a ſincere affection for him; that, ever ſince, he had "wiſhed for an opportunity of expreſſing his high regard "for the people of Rome, which now the gods had bleſſed "him with; that no foreigner could be more cloſely at-"tached to them than he was; and that though he could "not give ſufficient proofs of this in Spain, where he was "a ſtranger, yet if the Romans would transfer the war to "Africa, where he had ſome intereſt, he would convince "them of the purity of his intentions, and at the ſame "time anſwer for the ſucceſs of the expedition." Every thing being afterwards ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, Maſiniſſa, in order to blind Aſdrubal, plundered ſome part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades [p].

Gades ſurrenders to the Romans.

THE Carthaginians, being diſappointed in the diverſion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the Spaniards, ordered Mago to abandon Spain, and ſail with all poſſible expedition to Italy. That he might be enabled the more effectually to ſuccour Hannibal, he received a large ſum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria.

[o] Iidem. ibid. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 274—277.

[p] Liv. Polyb. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſup.

Liguria. Before he left Gades, he did not only oblige the citizens to bring all their gold and ſilver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his paſſage to Italy, he made an attempt upon New Carthage; but was repulſed with great loſs. From thence he ſailed to the iſland of Pityuſa, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, and a good number of recruits. Then he ſteered his courſe to the largeſt of the Balearic iſlands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in ſo violent a manner with their ſlings, that he found himſelf obliged to ſheer off with conſiderable loſs. However, proceeding to the leſſer one near it, that was extremely fertile, tho' not ſo populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great ſtrength, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole iſland without oppoſition. As the ſeaſon was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more ſtrongly induced by the good diſpoſition of the natives, who expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, ſupplying him during his ſtay amongſt them, with a body of two thouſand men. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the people of Gades ſhut their gates upon Mago after his repulſe at New Carthage; for which affront he whipped and crucified their ſuffetes, who were ſent to excuſe that conduct to him; nor that they ſurrendered to the Romans ſoon after he had abandoned them [q].

THE next ſummer, Mago, landing in Liguria with an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, ſurpriſed Genoa. From thence he ſailed to the coaſts of the Ligures Alpini, to try whether he could not raiſe ſome commotions amongſt them. The Ingauni, one of their cantons, were then at war with the Epanterii, a ſort of highlanders, who likewiſe belonged to them. This gave Mago an opportunity of ſeizing upon the town and port of Savo, and ſtationing ten of his long ſhips there. The reſt of his fleet he ſent to Carthage, upon a rumour, that Scipio was going to tranſport a body of troops to Africa, in order to attack that capital. Then he joined the Ingauni, whoſe friendſhip he preferred to that of the other contending party, and, in concert with them, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading the common enemy. As his army ſoon grew

Mago lands on the coaſt of Liguria.

[q] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 36, 37. & Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

grew very numerous by the acceſſion of a ſtrong body of Gauls and Ligurians, the Romans were greatly alarmed, and made the motions already mentioned. About this time, Cn. Octavius, who commanded in Sardinia, took eighty Carthaginian tranſports, laden with corn, and other proviſions, for Hannibal, as Cælius will have it, or with booty taken in Etruria, and Epanterian captives, according to Valerius Antias, off of the coaſts of that iſland. As the plague made great havock both in the Carthaginian and Roman armies this year in Brutium, and Hannibal had beſides a famine to ſtruggle with, nothing material happened the campaign we are now upon in thoſe parts. Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian general, during his inaction this ſummer, erected an altar near the temple of Juno Lacinia, (Polybius ſays, a column or pillar near the town of Lacinium) upon which he engraved an account of all his great atchievements in Greek and Punic letters. Our readers will find ſome obſervations upon this monument of antiquity, which, Polybius aſſures us, was extant in his time, in two of our former notes [r].

The Spaniſh reguli receive a ſecond defeat.

The following year, advice was brought to Carthage, that an army formed of the Auſetani, Ilergetes, and ſeveral other Spaniſh nations, under the command of Indibilis, Mandonius, &c. had been entirely overthrown by the Romans. Indibilis, it ſeems, being encouraged by Scipio's departure out of Spain, had excited the people above-mentioned to a ſecond revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himſelf, with all the other reguli, independent both of the Romans and Carthaginians. To that end he aſſembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with which he advanced into the country of the Sedetani. Here the Roman generals, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thouſand of them to the ſword, in which number was Indibilis himſelf, and taking eight thouſand priſoners. Mandonius, and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the Romans, received capital puniſhment, after a confiſcation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the Spaniards upon

[r] Polyb. l. xi. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 46. Celius & Valer. Ant. apud Liv. ibid. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 11. Appian. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 276. Vide & vol xvii. p. 341. p. 457. not (D). & not (G).

upon reaſonable terms. The particulars of the laſt action, as well as a more circumſtantial account of the tranſactions this year in Spain, our readers will find in Livy, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction we refer them [s].

AFFAIRS were ſcarce ſettled in Spain, when Lælius made a deſcent in Africa at Hippo Regius, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This ſo alarmed the inhabitants, that they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to Carthage, with advice, that Scipio, with the Roman fleet, was arrived on their coaſts, and had landed at Hippo a ſtrong body of forces. As a rumour had, for ſome time, prevailed at Carthage, that Scipio had already paſſed into Sicily, the people and ſenate were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution that had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of Syphax, Maſiniſſa, and all their other allies, together with the ſickleneſs and inconſtancy of the Africans, from whom their auxiliary foces were to be drawn, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now their metropolis was threatened with a ſiege. However, when they received intelligence, that only Lælius, with an inconſiderable force, had put in at Hippo, in order to make an incurſion upon their territories on that ſide, their fears began to ſubſide. As ſoon therefore as they had recovered themſelves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence: they ſent an embaſſy to Syphax, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to ſeveral other African reguli, who ſhewed an inclination to ſide with the Romans: they remitted a ſum of two hundred talents of ſilver to Philip king of Macedon, in order to engage him to make a diverſion either in Italy or Sicily: they diſpatched orders to their generals in Italy to make all poſſible efforts to keep Scipio at home; and they ſent Mago a reinforcement of ſix thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, ſeven elephants, and twenty-five long ſhips, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer Rome, and join Hannibal. Lælius, having had a conference with Maſiniſſa, wherein that prince gave freſh aſſurances of his ſincere attachment to the Romans, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to ſee Scipio in Africa,

Lælius makes a deſcent in Africa.

ca,

[s] Liv. l. xxix. c. 2, 3. App'an in Iberic. Univerſ. hiſt. vol xii. p. 277.

ca, ſet ſail for Sicily, where he ſafely arrived, with the immenſe booty got in this expedition [t].

Mago receives a reinforcement.

In the mean time the veſſels, with the body of troops deſtined for Italy to reinforce Mago, ſailed from Carthage, and, after a happy voyage, put into the part of Savo, where they joined the other Carthaginian ſquadron. Mago, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the Gauls and Ligurians with the reinforcement and welcome diſpatches he had received from Carthage. He took occaſion from hence to aſſure them, "That the chief end of his coming to Italy was to ſecure to "them the enjoyment of their rights and privileges." To this he ſubjoined, "That though the ſtate of Carthage would "exert itſelf to the utmoſt, in order to obtain this deſirable "end, yet the ſucceſs of its endeavours would depend upon "them, as it was in their power to enable him to make a "greater or leſſer figure in the field; that as Sp. Lucretius "and M. Livius would ſoon unite their forces, a ſtrong body "of auxiliaries would be neceſſary to oppoſe ſo formidable an "army." To which the Gauls replied, "That as one "Roman army was hovering about their frontiers, and another in Etruria, at a ſmall diſtance from them, they could "not come to ſo vigorous a reſolution as their inclination "prompted them to, ſince this would expoſe their country "to the ravages of the enemy; but that however, underhand, "they would give him all the aſſiſtance in their power. As "to the Ligurians, they added, they were at liberty to act "as they ſhould think proper, ſince the Roman armies were "too remote from their borders to have any influence upon "their councils; and therefore it was but juſt, that they "ſhould openly take part in the war, and ſupply him with "what number of recruits he wanted." The Ligurians being of the ſame ſentiments, provided he allowed them two months time to raiſe men in, every thing ſucceeded according to his deſire; for the Gauls privately ſent him proviſions, and, by virtue of the Carthaginian money, the new levies went on briſkly in Liguria. But, notwithſtanding theſe happy beginnings, Mago met with the ſame fate in Italy, that Aſdrubal had done before in Spain, as will in a ſhort time appear [u].

Scipio takes

Both Scipio, and the Roman ſoldiery, expreſſed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence Lœlius brought from Maſiniſſa, excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from Africa did the troops. However, they were prevented from under-

[t] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 3, 4, 5. [u] Idem ibid.

undertaking this expedition for the preſent, by a ſucceſsful attempt upon the city of Locri. Some workmen, who had ſerved in the Carthaginian garriſon of one of the citadels there, being taken by a Roman party, and brought to Rhegium, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they ſhould expoſe themſelves. This being agreed to, the Romans, by the aſſiſtance of theſe traitors, made themſelves maſters of that citadel, in which they were employed; but the Carthaginian garriſon in the other, commanded by one Hamilcar, defended itſelf with great bravery, till Hannibal advanced from the river Butrotus to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action enſued, and the Romans would have been totally routed, notwithſtanding Scipio came from Maſiniſſa to their aſſiſtance, had not the people of Locri ſupported them; but this happening, and Hannibal being wounded by a ſcorpion, the Carthaginians thought proper to draw off. Scipio, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garriſons in them; and then immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying the war into Africa[w].

Scipio lands in Africa.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, the Carthaginians were under continual apprehenſions of Scipio's making a deſcent in Africa. They had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every expreſs, for fear he ſhould bring news of the enemy's landing. In this diſtreſs, it was the general opinion, that all poſſible attempts ſhould be made to detach Syphax from the Roman intereſt; ſince both the ſenate and people thought, that a proſpect of aſſiſtance from him would be the chief inducement to the Romans to invade their dominions in Africa. In order to accompliſh this, a lucky incident intervened: Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, who was at Syphax's court with Scipio, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquiſite charms named Sophoniſba. At that time Aſdrubal offered this young lady in marriage to Syphax, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the Carthaginians. He therefore now, with the ſame view, waited again upon Syphax; and having inflamed him with a deſcription of the beauty he was to have for his conſort, ſent for her thither from Carthage, to haſten the marriage. Amongſt other things, it was ſtipulated on this occaſion, that an offenſive and defenſive league ſhould be concluded betwixt him and the

[w] Polyb. l. xiii. Liv. l. xxix. c. 6—9. Appian. in Hannib.

the Carthaginians, in consequence of which he should assist them with all his forces. Asdrubal, not satisfied with this, as being no stranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with Rome, nor of the variable temper of the African barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a measure, which would prevent Scipio's landing in Africa, and consequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the Romans. Whilst therefore he was in his first amorous transports, the Carthaginian, by means of his daughter's soothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a letter to Scipio in Sicily to the following effect: "That, as he had married Asdru-
" bal's daughter, his interest was inseparable from that of
" the Carthaginians; that, besides this, he had concluded a
" solemn treaty with that nation; that he therefore advised
" him not to set his foot in Africa, because, in such case, he
" could not dispense with being neutral; that, if he offered
" to move with his army to Carthage, he should find himself
" obliged, both out of regard to his own native country,
" and that of his wife, to oppose him with all his forces."
This letter did not however produce the desired effect; for Scipio having, in answer to it, admonished him "to take
" care how he violated the laws of hospitality with him, and
" the engagements entered into with the people of Rome,"
set sail with a formidable force for Africa, and landed at the Fair Promontory without opposition [x].

It is intimated by Appian, that Sophonisba was betrothed to Masinissa, who was educated at Carthage, and a prince of the finest accomplishments. Animated by the passion he nourished for a lady of such attractive charms, according to the same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in Spain against the Romans; but this poor prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any considerable assistance to the Carthaginians, Sophonisba, for the reason hinted at above, though in defiance of justice, honour, and public faith, was given to Syphax. Livy is silent as to this particular, though that seems to us no sufficient argument against the probability of it; since Masinissa's future long uninterrupted fidelity to the Romans, is a proof, that he was of a noble disposition, and therefore could not abandon his first friends the Carthaginians without some grievous provocation. Possibly the Roman

[x] Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxix. c. 23. Appian, in Libyc. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Polyæn. ubi supra.

man hiſtorian's great regard for his hero Scipio, whoſe character, he might think, would a little ſuffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, Maſiniſſa ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, and contributed not a little to the deſtruction of their republic, as will moſt evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But to proceed to the war in Africa[y]:

The Carthaginians turn'd into a great conſternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

As the Carthaginians had ſeen no Roman army in Africa for fifty years paſt, the alarm that Scipio's deſcent occaſioned over the whole country, was inexpreſſible. Wherever that general moved, he ſcattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and Carthage in particular was extremely crouded on this melancholy occaſion. The gates there were ſhut in the utmoſt hurry, detachments poſted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a ſurprize; in ſhort, the ſame diſpoſitions were made, as would have been proper in caſe of an immediate ſiege. They had no commander of any repute, but Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, who had been defeated by Scipio in Spain, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw, undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the Roman legionaries. Being appriſed of Scipio's arrival at Utica, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached Hanno, a young Carthaginian nobleman, to obſtruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horſe; who, falling in with a detachment of the Roman cavalry, ſent by Scipio out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a ſhort diſpute, he was cut off, with a conſiderable number of his men, and the reſt diſperſed. After this action, Scipio laid the country waſte to the very gates of Carthage; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thouſand of its principal citizens priſoners. Theſe firſt inſtances of ſucceſs greatly heightened the confuſion, that had before begun to reign in Carthage, eſpecially when it was known there, that Maſiniſſa had joined Scipio with a body of two hundred, or, as others ſay, two thouſand, Numidian horſe. In this laſt article we have followed Livy; but, according to Appian, Aſdrubal and Syphax greatly careſſed Maſiniſſa at this time, in order to prevent the junction of his forces and the Romans, though, at the ſame time, they

[y] Appian. ubi ſup. Vide & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 11 Zonar. l. ix. c. 11.

they had resolved upon his destruction, as soon as Scipio should be driven out of Africa. This, continues the same author, Masiniſſa was not ignorant of, though, in order to overcome them at their own weapons, he pretended to be entirely reconciled to those two commanders, having been before at variance with them, for the reason above assigned. However, he privately informed Scipio of all their motions and designs. We might here give our readers an account of the family of Masiniſſa, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a description of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we chuse to reserve for the history of Numidia [z].

Masiniſſa defeats Hanno.

In the room of the horse lately cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raised with all possible expedition, and the command of it given to another Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, who advanced towards Utica, to observe the enemy's motions. But being too weak to undertake any thing against them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by some new levies, that his officers were making both in the Carthaginian territories, and those of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At last, finding his troops to amount to four thousand men, he took post in a town called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. Out of this place, Masiniſſa, who was sent to Salera, with a detachment of horse, by Scipio, for that purpose, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of Roman cavalry, commanded by Scipio himself, that lay in ambuscade, charged him with such vigour, that he was put to flight, a thousand of his men falling in the action, and two thousand being either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit. Most authors relate, that Hanno was slain; but Cœlius and Valerius Antias affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, Scipio put a garrison into Salera, and pushed on the siege of Utica. In the mean time Asdrubal assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of Syphax, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Scipio, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of Utica,

[z] Liv. ubi sup. c. 28. Polyb. l. xiv. Appian. ubi sup. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 279. & seq.

Utica, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the ſpace of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in ſuch a manner, as to fear no inſults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping ſpirits of the Carthaginians, who now ſaw their own forces, in conjunction with thoſe of Syphax their ally, ſuperior to the Romans in the field [a].

State of affairs in Italy.

In Italy this year, Hannibal gained an advantage over the conſul Sempronius; but was himſelf ſoon after defeated by that general. The loſs the Carthaginians ſuſtained on this occaſion, was above four thouſand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken priſoners, beſides forty horſes, and ſeven ſtandards, that fell into the victors hands. Hannibal, upon this diſaſter, retired with his army to Croton. The other conſul Cethegus in the mean time kept Etruria in awe, and prevented Mago from approaching his brother Hannibal. As the Etruſcans were generally diſpoſed to a revolt, and kept a cloſe correſpondence with Mago, Cethegus found it a difficult matter to execute the province aſſigned him. The Brutians, hearing of the great ſucceſs of Scipio in Africa, for the moſt part abandoned the Carthaginian intereſt. Some of Hannibal's garriſons amongſt them they put to the ſword, others they expelled; and in many places, where they could not openly declare for the Romans, they found means to inform the ſenate of their averſion to the Carthaginians. In the mean time Hannibal came to Petilia, and expoſtulated with the citizens upon their ſending miniſters to Rome; but pretended to be ſatisfied with their conduct, when they ſtrenuouſly denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of ſuſpicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arreſt, committing them to the care of a guard of Numidians; and, diſarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the ſlaves. He treated other cities likewiſe with equal ſeverity, Thurii in particular, with its diſtrict, which he gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, ſparing only three thouſand of the citizens, and five hundred peaſants, whom he knew to be cloſely attached to the Carthaginians. Theſe he tranſplanted to Croton, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the Romans [b].

Scipio

[a] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 34, 35. Appian. ubi ſup. [b] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 18.

Scipio routs Syphax and Asdrubal.

SCIPIO having fortified his camp, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of the spring. During the winter, Scipio attempted to draw off Syphax from the Carthaginians, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator beween the contending powers, provided Scipio would agree to this preliminary, viz. that both parties should recall their armies home; which, he intimated, would serve as a basis for a future treaty, and effectually secure the repose of their respective dominions. This proposal the Roman general, at first, rejected; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, Scipio was informed, that the Carthaginian camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified; and that the Numidian quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were entirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other suchlike combustible materials. To which his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by some stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon was a smooth and open plain, extremly proper for their cavalry, much superior to that of the Romans, to act in. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent embassadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but in reality to make such discoveries, as would favour the execution of his scheme. These embassadors were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and situation, how far Asdrubal was from Syphax, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting Syphax know, "That as his officers had, in a council of "war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, "and pressed him to push on the war with vigour, he "found himself obliged, in compliance with their desire, "to pursue the military operations." Such a declaration could

could not but extremely mortify both Aſdrubal and Syphax, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they ſoon recovered themſelves, and reſolved to draw, if poſſible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they ſhould be able to give a good account of them; or, if they ſhould fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to beſiege their camp both by ſea and land; which they imagined themſelves capable of doing. But Scipio took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſurpriſed them in the manner already related. Lælius and Maſiniſſa burnt Syphax's camp, as Scipio himſelf did that of Aſdrubal. Their army was entirely ruined, only two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with the two commanders, eſcaping out of ſo great a multitude. According to Livy, this complete victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the wiſe diſpoſitions of Maſiniſſa. The ſcene exhibited on this melancholy occaſion, Polybius tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may eaſily be admitted, if we conſider the terrible havock made of the Carthaginian and Numidian troops. Appian relates, that Syphax, having, ſome time before, ſhamefully abandoned the Carthaginians, when he had advanced as far as Utica to their aſſiſtance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invaſion, returned ſoon after to ſuccour them, and endeavoured to bring over Maſiniſſa, by promiſing to give him which of his three daughters he pleaſed, and to fix him on the throne of the Maſæſyli. The ſame author tells us, that Scipio offered ſacrifices to the deities Audacia and Pavor, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be ſtruck with any panic terrors in the night, ſince they were then to begin the attack. Aſdrubal made his eſcape to Anda, where he rallied the remains of his ſhattered army, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries and Numidians; and having, by his own authority, preſented a good number of ſlaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a conſiderable corps. Syphax retired to an advantageous poſt, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of. Appian relates, that Aſdrubal was condemned to be crucified for his ill ſucceſs; which is improbable, if what Livy ſays be true, viz. that, ſoon after the laſt diſaſter, he went to Carthage, in order to prevent the ſenate and ſuffetes from coming into any pacific meaſures. Be that as it will, the ſuffetes having convened the ſenate, three motions were made: firſt, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Scipio, to treat of a peace

with that general; ſecondly, that Hannibal ſhould be recalled out of Italy; thirdly, that, in imitation of the Roman reſolution in adverſity, they ſhould depend upon themſelves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to Syphax for further ſuccours. This laſt, being backed by Aſdrubal, and the Barchine faction, was carried; in conſequence of which, the new levies went on briſkly, and miniſters were diſpatched in all haſte to Syphax, who was prevailed upon, by the entreaties and endearments of his beloved Sophoniſba, to join Aſdrubal with a large body of forces. In the mean time Scipio advanced to the walls of Carthage, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As ſoon as Aſdrubal had left Anda, it ſurrendered to the Romans. Two other towns of note likewiſe in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make reſiſtance, Scipio carried by aſſault, and gave them up to his ſoldiers to be plundered. After this, he ſet down again before Utica, and puſhed on the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt vigiour. In the mean time Aſdrubal and Syphax, being joined by a good number of Celtiberian troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thouſand ſtrong, with which they moved towards Scipio, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend his lines, roſe from before Utica, and advanced to meet them. The Roman army was diſpoſed in the uſual manner. On the other ſide, Aſdrubal poſted his Carthaginian forces in the right wing, Syphax, with his Numidians, in the left, and the Celtiberians in the centre. The Carthaginians and Numidians were routed at the firſt onſet; but the Celtiberians, being animated by deſpair, fought with ſuch reſolution, that they were almoſt all to a man killed upon the ſpot. As Scipio had treated them with the utmoſt lenity after their late revolt, they were ſenſible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deſerved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and finding it impoſſible to eſcape by flight, they reſoved to die in the field. The obſtinacy with which they, for ſome time, maintained the diſpute, gave many of the Carthaginians and Numidians an opportunity of ſaving themſelves, who muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, Scipio detached Lælius and Maſiniſſa, with the horſe and light-armed troops, to purſue Syphax

and

and Asdrubal; whilst he himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourbood of Carthage [c].

THE Carthaginians now looked upon their condition as desperate, expecting every moment to be besieged by Scipio with his victorious army. They therefore repaired the wall of the city, filled their magazines, and made all the other necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In the mean time the garrison of Tunes abandoned that city at Scipio's approach. Soon after the loss of this place, the Carthaginians sent a squadron of galleys to destroy the Roman fleet in the port of Utica; which they might have easily effected, had they not put into the harbour of Ruscino by the way, and staid a whole night there; which, together with their slow sailing, and the useless precaution of drawing up their fleet in order of battle, as though they had been to engage some formidable enemy, gave the Romans an opportunity of frustrating, in a great measure, their design. The great consternation the Carthaginians were thrown into by their late losses, prevented them from pursuing this enterprize with the expedition necessary to render it successful, since they imagined the Romans to be invincible by sea, as well as by land. However, they carried off six of the enemy's galleys; which, in the present situation of affairs, elated them as much, as formerly an important victory would have done. We are told by Appian, that Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, surprising the Roman fleet at Utica, took one trireme, and six transports; that, immediately after this, Hanno, with a body of forces, attempted to raise the siege of Utica; but was repulsed with considerable loss; that however, Scipio, being tired with the long siege, or rather blockade, of that place, transported all his military machines to Hippo; and that having ineffectually played them upon that city likewise, he burnt them all as useless, ravaged some parts of the neighbouring provinces, and entered into an alliance with others. The same author likewise intimates, that the Carthaginians attempted to corrupt the Iberian troops in the Roman service; but without success, their indirect practices being discovered to Scipio by the aruspices at repeated sacrifices. We might here give our readers all the particulars, besides those already mentioned,

Tunes abandoned at the approach of Scipio.

[c] Liv. l. xxx. c. 4—10. Polyb. l. xiv. Appian in Libyc. Dio. Cass. in except. Vales. Oros. l. iv. c. 18. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 12.

oned, relating to the tragical exit of Sophoniſba, as well as the great progreſs made by Lælius and Maſiniſſa at this time in Numidia, did we not apprehend them more properly to belong to the Numidian hiſtory [d].

The Carthaginians ſue to Scipio for peace.

IMMEDIATELY after the laſt defeat, the ſenate and ſuffetes of Carthage came to a reſolution to recall Hannibal from Italy, upon whoſe veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful aſſiſtance of Syphax, they were convinced, their preſervation did abſolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in the important enterprize above-mentioned, Syphax being taken priſoner, his country conquered, and Hannibal as yet at a great diſtance, they had no other reſource left, than to ſue to Scipio for peace. To this they were farther excited, by the general's encamping again at Tunes, within ſight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal ſenators, who were ſelected for that purpoſe out of the centumvirate, to wait upon Scipio. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, kiſſed his feet, (in conformity, as Livy obſerves, to the practice of their anceſtors the Tyrians) and ſpoke to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. They accuſed Hannibal, and the Barchine faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confeſſed themſelves to have broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the Romans, and that they deſerved whatever puniſhment that nation ſhould think proper to inflict upon them. They begged however, that their city, which had twice merited deſtruction, by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the Roman clemency, promiſing at the ſame time an implicit obedience to his commands. Scipio replied, "That though he "had come into Africa, not for peace, but conqueſt, "which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all na- "tions might ſee the ſtrict juſtice of the Romans, both in "undertaking and concluding their wars, he would grant "them a peace upon the following terms:" that they ſhould deliver all the Roman priſoners and deſerters to him; that they ſhould recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; that they ſhould never ſet foot again in Spain; that they ſhould retire out of all the iſlands between Italy and Africa; that they ſhould put the victors in poſſeſſion of all their ſhips, twenty only excepted, which they ſhould be allowed to keep for

[d] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſup.

for their own uſe; laſtly, that they ſhould give to the Romans five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, three hundred thouſand of barley, and pay five thouſand talents, or, as others will have it, five thouſand pound weight of ſilver. He gave them three days to conſider of theſe conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till Hannibal's arrival. A truce being granted the Carthaginians, they immediately ſent deputies to Rome, and at the ſame time diſpatched an expreſs to Hannibal, to haſten his return to Africa. Appian intimates, that, beſides the articles above-mentioned, Scipio inſiſted upon a compliance with the two following: that Maſiniſſa ſhould not only keep poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, but as many of Syphax's territories, as he ſhould be able to conquer; and that the Carthaginians ſhould not extend their dominions beyond the Foſſa Punica. But theſe, and other points, wherein that author differs from Livy and Polybius, ſeem not ſo agreeable to truth, as what has been tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians [e].

Mago overthrown in Inſubria.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Mago advanced into Inſubria, where he met with the Roman forces under the command of M. Cornelius and P. Quintilius Varus. A general action ſoon happened between the two armies, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated. However, Aſdrubal's elephants, by their noiſe, ſmell, terrible appearance, &c. with the Numidian horſe, ſo puſhed the Roman cavalry, and his Carthaginian infantry charged the legionaries with ſuch bravery, that, had his corps de reſerve, which conſiſted of Gauls, done their duty againſt the triarii, the Romans muſt have been overthrown. Mago performed the part of a conſummate general, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly throughout the whole action; but being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into ſuch confuſion, that a good part of them betook themſelves to flight. Five thouſand Carthaginians fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their ſtandards were taken. But this victory coſt the Romans dear; for they loſt two thouſand three hundred men, beſides the beſt part of the twelfth legion. Mago, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the Ingauni, which was one of the maritime parts of Liguria, where he met a courier bringing him orders

[e] Iidem ibid.

ders to return directly to Carthage. The Ligurians, being informed of this, received the Romans with open arms; and Mago, embarking his troops, immediately set sail for Carthage; but his wound growing worse, upon his arrival on the coast of Sardinia, he expired [f].

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

THE Romans being thus every-where victorious, Consentia, Uffugium, Vergæ, Besidiæ, Hetriculum, Syphæum, Argentanum, Dampetia, and other towns of less note in Brutium, opened their gates to the consul Cn. Servilius. This was the situation of affairs, when Hannibal was commanded to return to Africa. Valerius Antias wrote, that, just before his departure, Hannibal was defeated by Servilius not far from Croton, and that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men. But Livy, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the messengers from Africa informed Hannibal of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, those persons, "who have long endeavoured to drag me out of Italy, "by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and ex-"plicit orders to return home. Hannibal is not vanquished "by the Romans, but by the senate of Carthage. Scipio "has not so much reason to exult and plume himself at "my being forced from Italy, as Hanno, who, for want "of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin "of my family by the destruction of Carthage." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to Africa; which he did, after having massacred a body of Italian troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of Juno Lacinia. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since Hannibal must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to Livy, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having after

[f] Polyb. & Appian. ubi sup. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18.

ter the battle of Cannæ, advanced to the walls of Rome at the head of his army, ſtill reeking with the blood of its citizens. Appian writes that Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, committed unparrallelled cruelties in all the cities allied with Carthage, before Hannibal's departure, permitting his men to raviſh their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all reſpects to them, as the moſt inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by aſſault. But as Livy, whoſe authority, in the main, we prefer to that of Appian, is ſilent as to this particular, we own ourſelves inclined to pay no great regard to it [g].

The Carthaginians break the truce Scipio granted them.

THE Carthaginian embaſſadors, about this time, arrived at Rome, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. The conſcript fathers, greatly diſſatisfied with the excuſes made by theſe embaſſadors, in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius, thought proper to refer the deciſion of the whole to Scipio, who, being upon the ſpot, could beſt judge what ſuited the welfare of the ſtate. However, the Romans plainly diſcovered, from the conduct of their miniſters on this occaſion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithſtanding their pretended deſire of peace, the Carthaginians would be averſe to an accommodation, as ſoon as they received intelligence of Hannibal's landing in Africa. They were confirmed in the ſentiments they had entertained, by the news, which in a few days, arrived at Rome, viz. that the Carthaginians, in violation of the truce which they themſelves had ſo earneſtly deſired, had ſeized a great number of ſhips on the coaſt of Africa, near the iſland Ægimurus, and even attacked the galley that carried the Roman embaſſadors to Carthage, in the river Bagrada, within ſight of Scipio's camp. Such a procedure could not but exaſperate the two nations one againſt the other more than ever; the Romans, from the ſtrong deſire they muſt have had to revenge ſo black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a perſuaſion, that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of thoſe infamous actions, as well as Scipio's great generoſity and politeneſs to the Carthaginian embaſſadors, notwithſtanding ſuch a flagrant

[g] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 20, & ſeq. Appian. in Hannib.

grant violation of the law of nations, we must refer our readers to the Roman history [h].

Hannibal makes proposals of peace to Scipio.

HANNIBAL had no sooner landed in Africa, than he sent out parties to get provisions for the army, and buy horses to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the Areacidæ, a Numidian tribe not far from Adrumetum. Four thousand of Syphax's horse, then in the service of Masiniſſa, came over in a body to him; but as he did not think it proper to repose any confidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and distributed their horses amongst his troops. Vermina, one of Syphax's sons, and Mesetulus, another Numidian prince, likewise joined him with a very considerable body of horse. Most of the fortresses in Masiniſſa's kingdom either surrendered to him upon the first summons, or were taken by storm. Narce, a city of considerable note there, he made himself master of by a stratagem. Tychæus, a Numidian regulus, and faithful ally of Syphax, whose territories were famous for an excellent breed of horses, reinforcing him also much about the same time with two thousand of his best cavalry, Hannibal advanced to Zama, a town about five days march from Carthage, where he encamped. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the Romans. These being brought to Scipio, he was so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order to take an exact survey of it, and then dismissed them. Hannibal, admiring the noble assurance of his rival, sent a messenger to desire an interview with him; which by means of Masiniſſa he obtained. The two generals therefore, escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at Nadagara, where, by the assistance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. Hannibal, after having flattered Scipio in the most refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all those topics, that he thought could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms, told him that the Carthaginians would willingly confine themselves to Africa, since such was the will of the gods, in order to procure a lasting peace, whilst the Romans would be at liberty to extend their conquests to the remotest nations.

[h] Liv. l. xxx. c. 24. 25, Appian in Libyc. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 288.

tions. He farther added, that, with regard to the ſincerity of his intentions, ſince the Romans had lately, not without reaſon, ſuſpected the Punic faith, he deſired him to be fully convinced of it, and to reſt aſſured, that the ſame conſtant and uniform diſpoſition Hannibal had ſhewn in the proſecution of this bloody war, as long as the gods permitted it, would as eminently appear in the ſtrict obſervation of a future peace; and that the Romans had the leſs reaſon to doubt of this, as the intereſt of the Carthaginians itſelf rendered ſuch a conduct on their part abſolutely neceſſary. Scipio anſwered, That the Romans were not prompted by ambition, or any ſiniſter views, to undertake either the former or preſent war againſt the Carthaginians, but by juſtice, and a proper regard for their allies; that the Carthaginians had, before his arrival in Africa, not only made him the ſame propoſals, but likewiſe agreed to pay the Romans five thouſand talents of ſilver, reſtore all the Roman priſoners without ranſom, and deliver up all their galleys; that the late perfidious actions of the Carthaginians ought to be ſo far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the Romans thought themſelves authorized from thence to impoſe more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would ſubmit to, then a peace would enſue; if not, the deciſion of the diſpute betwixt them muſt be entirely left to the ſword [i].

The diſpoſition of the Roman and Carthaginian armies at the battle of Zama.

THIS conference betwixt two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced thus ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of Rome and Carthage, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly in the morning, both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring to animate their men to make their utmoſt efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great reſolution in the plains of Zama. Scipio poſted the haſtati, divided into ſmall battalions, with proper ſpaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the ſame manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The Italian horſe, under the conduct of Lælius, he placed in the left wing; and the Numidian, commanded by Maſiniſſa, in the right.

By

[i] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29—32. Appian. in Libyc.

By this disposition, which differed some thing from that which the Romans usually made, a proper precaution was taken against the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwise have undoubtedly borne down the principes. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void spaces between the battalions, if they found themselves overcharged by the enemy, or pushed by their elephants, the most expeditious part of them continuing their retreat, till they came behind the army, thereby giving an opportunity to their wounded, or more slow companions, of saving themselves in the interval between the hastati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. Hannibal, on the other side, posted his elephants, eighty in number, in front; behind them he placed his vanguard, consisting of Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Mauritanian mercenaries; then followed the main battle, composed of four thousand Africans and native Carthaginians, sustained by a body of four thousand Macedonian veterans, sent him by king Philip; and, at a furlong's distance from them, moved those brave troops, that had served under him in Italy, forming his rear, in whom he reposed his chief confidence. The Carthaginian cavalry were opposed to Lælius; and the Numidian, under Tychæus, Mesetulus, &c. to Masiniſſa [k].

The battle of Zama,

SOME time before the beginning of the action, the Numidian horse on both sides skirmished with inconsiderable loss. After which, pursuant to Hannibal's orders, the elephants advanced against the enemy; but those distributed in the left wing, being frightened by the sound of the trumpets, and the other martial music, fell foul upon their own Numidian horse, and put them into disorder. Masiniſſa immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that attacked the Roman light-armed troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the Carthaginian horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they met with the same rough treatment from Lælius, that the Numidians had before done from Masiniſſa. In the mean time the infantry on both sides engaged with unparallelled bravery. Hannibal's mercenaries at first repulsed

[k] Iidem ibid.

pulſed the legionaries; but theſe laſt, being duly ſupported by the principes, not only recovered themſelves, but routed the mercenaries, and puſhed them on the Carthaginians; which occaſioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great meaſure, determined victory to declare for the Romans. The corps de reſerve, formed of Hannibal's veterans, that had ſerved under him in Italy, behaved with inexpreſſible intrepidity and reſolution; but Lælius and Maſiniſſa, returning from the defeat of the enemy's horſe, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before ſeemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground ſtrewed with their dead bodies, moſt of them being killed either in the battle or the purſuit. Appian relates, that, during the heat of the action, Hannibal firſt engaged Scipio, and afterwards Maſiniſſa, in ſingle combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the ſame author, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Livy and Polybius affirm, that twenty thouſand of Hannibal's men were killed, and as many taken priſoners; as likewiſe, that an hundred and thirty ſtandards fell into the enemy's hands. Some ſay, the Romans loſt only two thouſand men; others, that two thouſand five hundred Romans, and a greater number of Maſiniſſa's ſoldiers, fell in this engagment. Be that as it will, Scipio got a complete victory, and made himſelf maſter of Hannibal's camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thouſand five hundred of ſilver, and an immenſe quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work [1].

Hannibal's excelent conduct at that battle.

HANNIBAL, having eſcaped to Thon, was ſoon joined by ſome Brutian and Spaniſh fugitives, who had been too ſwift for their purſuers; but not caring to truſt himſelf in their hands, he fled privately to Adrumetum. The ſurpriſing military genius of that moſt renowned general never more eminently diſplayed itſelf than at the battle of Zama, as we learn from Polybius, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occaſion. Scipio himſelf likewiſe, according to Livy, paſſed an high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement

[1] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Corn. Nep. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 14. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 23. Plut. in Hannib. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 19. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 290, 291.

arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vaſtly inferior to the enemy in horſe, and the ſtate of Carthage obliging him, at no ſmall diſadvantage, to hazard a battle with the Romans, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some conſolation however it muſt have been to him to hear, that Scipio not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outſhined himſelf in this glorious, though unfortunate, action [m].

A peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.

THE ſenate of Carthage, hearing of Hannibal's arrival at Adrumetum, diſpatched meſſengers to him, with orders to return to Carthage. He obeyed theſe orders, and adviſed his countrymen to conclude a peace with the Romans upon the terms they ſhould think proper to preſcribe them. To this they were the more ſtrongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given Vermina, the ſon of Syphax, their ally. This blow was very conſiderable, fifteen thouſand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made priſoners, and fifteen hundred Numidian horſes, together with ſeventy-two military enſigns, taken. After this overthrow, the Carthaginians ſent ten of their principal citizens, as embaſſadors, to implore Scipio's clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at Tunes. However, thirty Carthaginian ſenators, ſelected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon Scipio, and ſuing for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The Carthaginians ſhall be governed by their own laws, and remain in poſſeſſion of all their African dominions. 2. The Carthaginians ſhall deliver up to the Romans all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the Italians, whom Hannibal forced to follow him. 3. This ſhall be done within thirty days after the treaty is ſigned. 4. They ſhall alſo deliver up all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and ſhall train up no more of thoſe animals for the ſervice. 5. The ſenate and people of Carthage ſhall not engage in any war, without the conſent of the Romans. 6. They ſhall ſupply the Roman troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to Rome. 7. They ſhall pay the Romans, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand Euboic

[m] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 35. Appian. in Libyc.

boic talents, at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to Scipio an hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, and oldeſt above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place, till the Carthaginians have reſtored to the Romans the ſhips and effects taken from them during the laſt truce. 10. The Roman armies ſhall leave Africa within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. 11. The Carthaginians ſhall reſtore to Maſiniſſa all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They ſhall never for the future make any levies in Gaul or Liguria. 13. They ſhall aſſiſt the Romans both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon ſo to do. Theſe terms, which Scipio thought proper to grant the Carthaginians, in caſe the ſenate and people of Rome would ratify them, appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of Carthage, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility. But Hannibal, having aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, at Marthama, prevented an inſurrection, and by his influence, completed the accomodation. However, Giſco, an enemy to the Barchine faction, made a ſpeech to the ſenators, in order to diſſuade them from accepting ſuch a ſhameful peace. Hannibal, being highly incenſed at his preſumption, dragged him from his ſeat: which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at leaſt, to palliate, ſo precipitate an action, Hannibal made an apology for it to the following effect: "As I left your city at nine years of "age, and did not return till after thirty-ſix years abſence, "I had full leiſure to learn the military art, and flatter "myſelf, that I have made good improvement in it; but, "with regard to your conſtitution, it is no wonder that I "am a ſtranger to it, and therefore I muſt deſire you to "inſtruct me in every branch of it." He then inſiſted upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; adding, "that they "ought to return the gods thanks for having diſpoſed the "Romans to grant them ſuch favourable conditions." He likewiſe repreſented to the ſenators the importance of uniting in their ſuffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal conſequence to the ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale, which already did but too much preponderate. That whole venerable aſſembly therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking

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ſuch an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms propoſed by Scipio were accepted. Ample ſatisfaction having been made the Romans for the outrages offered their miniſters, and the infraction of the late truce, the Carthaginians diſpatched an embaſſy, at the head of which was Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Hædus, or The Kid, to Rome. As he was an irreconcileable enemy to Hannibal and his family, he endeavoured to excuſe the people of Carthage, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the Barchine faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of Hanno, towards the Romans. He likewiſe expatiated upon the generoſity, magnanimity, wiſdom, and humanity of the Romans; whilſt his companions endeavoured to move the ſenate to compaſſion, by exhibiting to their view the calamitous ſtate of Carthage in the moſt lively colours. By theſe methods of perſuaſion, they not only prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to grant them their requeſt, but likewiſe to ſend two hundred of their priſoners then at Rome to Scipio, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored, without any pecuniary conſideration, as ſoon as he ſhould receive from the Carthaginians their ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the Carthaginians obtained of Scipio, upon the return of their embaſſadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had preſcribed. They then, in purſuance of the treaty, delivered up to Scipio above five hundred ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of Carthage, to the inexpreſſible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewiſe delivered up into the hands of the Romans all their elephants, all the ſlaves, deſerters, and priſoners of war. The number of theſe laſt amounted to above four thouſand men. Scipio treated both the Latin and Roman deſerters with extreme ſeverity, ordering all the heads of the former to be ſtruck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at Carthage being exhauſted by ſo long and expenſive a war, the ſenate found it vaſtly difficult to raiſe a ſum ſufficient for the payment of the firſt tax impoſed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy ſilence, and many could not even refrain from tears. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, laughing on this occaſion, was reproved by Aſdrubal Hœdus, for inſulting his country in this the time of its affliction, which, he inſinuated, was owing to his conduct. Hannibal, in reply, according to the ſame author, ſpoke to that auguſt aſſembly to the following effect: "Were my heart as viſible as my

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" countenance, you would perceive, that this laughter,
" which has given ſuch offence, flows not from an exceſs of
" joy, but from a mind almoſt diſtracted with the public
" calamities; nor is even this laughter ſo unſeaſonable as
" your abſurd and indecent tears. Then you ought to have
" wept, when your arms were taken from you, your ſhips
" burnt, and you were prohibited from engaging in any
" foreign wars. This was the mortal blow, that laid us
" proſtrate. Do not imagine, that the Romans, out of any
" particular averſion to you, have formed a ſcheme for your
" deſtruction. No great city can long enjoy any repoſe.
" If it has no foreign, it will ſoon meet with a domeſtic
" enemy; as the moſt robuſt conſtitutions, when free from
" all external morbific cauſes, are borne down by their own
" ſtrength. You are only ſenſible of the public calamities,
" as far as you have a perſonal concern in them; and the
" loſs of your money only gives you the moſt pungent ſor-
" row. When therefore Carthage was made the ſpoil of the
" victor, when it was left diſarmed and defenceleſs amidſt ſo
" many powerful African nations, who had at that time
" taken the field, not a groan, not a ſigh was heard. But
" now, when a capitation-tax is demanded, you lament and
" bewail, as if all were loſt. Alas! I greatly fear, that the
" ſubject of this day's anxiety and concern will ſoon prove
" the leaſt of your misfortunes." Thus ended the ſecond Punic war, one of the moſt remarkable mentioned in hiſtory, both on account of the viciſſitudes of fortune diſcernible in it, and the immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure it occaſioned the conſumption of. Zonaras, from ſome authors not now extant, tells us, it laſted only ſixteen years; but Livy and Polybius, whoſe authority is more to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate it to have been terminated eighteen years after Hannibal came to a rupture with the Romans [n].

THE year after the concluſion of the laſt treaty, Hamilcar, a Carthaginian captain, left in thoſe parts either by Aſdrubal or Mago, excited the Inſubres, Cœnomani, and the Boii, together with the Sallyi, Ilvates, and other cantons of Liguria, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of Rome. Of this the ſenate immediately informed the ſtate of

The Romans force the Carthaginians to clap up a diſhonourable peace with Maſſiniſſa.

[n] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 36, & ſeq. Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. &c. ubi ſup.

of Carthage, threatening at the ſame time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What anſwer the Carthaginians returned to this menace, we no-where find; but the death of Hamilcar, who was ſoon after killed in a battle he fought with Fulvius Purpureo the prætor, put an end to all farther diſpute betwixt the Carthaginians and the Romans on this head. The peace betwixt Carthage and Rome was ſcarce ſigned, when Maſiniſſa, at the inſtigation of the Romans, unjuſtly made himſelf maſter of part of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, under pretence, that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, through the villainous mediation of the Romans, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourſe, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ceding thoſe countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good underſtanding afterwards betwixt thoſe two powers continued many years; but at laſt Maſiniſſa, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the Romans, as there is great reaſon to believe, violated the treaties ſubſiſting betwixt him and the Carthaginians, and not a little contributed to the ſubverſion of the African republic, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [o].

The Carthaginians ſend fifty Euboic talents to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty.

THE following year, in the conſulate of Cornelius Lentulus and P. Villius Tappulus, the Carthaginians ſent fifty Euboic talents of ſilver to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty; but the ſilver not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at Rome, to make up the deficiency. At their requeſt, an hundred of their hoſtages were releaſed, and hopes given them, that the other hundred ſhould ſoon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hoſtages deſiring leave to be removed from Norba, which they repreſented as a place very inconvenient for them to reſide in, the ſenate immediately ſent them to Signia and Ferentinum. From hence they were removed to Setia, where their domeſtics occaſioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill conſequence to the Romans; but how this accident affected the ſtate of Carthage, is no-where ſaid. According to Appian, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to

[o] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 10, 11, 32. & l. xl. c. 34. Zonar. l. ix. c. 15. Appian. in Libyc.

to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their ſhipping had ſo lately been, in a manner, deſtroyed. A glaring inſtance this of the ſurpriſing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition [p]!

Hannibal reforms ſome abuſes at Carthage, and afterwards flies to Antiochus king of Syria.

NOT long after the tranſactions juſt hinted at, Livy tells us, that one Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of Gauls, that was defeated by Cethegus; and that this general himſelf was taken priſoner in the action; but whether any, or how many, Carthaginian troops aſſiſted the Gauls on this occaſion, or what influence that event had upon the Carthaginian affairs, hiſtory informs us not. In the mean time Hannibal kept up his credit at Carthage. Notwithſtanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite ſcheme, the republic gave him the command of an army deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring African powers; and from Cornelius Nepos it ſeems probable, that he made ſome campaigns after the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war. This gave ſuch umbrage to the Romans, that, notwithſtanding the Carthaginians made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refuſed to releaſe the Carthaginian priſoners ſtill detained in Italy. The ſenate indeed, at the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who came with the compliment to Rome, gave leave to the Carthaginian hoſtages ſtill with them to reſide in what city of Italy they pleaſed; and aſſured the embaſſadors, that this inſtance of their republic's friendſhip was very acceptable to them. But with regard to the priſoners, the conſcript fathers frankly told them, that they could not diſmiſs them, as long as Hannibal, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in Africa. Upon this remonſtrance, the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal home, and conferred upon him the office of prætor; which ſeems to have been an employment of great conſideration and authority. In this poſt Hannibal behaved ſo as to gain univerſal applauſe. He regulated the finances in ſuch a manner, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate to which Carthage was reduced, conſiderable ſums were laid up yearly for the public ſervice, after the payment of the tax to the Romans impoſed by the laſt treaty, and all other deductions made. As ſuch a laudable conduct muſt have been founded upon a reformation of many

[p] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 2. 26. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 16. Appian, ubi ſup.

abuſes, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many perſons concerned in thoſe abuſes; but neither this, nor the animoſity of the old Hannonian faction, which was far from being extinguiſhed, prevented him from purſuing the meaſures he thought neceſſary for the ſervice of the republic with zeal and reſolution. But he was not ſatisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice. As the judges exerciſed the moſt cruel rapine with impunity, diſpoſing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the leaſt controul, ſince they held their offices for life, and mutually ſupported one another, Hannibal reſolved to redreſs ſo crying an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the paſſing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond their year. This ſtep greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleaſed the populace, of Carthage. His reputation and authority amongſt the latter were raiſed to a higher pitch by the method he made uſe of to complete the regulation of the finances above-mentioned. The public revenues had been embezzled by thoſe, who had the management of them, and ſome of the leading men in the city. This obliged the ſenate and ſuffetes to think of levying the annual tribute due to the Romans upon the people; which ſcheme Hannibal prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the colluſions of thoſe poſſeſſed of the other lucrative poſts. It is no wonder therefore, that perſons of this complexion ſhould exert their utmoſt malice to ruin a man, however laudably diſpoſed to the public, who, they had the aſſurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they conſidered their long continued peculation. In order to gratify their reſentment, they excited the Romans to purſue Hannibal to deſtruction. Accordingly C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo were ſent to Carthage, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa, but, in reality, to ruin Hannibal, who, they aſſerted, carried on a ſecret intelligence with king Antiochus, in order to concert with him the proper meaſures for proſecuting the war againſt the Romans. Hannibal, upon their arrival, notwithſtanding

ſtanding their ſpecious pretexts, knew the ſubject of their commiſſion, and thought it prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times. Having therefore made all the proper diſpoſitions for his departure, in order to blind his country-men, in the duſk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dreſs, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his deſign. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the aſſiſtance of which paſſing the Vocanian diſtrict, he arrived at a caſtle, or palace, of his own between Acholla and Thapſus. From hence he was wafted over in a veſſel, that waited for him, to the iſland Cercina. Here he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to conceal his retreat from Carthage; which had the deſired effect. The populace of Carthage, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others that he had been aſſaſſinated by the Roman faction. However, at laſt time diſcovered the truth, the ſenate receiving certain intelligence, that he had been ſeen in the iſland Cercina. No ſooner did this news come to hand, than the Roman embaſſadors inſiſted upon the Carthaginians making a public declaration of their diſlike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impoſe upon the maſters of ſhips at that time in the iſland Cercina, he gave out, that the republic of Carthage had ſent him their embaſſador to Tyre. Livy tells us, that he was not ſo much affected with the proſpect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities, which threatened his country. From Cercina he ſteered his courſe for Tyre, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of diſtinction due to his exalted merit. After ſtaying ſome days here, he ſet out for Antioch, and had a conference with Antiochus's ſon at Daphne, where he was celebrating ſome ſolemn diverſions. From hence he poſted to Epheſus, where he met with a moſt kind reception from that prince himſelf, whom he determined to enter upon a war with Rome, after he had been, for ſome time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. Tully informs us, that, during his reſidence here, a philoſopher, named Phormio, eſteemed the beſt orator in Aſia, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, Hannibal was aſked his opinion of it. To which the Carthaginian frankly replied, "That, in his time, he had ſeen many "old dotards, but none that came up to Phormio." Stobæus informs us, that this Phormio was a Stoic philoſopher;

and that when he undertook to prove, that a wise man only was fit to be a general, Hannibal laughed, as being convinced, that a skill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but by practice. The Carthaginians, being apprehensive, that, by Hannibal's intrigues, they might be embroiled with the Romans, thought proper to send them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of Antiochus. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned so lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it [q].

Hannibal endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the Romans, but in vain.

HANNIBAL's constant opinion was, that Italy should be made the seat of the war. To enforce this, he observed to Antiochus, that Italy would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the Romans were permitted to transport their Italian forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to sail to Carthage, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ships, and a body of seventeen thousand land-forces on board. With these troops he proposed to make a descent in some part of Italy; whilst the king himself should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be thought convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, Antiochus would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace as the Romans thought fit to impose upon him. But, notwithstanding that prince's wrong conduct, at first he approved very much of Hannibal's proposal; which induced that general to dispatch one Ariston, a Tyrian, to Carthage, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. To secure the fidelity of this person, Hannibal made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in Antiochus's name, in case he happily executed his commission. Ariston was no sooner arrived at Carthage, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the Barchine faction, the suspicions, that had been

[q] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. ubi sup. c. 30. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 32—35. & c. 46, 47. Cic. de orat. l. ii n. 75, 76. Stob. serm. 52. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 3. Justin. l. xxi. c. 2.

been entertained, were turned into a violent preſumption of his guilt; ſo that he was ſeized, and called upon to clear himſelf; but not having the good fortune to do this to the ſatisfaction of the dominant party, great debates aroſe in the ſenate concerning him. Some members of that auguſt aſſembly were for treating him as a ſpy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as nothing could be proved directly againſt him; inſinuating further, that as ſuch an action could be conſidered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, the Tyrians would not fail making repriſals upon the Carthaginians reſiding at Tyre, and other trading cities in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty Tyrian an opportunity of making his eſcape in the night, after he had fixed, in ſeveral public places, papers, which fully declared the occaſion of his coming to Carthage. The ſenate, to ſhew how religiouſly they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this to the Romans [r].

Hannibal confers with Villius and Scipio.

THE Romans, ſoon after the arrival of the expreſs with this news, nominated P. Sulpicius and P. Villius their embaſſadors to Antiochus, ordering them to take Pergamus in their way, that they might confer with Eumenes, who reſided there, a violent enemy of Antiochus. Sulpicius was detained at Pergamus by an indiſpoſition; but Villius, in purſuance of his orders, came to Epheſus, where he found Hannibal. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all this inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and leſſen his credit with the king; in which he ſucceeded but too well, as afterwards manifeſtly appeared. This we learn both from Livy and Polybius; the latter of which hiſtorians repreſents this application of Villius to Hannibal as a premeditated deſign, in order to deſtroy his intereſt with king Antiochus; and the former owns, that the affair took the ſame turn as Villius might have had in view by the execution of ſuch a deſign. However, the firſt author, for a very obvious reaſon, tells us, that the only end of Villius's converſation with Hannibal was to ſound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the Romans. Claudius, and the Libri Græci Aciliani, according to Livy, affirmed, that

[r] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 59, 60.

that Scipio was joined with Sulpicius and Villius in this embaſſy, and even tranſmitted to poſterity ſome of the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the Roman miniſters and Hannibal. According to theſe authors, Scipio deſired Hannibal to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory. To which the Carthaginian replied, Alexander king of Macedon, becauſe, with an inconſiderable body of troops, he had defeated moſt numerous armies, and extended his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any man even to traverſe them. Being then aſked, who was the next to him, he anſwered, Pyrrhus, who firſt underſtood the art of encamping to advantage; neither did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of poſts, or better underſtood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him, as evidently appeared from the diſpoſition of the Italian troops, who were more deſirous of being under his government, than that of the Romans, though they had ſo long been ſubject to them. Scipio then demanding of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no ſcruple of mentioning himſelf. Here Scipio not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would you have ſaid, added he, had you vanquiſhed me? I would, replied Hannibal, have ranked myſelf above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced. Scipio was not inſenſible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, ſeemed to inſinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in compariſon with him. This anſwer of Hannibal is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by Plutarch, who makes that general to have given the firſt place to Pyrrhus, the ſecond to Scipio, and to himſelf the third; which is low, jejune, and quite deſtitute of that elegance and vivacity, which Livy's relation, in conformity to Hannibal's character, is ſeaſoned with [r].

Hannibal removes ſome ſuſpicions Antiochus had entertained of him.

ANTIOCHUS, having entertained a ſuſpicion of Hannibal, ever ſince his late conferences with Villius, would not, for ſome time, admit him into his councils. This ſlight, at firſt, Hannibal took no notice of; but afterwards, judging it expedient to enquire into the cauſe of ſuch a ſudden change in the king's conduct towards him, that he might have an opportunity

[r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14, & ſeq. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167. Plut. in Flamin. & in Pyrr.

portunity of clearing himſelf, if any ill offices had been done him, he entreated that prince to diſcover to him the reaſon of his late coldneſs; which having learnt, he addreſſed himſelf to Antiochus in the following terms: "My father Hamilcar, "Antiochus, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, "to take an oath always to bear an implacable averſion to "the Romans. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war "with them ſix-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, I "have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and "taken ſanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, ſhould "you fruſtrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of "the globe, and endeavour to rouſe up all nations againſt "the Romans. If any of your favourites therefore would "incenſe you againſt me, let him accuſe me of ſome other "crime. I hate mortally the Romans, and am equally hated "by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes of "my father Hamilcar, and all the deities, who were witneſſes "of my oath. So long therefore as you are diſpoſed to come "to a rupture with the Romans, you may rank Hannibal "amongſt your beſt friends. But, if any conſiderations "ſhould incline you to peace, I deſire to be entirely excluded "your councils." This ſpeech, uttered with ſuch force and energy, and expreſſive of ſo much ſincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; ſo that Hannibal was not only reſtored to favour, but preparations made to execute the ſcheme he had formed [s].

Though the king had come to a reſolution to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his miniſters, the equipment of it was not only at firſt retarded, but even the expediency of putting the Carthaginian in that poſt debated in council. Thoas the Ætolian ſuggeſted, "That it was improper to weaken the king's fleet at that "juncture, by undertaking, with part of it, an expedition "to Africa; that, in caſe his majeſty's intereſt had rendered "neceſſary ſuch an expedition, no one would have been "more improper than Hannibal to have conducted it; that "it was imprudent to repoſe ſo much confidence in an exile, "a Carthaginian, whoſe fortune or genius might put every "day into his head a thouſand different projects; that the "fame Hannibal had already acquired, and which he con- Antiochus deſerts Hannibal.

ſidered

[s] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 19. Polyb. l. xv. & l. iii. Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. Juſt. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5.

" ſidered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for
" one, who acted under the king; that the king alone
" ought to be looked upon as the general and conductor of
" the war; that, if Hannibal ſhould loſe either a fleet, or
" an army, the loſs would be as great, as if a commander
" of leſs note had occaſioned it; that if ſucceſs attended his
" arms, not Antiochus, but Hannibal, would have the
" glory of all the victories aſcribed to him; that ſuppoſing
" he ſhould conquer the Romans in this war, what hopes
" could be entertained of Hannibal's living peaceably as a
" ſubject under him, when he was ſcarce ſatisfied with the
" ſupreme power at Carthage? that his behaviour from
" his youth, having always in his mind graſped at univer-
" ſal empire, had not been ſuch as could induce them to
" believe, that he would tamely ſubmit to any ſuperior
" in his old age; that however, if he could not overcome
" his fondneſs for Hannibal, he might make uſe of him as
" a counſellor and companion, but not as a general, &c."
Theſe malicious ſuggeſtions, the pure effect of envy, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Antiochus's low and groveling mind, in which a ſordid jealouſy had extinguiſhed all noble and generous ſentiments, that he dropt the above-mentioned laudable deſign, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarraſſed the Romans. In the mean time the Carthaginians offered to ſupply the Romans with a thouſand buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thouſand of barley, as a free gift; to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice; and to remit to Rome the whole remaining part of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty immediately, though it would not have been due for many years to come by one of the articles of that treaty. The Romans gave their embaſſadors a kind reception, and told them, " That they ſhould only re-
" quire from their principals the ſhips, that their late en-
" gagements obliged them to furniſh; that they would pay
" ready money for whatever ſupplies of corn they ſhould
" ſend them; and that the ſum, due to them from Car-
" thage, ſhould be paid at equal payments, in the manner
" ſtipulated at the concluſion of the laſt peace." From this incident, we may form ſome ſort of an idea of the incredible induſtry of the Carthaginians, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade; ſince from hence it appears, that, notwithſtanding they had been entirely exhauſted by a long, bloody, and moſt expenſive war, notwithſtanding they had

been

been ſtripped of the beſt part of their dominions by the Romans and Maſiniſſa, notwithſtanding they had been depriv-ed, in a manner, of all their ſhips, and almoſt rendered incapable, to outward appearance, of applying themſelves to any ſingle branch of commerce, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful; which could only have been the effect of a flouriſhing and extenſive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore muſt they have arrived, had Hannibal either been duly ſupported in Italy, or contended with a nation of not ſuch an inflexible reſolution for the dominion of the world [t]!

Hannibal's advice to him.

SOME time after this, Antiochus found his affairs in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that he was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue. In this emergency, his miniſters were obliged to have recourſe to Hannibal, who, in abilities, infinitely outſhone all other perſons at his court, notwithſtanding the late affront put upon him. That renowned general, forgetting the ill uſage he had met with, appeared as much diſpoſed to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations been executed, of ſupporting him before by his conduct, and perſonal bravery. In proof of which, he addreſſed himſelf to Antiochus in the following terms: "Had I been admit-" ted into your councils ever ſince our arrival in Greece [u], " I ſhould have declared my ſentiments, when an alliance " with the Achœans, Bœotians, and people of Eubœa, was " brought upon the carpet, in the ſame manner as I ſhall " this day, when we are to conſider the expediency of a " treaty with the Theſſalians. You are, above all things, " to invite Philip king of Macedon to enter into an alliance " with you. As to the Eubœans, Bœotians, and Theſſa-" lians, they are not to be regarded, ſince they court your " friendſhip through fear. Upon the firſt appearance of a " Roman army, they will change ſides, and will be well " received, as pretending to have been over-ruled by a ſu-" perior power, and acted againſt their inclinations through " compulſion. Beſides, the aſſiſtance thoſe people can af-" ford you, if well affected, is inconſiderable; whereas " Philip has lately ſhewn himſelf a match for the Romans. " You will likewiſe have the Ætolians, a ſtate, that, in

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[t] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. Appian. in Libyc. Juſt. ubi ſup. [u] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 7.

" the late war betwixt Philip and the Romans, caused the " scale to preponderate in favour of the latter, to act for " you. I can therefore, provided you succeed in your ne- " gotiation, insure you success. But, if Philip cannot be " prevailed upon to join his arms with ours, we may how- " ever prevent him from assisting the enemy. Your son " Seleucus is now at Lysimachia; let him advance, with " the troops under his command, through Thrace to the " confines of Macedonia, and lay them waste; which will " oblige the Macedonian monarch to employ all his forces " in the defence and protection of his own dominions. " You have now my opinion with regard to Philip. And " as to the war in general, had my advice been listened to, " the Romans would, before this time, have heard of " greater exploits than the reduction so Chalcis, and the cas- " tle of Euripus; even that Etruria, Liguria, and all Ci- " salpine Gaul, were in a flame, and Hannibal, a name " terrible to them, once more in Italy. However, your " affairs may still be retrieved; assemble all your land and " sea forces, station part of your fleet at Corcyra, in order " to prevent the Romans from approaching your frontiers; " order the other part to hover about the coast of Italy fac- " ing Afaica and Sardinia; and do you, at the head of your " army, march into the territory of Byllis. By these dis- " positions, you will provide for the security of Greece, " and not only make the enemy believe, that you have an " intention to pass over thither, but likewise be able actu- " ally to land all your troops there, should the situation of " affairs require it. However deficient I may be in other " points, the vicissitudes of fortune I have met with a- " mongst the Romans, enable me to point out to you the " most effectual way of distressing them. In the execution " of the plan I have submitted to your consideration, you " may depend upon my assisting you with the utmost zeal " and activity. As to the rest, may the gods give you " success in this, and all your other undertakings!" The speech was received with general applause; but none of his salutaryadmonitions listened to.

Hannibal defeated in a sea engagement.

AFTER Antiochus was forced to abandon Europe, by the victorious arms of the Romans, he retired to Ephesus. Here he, for some time, took up his residence, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into Asia. Hannibal, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it but

but juſt to undeceive him in a point of ſuch importance. He therefore told him, "That he did not ſo much doubt of "an invaſion of his Aſiatic dominions, as wonder, that the "Romans were not already there; that it was eaſier to "tranſport an army from Greece into Aſia, than from Ita-"ly into Greece; that the Romans were as powerful by "ſea as by land; that a Roman ſquadron was ſeen, ſome "time before, hovering about the promontory Malea; "that he had received intelligence of the departure of a "freſh reinforcement of ſhips, and a new general, from "Italy." From whence he inferred, "That Antiochus "muſt reſolve either to abdicate his throne, or oppoſe vi-"gorouſly a people, who graſped at the empire of the "world." As this diſcourſe of Hannibal, who was both the moſt able and faithful counſellor at the Syrian monarch's court, nor a little affected the prince to whom it was direct-ed, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unſucceſsful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great Hannibal himſelf, was defeated by that of the Rhodians, commanded by Eudamus, off of Sida, on the coaſt of Pamphylia, and miſerably ſhattered. However, the Rhodians ſuffered extremely in the action, ſuſtaining almoſt as great a loſs of men and ſhips as Hannibal. The bad ſucceſs of this engagement was entirely owing to the ill conduct of Apollonius, one of Antiochus's admirals, who fled, with the ſquadron he commanded, almoſt in the beginning of the fight. Notwithſtanding which Hannibal made an excellent retreat, the enemy not being in a condi-tion to purſue him. However, the Rhodians detaching Chariclitus with twenty beaked ſhips to Patara, and Magiſte, a ſmall iſland, with a commodious port, in the ſea of Ly-cia, prevented the junction of Hannibal's ſhattered galleys with another Syrian ſquadron; which was a great morti-fication to the Carthaginian. In ſhort, after a ſeries of miſ-fortunes, Antiochus found himſelf obliged to ſend Zeuſis, the governor of Lydia, and his ſon Antipater, with a carte blanche, to the Roman camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly inſiſted upon was, that Hannibal ſhould be delivered up to the Romans; with which Antiochus, being unable to defend himſelf, was forced to comply. However, Hannibal, foreſeeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the iſland of Crete. It appears from Scipio Naſica's ſpeech in Livy, that Hannibal was a general in the Syrian army at the battle

of

of Magneſia; from whence, as well as from other circumſtances, we have reaſon to believe, that he was preſent in all the principal actions, that happened between the Romans and Antiochus [u].

Hannibal is obliged to fly to Cete, and afterwards to Pruſias king of Bithynia.

HANNIBAL, upon his arrival in Crete, took ſanctuary amongſt the Gortynii; but having brought great treaſure with him, and conſidering the avarice of the Cretans, he judged it would be proper to have recourſe to ſome ſtratagem, in order to ſecure himſelf, eſpecially as he had reaſon to apprehend, that the Cretans were advertiſed of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, juſt covering them over with gold and ſilver; which he depoſited in the temple of Diana, in the preſence of the Gortynii, with whom, he ſaid, he truſted all his treaſure. Juſtin tells us, that he left this there as a ſecurity for his good behaviour, and lived for ſome time very quietly in thoſe parts. He however took care to conceal his riches in hollow ſtatues of braſs, which according to ſome, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, expoſed to view in a place of public reſort, as things of little value. At laſt he retired to the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia, with whom he found means to unite ſeveral neighbouring princes and ſtates, and ſo formed a powerful confederacy againſt Eumenes king of Pergamus, a profeſſed friend of the Romans. A rupture ſoon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effuſion of blood on both ſides. During this war, Hannibal employed a ſtratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a ſea-fight, to deſtroy Eumenes, which, he thought would be of the utmoſt conſequence to him. He put into earthen veſſels a vaſt number of the moſt venomous ſerpents, which he ordered to be collected for that purpoſe, commanding the greateſt part of his captains to attack Eumenes's ſhip, and throw theſe veſſels on board him, whilſt the reſt ſtood on the defenſive. The admiral-galley Hannibal diſcovered, by ſending out a boat, with a letter to Eumenes; which enabled the officers above-mentioned to attack it with great fury. Eumenes would have been either killed or taken, had he not ſheered off, and been too ſwift for his purſuers. However, the other ſhips of Pergamus ſuſtained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen veſſels were thrown into them. At firſt they only laughed at this, and

[u] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23—25. & l. xxxviii. c. 5—30. Flor. l. ii. c. 8. Zonar. l. ix. c. 20.

and were much ſurpriſed to find ſuch weapons employed a-gainſt them; but being ſurrounded with the ſerpents, which flew out of theſe veſſels when they were broken, they found themſeves ſeized with ſo much horror, that they retired in confuſion to their camp on the ſhore. Nepos tells us, that Hannibal promiſed a great reward to the perſon, that ſhould kill Eumenes; that when the officer, whom he ſent to him, came on board the admiral-galley, it was imagined he brought propoſals of peace; that Eumenes, inſtead of this, receiving a letter full of ridicule, could not conceive what was the end of ſuch a commiſſion; and that, irritated thereby, he immediately began the engagement. The ſame author likewiſe intimates, that Hannibal gave that prince ſeveral overthrows by land, and reduced him to great ſtreights, more by force of genius, or dint of conduct, than ſuperiority of ſtrength [w].

And poiſons himſelf in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

THE Romans, receiving intelligence of the important ſervices Hannibal had done Pruſias, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, ſent T. Quintius Flamini-us thither as their embaſſador. Flaminius, at his firſt audience, complained of the protection Pruſias gave Hannibal, repreſenting that famous general "as the moſt "inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; "as one who had ruined both his own country and An-"tiochus, by drawing them into a deſtructive war with "Rome." Pruſias in order to ingratiate himſelf with the Romans, immediately ſent a party of ſoldiers to ſurround Hannibal's palace, that he might find it impoſſible to make his eſcape. The Carthaginians, having before diſcovered, that no confidence was to be repoſed in Pruſias, had contrived ſeven ſecret outlets in his palace, to evade the machinations of his enemies, even if they could carry their point at the Bithynian court; which he was actually meditating, when the above-mentioned detachment arrived. Perceiving no poſſibility of eſcaping, he had recourſe to the poiſon, which he had long kept for this melancholy occaſion; which taking in his hand, "Let us, ſaid he, deliver the Romans from the diſquie-"tude, with which they have been long tortured, ſince "they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. "Flaminius will not acquire any reputation or glory by "a victory

[w] Corn. Nep. in Hannib c. 9. 10. Juſtin. l. ii. xxxii. c. 4. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 285. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

"a victory gained over a betrayed and defenceleſs per-
"ſon. This ſingle day will be a laſting teſtimony of the
"degeneracy of the Romans. Their anceſtors gave Pyrrhus
"intelligence of a deſign to poiſon him, that he might guard
"againſt the impending danger, even when he was at the
"head of a powerful army in Italy; but they have deputed
"a perſon of conſular dignity to excite Pruſias impiouſly to
"murder one, who has taken refuge in his dominions, in
"violation of the laws of hoſpitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations againſt Pruſias, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods preſiding over the ſacred rights of hoſpitality; after which, drinking off the poiſon he had prepared, he expired, at ſeventy years of age. Cornelius Nepos intimates, that Hannibal deſtroyed himſelf by a ſubtle (R) poiſon, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpoſe. Plutarch relates, that according to ſome writers, he ordered a ſervant to ſtrangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that in imitation of Midas and Themiſtocles, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his death reflected an eternal ignominy and diſgrace upon the Romans, whoſe inſatiable thirſt after empire had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments, and every ſpark of virtue in their minds [x].

His character.

THUS died Hannibal, the greateſt general perhaps, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, that any age ever produced; a general, who would have utterly ſubverted the haughty Roman republic, had he not been ſacrificed to the reſentment of an envious, wicked, and moſt abandoned

[x] Liv. ubi ſup. & c. 65. Plut. in Flamin. Corn. Nep. & Juſtin. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 21.

(R) Zonaras relates, that Hannibal was under no apprehenſion of a ſudden violent death, though he took ſuch precautions to ſecure himſelf. This was occaſioned by an anſwer the oracle gave him, when conſulted on a certain emergency, viz. that he ſhould die in Libya. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; ſince the ſpot of ground, on which he took the fatal drought, was called Libya. Aurelius Victor tells us, that Hannibal died in a village of Bithynia called Libyſſa, ſituated near the ſea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inſcription upon his tomb, Here lies Hannibal; and that this was ſtill remaining in his time (24).

(24) Zonar. l. ix. c. 18. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. ſub fin.

ned faction. Polybius ſeems to make him a pattern for all ſucceeding commanders; and Livy, notwithſtanding his partiality, owns himſelf aſtoniſhed at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother Aſdrubal. No other general could have found means, after ſo terrible a blow, of maintaining himſelf in one of the pooreſt ſpots of Italy, for ſeveral years, without any reinforcement of troops, or ſupplies of proviſions, from Carthage. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, viz. Greeks, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and amoſt every other particular, even after fortune had declared againſt him, and when they were in want both of money and proviſions, was a full demonſtration of his conſummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their reſpective countries, clearly evinces the ſame thing. Polybius obſerves that he over-reached moſt of the generals that oppoſed him; but was himſelf never outwitted by any of them; and ſeems to inſinuate that it would have been much more fatal to the Carthaginians to have loſt him, than any of the armies he ever commanded: and indeed it ſufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this hiſtory, that he was the life and ſoul not only of the army, but likewiſe of the Carthaginian ſtate. In fine, by his own ſurprizing capacity, he carried on a war againſt the moſt martial people in the world many years, in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occaſions. With regard to his political character, we ſhall only obſerve, that the ſecret intelligence he held with Philip king of Macedon, the wiſe counſels he gave Antiochus, the double regulation he introduced at Carthage, the potent confederacy he formed in favour of king Pruſias, beſides many other inſtances, that will occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabinet, as the field. What we have already obſerved of his facetious diſpoſition, and love for the muſes, is confirmed by Gellius and others. His religious and moral conduct Livy paints in the blackeſt colours; but the teſtimony, as to this point, Polybius has given of him, the humanity with which he treated the bodies of Marcellus and Sempronius

Gracchus, the high reverence he expreſſed for the gods on all occaſions, his ſingular continence, and uncommon wiſdom, his contempt of riches, the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midſt of the greateſt affluence, when he was at the head of the ſtate of Carthage; theſe ſhining qualities, we ſay, and others, atteſted by the beſt authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair repreſentation of that prejudiced hiſtorian. Polybius however intimates that he was accuſed at Carthage of avarice, and of cruelty at Rome; and that people were much divided in their ſentiments concerning him. This cannot appear ſtrange to any one, who conſiders, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he muſt, of courſe, have been drawn by ſome of them in the moſt diſadvantageous light. But though, adds Polybius, we ſhould allow ſome of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to ſtruggle during the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war, than to his own natural diſpoſition. Beſides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were oppoſite to his own, in order to excite them to a chearful diſcharge of their duty. Theſe, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he could not always keep within proper bounds, conſidering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the ſoldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, Polybius looked upon Hannibal to have been a general of ſo noble and ſublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at firſt attacked other powers, and reſerved the Romans for the laſt nation to have contended with, he muſt have entirely overthrown their republic, and conſequently rendered Carthage miſtreſs of the world[y].

Diſputes between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa.

It has been already obſerved, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the Carthaginians were to reſtore to Maſiniſſa all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the beginning of the war. To theſe Scipio annexed part of Syphax's dominions,

[y] Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. v. c. 5. Polyb. l. xi. & alib. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. & alib. paſſ. Juſt. l. xxxii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. & alib. in excerptis Valeſ. Corn. Nep. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Plut. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. Valer. Max. Polyæn. S. Jul. Frontin. paſſ. Appian. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. Oroſ. & Zonar. paſſ. Vide etiam Polyb. in excerp. legat. 33. Liv. l. xxv. c. 17. Lucan. Sil. Ital. paſſ. alioſq; quamplurim. ſcriptor. Græc. & Latin.

dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had diſcovered for the Romans on all occaſions, ever ſince the commencement of his friendſhip with them. After Hannibal's flight to Antiochus, and his emiſſary Ariſton's eſcape, related above, the Romans began to look upon the Carthaginians with a ſuſpicious eye, though, to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue Hannibal, confiſcated his effects, razed his houſe, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewiſe to notify to the Romans Ariſton's commiſſion, as well as eſcape, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of Hannibal's deſign, by the deputies they diſpatched to Rome, to complain of Maſiniſſa's unjuſt pretenſions. That prince, being appriſed, that Carthage was miſerably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the Romans, on account of the two events above-mentioned, ſeized upon part of a maritime territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, ſituated near the Leſſer Syrtis, called Emporia. Both ſides ſent embaſſadors to Rome on this occaſion, to ſupport the title of their reſpective maſters to the diſtrict in diſpute. The Carthaginians alledged, "That this was within "the limits of their African dominions, as ſettled by Scipio; "and that this had been acknowledged by Maſiniſſa himſelf, "who, when he had purſued one Aphires, a Numidian "prince, making an excurſion out of his own territories, "as far as the borders of Cyrenaica, would not paſs through "Emporia, without aſking leave of the Carthaginians, look-"ing upon it then as a territory indiſputably belonging to "them." To which the Numidian miniſters replied, "That what they ſo confidently advanced about Scipio's "ſettling the limits, was falſe; that the Carthaginians, in "ſtrictneſs and equity, ought only to have the ſpot of "ground, on which Byrſa ſtood, every other part of their "African dominions being taken from the natives by fraud "and violence; that, as to the diſtrict in queſtion, they "could not prove themſelves to have been in poſſeſſion of it "ſince the infancy of their republic, nay, that it had been "any conſiderable time under their juriſdiction; that the "Carthaginians and Numidians had been maſters of it by "turns, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms; and "that they hoped the ſenate would permit things to remain in "their preſent ſituation." Hereupon the conſcript fathers thought proper to ſend Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rufus, to examine the controverſy

upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, leaving the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they found it. Whether the commiſſioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the ſenate, is not ſo certain, as that the intereſt of the Romans rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwiſe Scipio, who had deſerved ſo well of both of them, could, by his own ſingle authority, have put an end to the diſpute [z].

The Romans accommodate the differences between them.

MASINISSA, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, over-ran a province, that his father Gala had taken from the Carthaginians, and Syphax from him, from whom it had returned to its former maſters, through the charms and endearments of Sophoniſba. The Carthaginian deputies pleaded the cauſe of their principals, and Maſiniſſa his, before the Roman commiſſioners, with exceeding heat. The Carthaginians urged, that "this "territory was theirs, both by right of inheritance, and "deed of gift." On the other hand, Maſiniſſa inſiſted, "that it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that, in "conſequence of this title he had taken poſſeſſion of it; "and that his pretenſions were ſo indubitable, that he only "feared, leſt the modeſty of the Romans, which might "render them timorous of indulging a friend and ally in his "juſt claims upon their common enemy, ſhould prove pre-"judicial to him." The commiſſioners, in conformity to the diſpoſition of their republic, referred this diſpute, which happened ten years after the former, to the deciſion of the ſenate, and conſequently left it undetermined. However, in the conſulate of L. Æmilius Paulus, and Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus, the Romans effected an accommodation betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, confirming the former in the poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter an hundred hoſtages they had, till that time, detained [a].

Maſiniſſa endeavours to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans.

MASINISSA, graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans. In order to this, he concerted meaſures with the Roman embaſſadors in Africa, to prejudice the conſcript fathers againſt them. The latter did not ſcruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, Perſeus king of Macedon, with whom the Romans then were upon the verge of a war, had privately ſent

[z] Polyb. in excerpt. legat. 118. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 61. Appian. in Libyc. [a] Liv. l. xl. c. 17. & c. 34. Vid. & Appian. ubi ſup.

ſent embaſſadors to Carthage, to negotiate an alliance with that ſtate; and that the ſenate was aſſembled by night in the temple of Æſculapius, to confer with them: whilſt the former, in as ſtrong a manner, aſſerted, that the Carthaginians had diſpatched miniſters to Perſeus, to conclude a treaty with him. Livy ſeems to intimate, that the Carthaginians would not own this; but that the Romans, always attentive to the inſinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards Carthage renders Livy's authority, in this point, indiſputable [b].

NOT long after this, Maſiniſſa made an irruption into the province of Tyſca, where he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of above ſeventy, or, as Appian will have it, fifty towns and caſtles. This obliged the Carthaginians to apply, with great importunity, to the Roman ſenate for redreſs, their hands being ſo tied up by an article of the laſt treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in caſe of an invaſion, without the conſent of the Romans. The Carthaginian miniſters at Rome repreſented the miſerable condition of their republic in the moſt moving terms. They declared, "That Maſiniſſa was "entirely void of honour; that, without the interpoſition "of that auguſt aſſembly, to whom they then addreſſed "themſelves, no limits could be preſcribed to his cruelty, "inſolence, avarice and ambition. They therefore begged "the conſcript fathers either themſelves to determine the "point in debate betwixt their principals and Maſiniſſa, or "to ſuffer the former to diſlodge the latter from his con-"queſts by force of arms; or laſtly, if they were reſolved "to ſupport the Numidian in all his unjuſt pretenſions, to "ſpecify, once for all, what territories the Carthaginians "were to cede to him, that they might know what hereafter "they had to depend upon." To this they ſubjoined, "That, "if the Carthaginians had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Ro-"mans in any point inadvertently ſince the concluſion of "the laſt peace, they begged they would puniſh them for "the offence themſelves, and not leave them expoſed to the "inſults and vexations of Maſiniſſa, ſince they preferred an "utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they "were forced to ſuffer from ſo mercileſs a tyrant." Then throwing themſelves proſtrate on the earth, they burſt out into tears; which making a deep impreſſion upon the ſenate in their favour, Guluſſa, Maſiniſſa's ſon, being then preſent,

And makes an irruption into the province of Tyſca.

[b] Liv. l. xli. c. 22.

and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: "That he had received no in-"ſtructions from his father how to act in the preſent emer-"gency, ſince it could not be foreſeen, that any thing would "be laid to his charge; that the Carthaginians had had ſeve-"ral clandeſtine meetings by night in the temple of Æſcu-"lapius, the object of whoſe conſultations was kept ſecret "from him, after which deputies were diſpatched to Rome; "that the ſole deſign of his father's ſending him to Rome "was, to entreat the ſenate not to pay any regard to the in-"ſinuations of the common enemy againſt him, ſince the "implacable hatred they bore him was occaſioned by the in-"violable fidelity, with which he had been ſo long attached "to the Romans." The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, "That it would be proper for Guluſſa to ſet out "immediately for Numidia, in order to acquaint his father "with the complaints of the Carthaginians againſt him; "that he ought to ſend deputies to Rome, to remove all "difficulties that obſtructed an accommodation between him "and them; that they would continue to ſerve him as they "had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the Cartha-"ginians; that it was but juſt the antient limits ſhould be "preſerved; that the Carthaginians ought to be maintained "in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, which the late treaty "had allotted them." The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents. The Romans were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred they bore the Carthaginians, and partly by the hopes of receiving ſuccours from Maſiniſſa in the Macedonian war, which they were juſt going to enter upon. The Numidian anſwered their expectations; for he did not only ſupply them with corn, but likewiſe ſent a body of troops, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and as many foot, with twenty two elephants, under the command of his ſon Miſagenes, to their aſſiſtance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for he conſidered, that if the Romans were victorious in this war, his affairs could but remain in the ſame ſituation; whereas, ſhould they be overcome, he doubted not reducing Carthage, and making himſelf maſter of Africa [c].

The villainous behaviour of the Romans to the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginians, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome, who

[c] Liv. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. Appian. in Lybic. p. 37.

who acquainted the ſenate, "That their ſtate would immediately tranſport a million buſhels of wheat, and five hundred thouſand of barley, into whatever part of the world the Romans pleaſed; that they were ſenſible ſuch a ſupply was not proportioned to thoſe happy effects of the Roman generoſity and goodneſs, which their principals had ſo long experienced, neither did it correſpond with their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be conſidered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the proſperity of both republics, in former times, they had given frequent inſtances of their being true and faithful allies." Maſiniſſa's embaſſadors not only offered the ſame quantity of corn, but likewiſe offered to reinforce the Roman army with another body of twelve hundred horſe, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the ſenate's commands with the utmoſt alacrity. But neither could the Carthaginians, by ſuch an abject and mean-ſpirited behaviour, a ſufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which ſeems to have been the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their nation, prevail upon the Romans to diſcontinue their chicane. They ſpun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the miniſters they employed to adjuſt all diſputes betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, to arrive at a deciſion. By this conduct they enabled the former to exhauſt the latter, and conſequently paved the way to the immediate deſtruction of a ſtate, which to them, of all others, ſtill appeared the moſt formidable [d].

Cato bears an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians.

WHATEVER villainous deſigns the Romans might have formed, they affected to ſhew a great regard to the principles of juſtice and honour. They therefore ſent Cato, a man famous for committing enormities under the ſpecious pretext of public ſpirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians. The latter very well knew their fate, had they ſubmitted to ſuch a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by Scipio, as the only rule, by which their conduct, and that of their adverſary, ought to be examined. This unreaſonable appeal ſo incenſed the righteous Cato, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that upright perſon was not ſo much to forward the obſervation or concluſion of treaties, as to widen breaches, diſcover the ſtrength and condition of Carthage, which was then very flouriſhing, notwithſtanding

[d] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xliii. c. 6. Appian. in Libyc.

ſtanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the Roman ambition by all poſſible means, it is not ſo ſtrange, that he ſhould, even in the moſt abſurd, though moſt virulent manner, preſs the ſenate, after his return home, to deſtroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a Frenchman ſhould cenſure his conduct, when it ſo exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot poſſibly be a ſtranger to, for above a century paſt. However, as we have more than a bare jealouſy of the growing power, as well as ambitious deſigns, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to ſecure the liberties of Europe, as well as to introduce public faith, juſtice and honour once more into the world, it is neceſſary, that the ſtate repreſented by that court ſhould be humbled, if not deſtroyed[e].

Maſiniſſa defeats the Carthaginians.

SOME years before this time, Carthage was miſerably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the Romans was headed by one Hanno, a deſcendent, as may be ſuppoſed, of the perſon, who ruined his country, by not ſupporting Hannibal; that in the intereſt of Maſiniſſa, by Hannibal, ſurnamed Paſſer; and that formed of the populace by Hamilcar, ſurnamed Sannis, and Carthalo. But, of late, two powerful parties had ſtruggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, compoſed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the ſenators. They retired to the court of Maſiniſſa, to excite him to a war with the Carthaginians, who ſent Guluſſa and Micipſa, two of his ſons, to Carthage, to ſolicit their return. However, the gates were ſhut upon them at their approach, leſt the people, moved by the tears of thoſe related to the exiles, ſhould grant their requeſt; nay, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Sannis, one of the Carthaginian generals, cloſely purſued Guluſſa, and cut off ſome of his retinue. This occaſioning a freſh rupture, Maſiniſſa beſieged Oroſcopa, in violation of the laſt treaty. Aſdrubal, another Carthaginian general, advanced to the relief of Oroſcopa, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and was immediately joined by a body of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of Aſaſis and Suba, two Numidian captains, who deſerted from Maſiniſſa. Animated by this acceſſion of ſtrength, Aſdrubal approached the Numidian,

[e] Liv. in epit. 47, 48, 49. Appian. ubi ſup. c. 38. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Vell. Paterc. l. i. ſub fin. Plut. in Caton. Vide l'hiſtoire des Carthagin. par M. Rollin, tom. i. p. 421.

midian, and ſkirmiſhed ſucceſsfully with ſome of the advanced guards. Maſiniſſa, obſerving the eagerneſs of the Carthaginian, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his ſuperior force, and inſenſibly drew him into a large and deſolate plain, ſurrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of ſuſtenance. Aſdrubal, finding himſelf thus decoyed, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately enſuing, and ending in favour of Maſiniſſa, the Carthaginians ſued for peace. In order to terminate their conteſts with that prince, the Carthaginians offered to yield up the territory of Emporia, to pay down two hundred talents of ſilver, and remit eight hundred more at a ſtipulated time to him. But Maſiniſſa inſiſting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. It is obſervable, that the Roman deputies, who arrived in the Numidian camp ſoon after the engagement, had orders to inſiſt upon a peace, in caſe the Carthaginians defeated Maſiniſſa; but to aſſure that prince of the continuance of their friendſhip, and puſh him on to the war, in caſe he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the Carthaginians. How, through the vindictive diſpoſition of Guluſſa, and the breaking out of the plague amongſt them, the Carthaginian forces were almoſt utterly deſtroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we muſt alſo beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action juſt hinted at [f].

Cato prevails upon the Roman ſenate to declare war againſt Carthage.

EVER ſince Carthage rejected the mediation of the Romans, Cato had made his utmoſt efforts to prevail upon the conſcript fathers to deſtroy that city. But Scipio Naſica, having a ſuperior influence in the ſenate, had hitherto, notwithſtanding the grievous provocation he met with from the Carthaginians, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of Carthage knowing the Romans to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them ever ſince the commencement of their diſputes with Maſiniſſa, were under great apprehenſions of a viſit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the ſenate, they impeached Aſdrubal general of the army, and Carthalo commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treaſon, for being the authors of the war waged againſt the

[f] Liv. epit. 48. Appian. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 338.

the king of Numidia. They sent a deputation to Rome, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what satisfaction the Romans required. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. This made the unhappy citizens of Carthage believe, that their destruction was resolved upon; which threw them into the utmost despair. And indeed they had too just grounds for such a melancholy apprehension, the Roman senate now discovering an inclination to fall in with Cato's measures. It is said, that, in order to excite the conscript fathers to a vigorous resolution against the Carthaginians, that incendiary, after one of his most virulent speeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs, whose size and beauty observing the senators to admire; "Know," said he, "that it is but three days since these "figs were gathered; such is the distance between the ene-"my and us." About the same time the city of Utica, being the second in Africa, and famous for its immense riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, submitted to the Romans. As the possession of so important a fortress, which, by reason of its vicinity to Carthage, might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the Romans to put the design they had been so long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war against the Carthaginians, without the least hesitation. In consequence of which declaration, the consuls M. Manilius Nepos and L. Marcius Censorinus were dispatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hostilities with the utmost expedition. The land-forces, destined to act against the Carthaginians, consisted of eighty thousand foot, and four thousand chosen horse; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, besides a vast number of transports. The consuls had secret orders from the senate, not to conclude the operations but by the destruction of Carthage, without which, the republic pretended, she could not but look upon all her possessions as insecure and precarious. Pursuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops first at Lilybæum in Sicily, from whence, after receiving a proper refreshment, it was proposed to transport them to Utica [g].

THE

[g] Liv. Appian. Plut. ubi sup. Zonar. l, ix. c. 26. Plin. l. xv. c. 18. Flor. l. ii. c. 15.

The Romans demand three hundred hoſtages of the Carthaginians.

THE anſwer brought by the laſt embaſſadors to Carthage had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city; but they were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions taken at Rome. They therefore ſent freſh embaſſadors thither, whom they inveſted with full power to act as they ſhould think fit for the good of the republic, and even to ſubmit themſelves, without reſerve, to the pleaſure of the Romans; but the moſt ſenſible perſons amongſt them did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, ſince the early ſubmiſſion of the Uticans had rendered it infinitely leſs meritorious than it would have been before. However, the Romans ſeemed to be, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied with it, ſince they promiſed them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and in ſhort, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a tranſport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the Romans. But the conſcript fathers immediately daſhed all their hopes, by declaring the next inſtant, Roman-like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would ſend three hundred young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction to the prætor Fabius at Lilybæum, within the ſpace of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the conſuls. Giſco, ſurnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Miſdes, Gillicas, and Mago, for ſo were the embaſſadors called, durſt not make the leaſt remonſtrance againſt the ſeverity of theſe conditions, but immediately ſet out for Carthage, to impart them to the ſenate there. That auguſt aſſembly was filled with inexpreſſible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hoſtages, which were conſidered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the nobleſt families in Carthage. They found themſelves likewiſe extremely perplexed at the ſilence of the Romans with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions they ſeemed willing to make, and at the vague expreſſion of ſubmitting to all the orders of the conſuls. However, being abſolutely incapable of coping with ſo formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almoſt every thing, Mago Bretius, in a brave and eloquent ſpeech, exhorted them, for the preſent, to obey. No ſcene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by Carthage, when the hoſtages were delivered up; nothing was to be ſeen but tears, all parts, at the ſame time, echoing with groans and lamentations; but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a moſt mournful ſpectacle, bathing themſelves in tears, tearing their diſhevelled

led hair, beating their breaſts, and yelling in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage hearts to compaſſion. When the fatal moment of ſeparation was come, they accompanied their children to the ſhip, bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded, that they ſhould never ſee them more, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, claſped them ſtrongly in their arms, could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the ſailors; nay, many of them ſwam a long time after the ſhip, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the embaſſadors delivered them to the conſuls, and they to Fabius at Lilybæum, before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of ſoftening their hard-hearted enemy; but the conſuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at Utica, they ſhould learn the farther orders of the republic [h].

And oblige them to deliver up all their arms.

THOSE miniſters no ſooner received intelligence of the Roman fleet's appearing off of Utica, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The conſuls, however, did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, leſt they ſhould appear ſo harſh and ſevere, that the Carthaginians would have refuſed a compliance with them. They firſt therefore demanded a ſufficient ſupply of corn for the ſubſiſtance of their troops. Secondly, that they ſhould deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then maſters of. Thirdly, that they ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they ſhould immediately convey all their arms into the Roman camp. As care was taken, that there ſhould be a certain interval of time betwixt each of theſe demands, the Carthaginians found themſelves enſnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they ſubmitted to the laſt, which Cenſorinus inſiſted upon, notwithſtanding the powerful reaſons urged againſt it, with the utmoſt reluctance and concern [i].

The Romans command the Carthaginians to abandon their city.

THE gaining of theſe points paved the way to the deſtruction of Carthage, though it reflected an eternal diſhonour upon the Roman name. Cenſorinus, now imagining the Carthaginians not capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as Zonaras will have it, to demoliſh

[h] Polyb. l. xxxiii. in excerp. legat. 142. Liv. in epit. xlix. Appian. & Flor. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. Zonar ubi ſup. c. 26. [i] Polyb. Liv. Appian. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 27. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 340. & ſeq.

liſh it, permitting them to build another eighty ſtadia from the ſea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the embaſſadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of Carthage, when they were appriſed of it, by their geſtures and complaints, demonſtrated the greateſt emotions of grief on this tragical occaſion; but the Romans remained inflexible, not ſhewing the leaſt regard to the tears and entreaties of a people, reduced to the extremes of deſpair. The embaſſadors, at one time, ſupplicated the gods with the greateſt fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to excite the compaſſion of the Romans; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The ſenators and people, upon receiving the report of the embaſſadors, for ſome time, entirely abandoned themſelves to deſpair; which was heightened by the frantic diſpoſition of the women, whoſe children had been ſent to Rome. In ſhort, Carthage was nothing now but a ſcene of horror, madneſs, and confuſion. The citizens curſed their anceſtors for not dying glorioufly in the defence of their country, rather than concluding ſuch ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cauſe of the deplorable condition, to which their poſterity was then reduced. They likewiſe condemned themſelves in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo tamely, as well as ſtupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blaſphemouſly taxed the gods themſelves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make any impreſſion upon the Romans in their favour. But as, in a former part of our hiſtory, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we ſhall only beg leave to obſerve farther here, that, when the firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the Romans; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital city [k].

A certain polite [l] author takes ſome pains to ſhew, that the Romans did not act agreeably to the maxims of juſtice and honour in the point before us; and conſequently ſeems to inſinuate,

[k] Iidem ibid. Flor. ubi ſup. Paul. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 22. [l] M. Rollin. in hiſt. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433, & ſeq. a Amſterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. Pontii Teleſini, apud Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 27.

inſinuate, that ſome proof, beſides the notoriety of the facts, is requiſite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the preſent occaſion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of ſome good nature, and delicacy of ſentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldneſs, and inflexible attachment to truth, eſſential to a good hiſtorian. A writer of this kind will paint every ſpecies of vice, particularly thoſe of a moſt public and enormous nature, in their moſt proper, that is, in the moſt odious colours. He will eſteem a perſon, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of expoſing it; and conſequently as one ſo far diſqualified for tranſmitting to poſterity the tranſactions of former ages. It is not ſufficient, in our opinion, in order to expreſs our deteſtation of that execrable perfidiouſneſs and barbarity the Romans were guilty of, to ſay, "I can never believe, "that ſo ſenſible, rational and juſt a man as Polybius, could "have approved of the proceedings of the Romans on the "preſent occaſion.---We do not find here any of the characteriſtics, which diſtinguiſhed the Romans antiently, that "greatneſs of ſoul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of "mean artifices, frauds, and impoſtures, which, as is "ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of the Roman genius.--- "Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by "force? Why ſhould they declare expreſly in a treaty, "that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws, and underſtand, at the ſame time, certain "private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? "Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcandalous omiſſion "of the word "city" in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying Carthage, as though, beneath the cover of ſuch "an equivocation, they could juſtly ruin it? In fine, why "did the Romans not make their laſt declaration, till after "they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different "times, their hoſtages and arms, that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their unjuſt "commands? ---- It is very dangerous to be poſſeſſed of ſo "much power, as may enable one to commit injuſtice with "impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. "The experience of all ages ſhews, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they think it will turn to "their advantage." Our readers will here obſerve, that, with regard to the Roman nation in general, theſe reflections

ſcarce

ſcarce carry with them more of ſatire than panegyric; and that as to the very perſons guilty of one of the greateſt violations of public faith, attended with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, that perhaps ever happened, he only ſeems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their anceſtors; nay, he puts them upon a level with thoſe at the head of other ſtates. Such a palliation of one of the moſt atrocious public crimes to be met with in hiſtory, would be inexcuſable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs; but as for his countrymen, if we ſuppoſe them to pay any deference to the conduct of their ſuperiors for above a century paſt, it is as natural for them to talk in this ſtrain now, as it was for the Romans to act the part they did at the time Carthage was deſtroyed.

The perfidious conduct of the Romans expoſed.

In whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the Romans, at this juncture, it muſt appear as the reſult of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any ſtate. Perjury, cruelty, injuſtice, pride, meanneſs of ſpirit, and even cowardice itſelf, in the higheſt degree, are ſome of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it ſhould enter into the head of the author juſt cited, as well as of many others, that even the anceſtors of that profligate ſet of men we are now ſpeaking of, were ſo eminent for their rectitude, greatneſs of ſoul, and public ſpirit, at leaſt any of them but thoſe, who flouriſhed in the earlieſt times of the republic. Can any ſtate, that is continually graſping at univerſal empire, and aims at nothing but enſlaving all its neighbours, deſerve ſuch a ſhining character? And that the Roman republic had this ſolely in view, even almoſt from its very infancy, is evident from the moſt partial of its own hiſtorians. That public ſpirit, if any criminal paſſion deſerves ſuch a noble appellation, which ſerves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and maſſacre all the reſt of their ſpecies, is, at moſt, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and aſſaſſins; and whether the Romans in general were not, from very remote times, actuated by ſuch a public ſpirit as this, will eaſily be determined by thoſe who have been but moderately converſant with their writers. The beſt therefore, in our opinion, that can be ſaid of the Romans of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worſe than any preceding generation of one of the moſt hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and conſequently worſt nations, we read of in hiſtory. We muſt leave it to the conſideration

conſideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been ſince equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the beſt part of a century, been taught to diſtinguiſh between the letter and ſpirit of treaties, and which, with its liberty, ſeems to have loſt the very notion of all public virtues.

The operations of the Romans againſt Carthage.

BUT to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: the Carthaginians, having pacified Aſdrubal, one of their generals, who, for ſome contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thouſand men, almoſt to the gates of Carthage, in order to beſiege it, reduced moſt of the open country to their obedience. Aſdrubal, with his forces, poſted himſelf advantageouſly before the town, ſupplying the inhabitants daily with vaſt quantities of proviſions. At laſt the Roman army inveſted it, not doubting but it would fall an eaſy prey to them. Manilius attacked it by land, as Marcius did by ſea; and both of them puſhed on the ſiege with all the vigour they were capable of. But Aſdrubal greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties ſent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them inſenſibly into ambuſcades prepared for that purpoſe. Manilius therefore could make no conſiderable impreſſion on the city by land; and as Marcius, with the fleet, lay near the ſtagnum or great moraſs, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the ſeaſon, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garriſon likewiſe repulſed the Romans in all the attacks they made, with the loſs of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous ſallies in the night, deſtroyed moſt of their works and battering engines. Aſdrubal alſo, by his detachments, prevented their excurſions, and intercepted their foragers; ſo that their cavalry was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. As for Maſiniſſa, a miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the Romans hindered the junction of their forces; ſo that the conſuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at preſent, to draw off from before the town. Marcius, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coaſts of Africa; but not being able to execute his deſign, he attacked the iſland Ægimurus, which ſurrendered to him. In the mean time Manilius moved towards the ſea-coaſts, to favour, as ſhould ſeem, the operations of Marcius; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of Carthage, having been haraſſed in his march by Himilco, ſurnamed

ſurnamed Fabeas, or, according to Appian, Phameas, general of the Carthaginian horſe. However, the ſiege went on very ſlowly, Aſdrubal cloſely attending him, and deſtroying great numbers of his men on one ſide, whilſt the beſieged made an equal havock of them on the other, by their continual ſallies. The Romans were only in poſſeſſion of Saxus, Leptis, Cholla, and Utica; ſo that they were not a little ſtreightened for want of proviſions. We are told by Appian, that Cenſorinus played one vaſt ram againſt the walls with ſix thouſand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whoſe officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement; but, though a great breach was made, he could not ſtorm the place, the Carthaginians, after having repulſed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the Carthaginians afterwards burnt the Roman fleet, and Scipio Æmilianus ſaved the Roman army, when it was upon the very brink of deſtruction, may be learnt from Appian, as well as a former part of this hiſtory [m].

In the mean time Maſiniſſa, drawing near his end, diſpatched a courier to Æmilianus, to appriſe him of it, and to deſire him to divide the dominions he was poſſeſſed of betwixt his three ſons, Micipſa, Gulufla, and Maſtanabal, as well as to aſſiſt them with his advice. This Scipio executed in the moſt prudent and equitable manner, as we ſhall ſee in the Numidian hiſtory. Whilſt this was tranſacting, Manilius reduced the ſtrong city of Tezaga, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thouſand of them to the ſword, and taking ſix thouſand priſoners. Some other places of ſtrength he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of before the concluſion of the campaign [n].

Phameas deſerts the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, about this time, ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the deſertion of Phameas, one of their beſt commanders, who went over to the Romans, after he had had an interview with Æmilianus, at the head of a body of two thouſand two hundred horſe. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the deſtruction of Carthage. For the particulars of this tranſaction, we muſt refer our readers to Appian [o].

The

[m] Liv. Appian. Flor. Plut. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illuſtr. 58. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 344 & ſeq. [n] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 175. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Appian. Zonar. Oroſ. ubi ſup. [o] Appian. ubi ſup. Vide & Liv. epit. i. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. & Zonar. ubi ſupra.

The Carthaginians obtain ſome advantages over the Romans.

THE next campaign, the conſul Calpurnius Piſo, and his lieutenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Carthaginians were ſo ſtrong this year, that they obtained ſeveral advantages over the Romans, and towards the cloſe of it, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of Hippo Zaritus, which they had carried on the whole ſummer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the ſiege of Carthage, that, for the preſent, ſeemed to be at a ſtand. The beſieged applied to Andriſcus, who pretended to be the ſon of Perſeus king of Macedon, for aſſiſtance, or at leaſt for a diverſion in their favour, by purſuing the war he was then engaged in againſt the Romans with vigour. In order the more ſtrongly to excite him to this, they promiſed him powerful ſupplies both of money and ſhips. However, they received no aſſiſtance from that quarter, the reaſon of which, as well as all the moſt important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place [o].

Bithyas, with a body of Numidian horſe comes over to the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginian army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred Numidian horſe, whoſe leader Bithyas had prevailed upon them to deſert Guluſſa, and the acceſſion of ſome other troops from Carthage, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been obſerved, that neither Micipſa nor Maſtanabal, Maſiniſſa's other ſons, had ſent any ſupplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithſtanding they had, for a long time paſt, promiſed them ſuch ſupplies, the Carthaginians reſumed their former courage, ſcoured the open country, and put all their places of ſtrength in the beſt poſture of defence. The advantages they had gained at Nepheris and Hippo, and the enemy's inability to puſh on the ſiege of Carthage, though the city was, in a manner, diſmantled, and the inhabitants diſarmed, inſpired them with a reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood. They ſent embaſſadors to Micipſa, Maſtanabal, and the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance againſt the Romans, inſinuating to thoſe princes, that, ſhould the African republic be once ſubverted by that haughty people, they muſt ſoon expect to meet with the ſame fate. Aſdrubal the Carthaginian general without the town, about

[o] Appian. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſupra, c. 29, 30.

about this time, deſiring the command of the troops within the city, poſſeſſed by another Aſdrubal, Guluſſa's nephew, accuſed him falſly of a deſign to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent perſon was ſo thunder-ſtruck with the accuſation, which came entirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; ſo that he was inſtantly diſpatched upon the ſpot, without any further proceſs [P].

Æmilianus takes Megara.

Soon after Piſo, with a body of troops, reduced ſome of the inland towns, leaving Mancinus, with the other part of the army, to continue the ſiege of Carthage. Mancinus, obſerving one part of the wall, which, by reaſon of its rocky ſituation, ſeemed inacceſſible, not guarded, found means to ſcale it, and take poſt in the town, with three thouſand five hundred men. But the Carthaginians not only prevented any ill conſeqences from this lodgment, but likewiſe cut off his retreat, and ſo ſurrounded him, that he muſt either have been deſtroyed, or ſtarved to a ſurrender, had not Æmilianus in the critical moment relieved him. This ſo diſheartened the Carthaginians, that they abandoned ſeveral poſts; which encouraged Æmilianus to make an attack upon Megara, a part of the city, which our readers will find already deſcribed. This was begun at midnight, by a ſelect body of troops, who had provided themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling-ladders, being led by the general himſelf. They advanced ſeveral ſtadia without the leaſt noiſe; but at laſt gave a ſudden and general ſhout, which ſtruck the enemy, who did not expect a viſit at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themſelves, they oppoſed the aſſailants with ſuch bravery, that Æmilianus found it impoſſible to mount the ramparts; but at laſt perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, but without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence deſcending into Megara, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which Æmilianus entering with four thouſand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themſelves obliged to retreat to Byrſa, in as great a conſternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the

[P] Appian. ubi ſupra Liv. epit. l. Zonar. ubi ſupra. c. 30.

town. Asdrubal, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the Roman prisoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related [q].

And fortifies his camp.

Whilst Asdrubal was thus venting his fury upon the Roman captives, and even murdering many Carthaginian senators, who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, Æmilianus was busy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, whereon Carthage stood, to the continent of Africa. That part of these lines, which fronted the city of Carthage, was strengthened by a wall twenty-five stadia long, and twelve foot high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a darts cast of it, made their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The Carthaginians were doubly incommoded by this work; first, as it secured the Roman forces against their sallies; and secondly, as Æmilianus thereby cut off all provisions from them; which distressed them exceedingly. Bithyas indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn before Æmilianus made himself master of Megara, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines; but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to Asdrubal, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the Roman prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out, "That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unseasonable at a juncture, when they were ready to sink

[q] Polyb. in excerptis Valesii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 340.

"ſink under the preſſure of the publick calamities." A famine therefore enſued, which not a little contributed to the deſtruction of the city [r].

THE beſieged found themſelves already reduced to great ſtreights; but the progreſs Æmilianus had lately made in an attempt to ſtop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already ſhut up by the Roman fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy proſpect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they reſolved to take ſuch meaſures, as might, if poſſible, defeat the enemy's deſign. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an induſtry ſcarce to be parallelled, they dug a new baſon, and opened a communication with the ſea; which enabled them to make head againſt the enemy once more upon that element; for, with the ſame diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vaſt number of other veſſels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an impenetrable ſecrecy, that Æmilianus entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, till he ſaw their ſquadron appear at ſea. Then his ſurpriſe was ſo great, thinking it impoſſible, that ſo weak an enemy ſhould, as it were, in an inſtant become ſo formidable, that, Appian believes, the Carthaginians might have totally ruined the Roman fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This ſeems to have been no unreaſonable ſuppoſition, becauſe, as no ſuch blow was expected, and every man otherwiſe employed, the Carthaginians would have found the Roman veſſels deſtitute of rowers, ſoldiers and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preſerving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finiſhing a conqueſt, which had coſt them ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, they exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the Carthaginian brigantines, gliding along under the large Roman ſhips, broke to pieces many of their ſterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themſelves puſhed, they retreated with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge.

The Carthaginians again worſted.

[r] Idem ibid.

The diſpute continued with equal ſucceſs till the evening, when the Carthaginians thought proper to retire, not under any apprehenſion of the enemy's ſuperiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter veſſels, being extremely ſwift and numerous, ſoon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, ſhut up the mouth of it; ſo that thoſe of a larger ſize were excluded from thence, and obliged to take ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, and on the ſide whereof a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at laſt, by the conduct and bravery of five galleys of Sida, the Carthaginians were obliged to retire, and ſail for ſhelter to the city. The next morning Æmilianus attacked the terrace; but was repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter by the beſieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by aſſault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built cloſe to thoſe of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finiſhed, he commanded four thouſand men to mount it, and diſcharge ſhowers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to inſult and annoy them. As the troops on each ſide were upon a level, there was ſcarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The laſt action concluded the military operations of this campaign.[s]

Lælius gives Diogenes, one of the Carthaginian generals, a great overthrow.

In order the more effectually to cut off ſupplies of every kind from the beſieged, Æmilianus formed a deſign to reduce the places of ſtrength the Carthaginians had ſtill in their hands, particularly Nepheris, where they had a numerous body of forces ſtrongly encamped, commanded by Diogenes, one of Aſdrubal's intimate friends, who, by means of the new baſon above-mentioned, ſent continual convoys of proviſions to Carthage. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by perſons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accompliſhed by a body of troops under the conduct of Lælius, ſupported by Guluſſa's Numidian horſe. By the activity of theſe laſt, and the violence of the Numidian elephants, the whole

[s] Idem ibid. &Liv. in epit. li. Flor. l. ii. c. 15.

whole Carthaginian army, conſiſting of eighty-four thouſand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken priſoners, except four thouſand, who diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before Æmilianus reſumed the operations againſt the city of Carthage, and induced the Africans, who were kept in awe by Diogenes, to abandon the Carthaginians [t].

Æmilianus taſtes Byrſa, and deſtroys Carthage.

Soon after Æmilianus formed two attacks, one againſt Byrſa, and the other againſt the Cothon. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall, which ſurrounded the port or Cothon, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his ſoldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thouſand men from the camp, who, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of Apollo, which was immenſely rich, and divided the booty amongſt themſelves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance againſt the enemy. Æmilianus, by the occupation of this ſquare, and poſſeſſion of the wall, being maſter of every part of the city, but Byrſa or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this laſt with inexpreſſible bravery. The Carthaginians having been greatly weakened by a famine, inſomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for ſome time, upon human fleſh, and had ſcarce ſtrength to handle their arms, he, in ſix days effected this. However, in the conteſt he loſt a vaſt number of men, and gained his point with the utmoſt difficulty. Moſt of thoſe who had fled into Byrſa, were ſo intimidated at the approach of the Roman army, that they ſurrendered upon the proconſul's granting them their lives. Aſdrubal, the commandant, ſoon after abandoned the reſt of them, and put himſelf into the hands of the Romans. His wife could not ſurvive ſuch an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred Roman deſerters, to whom Æmilianus had denied mercy, committed herſelf, as well as her children, to the flames, that deſtroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of Æſculapius upon it. Appian tells us, that, before ſhe acted this tragedy, ſhe appeared in ſplendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addreſſed herſelf to Scipio in terms to the following effect: "May the gods, Roman, "be

[t] Liv. & Appian ubi ſup.

" be propitious to you, who act according to the rules of " war; but may you, and the genius of Carthage, take " vengeance of that miſcreant Aſdrubal, the betrayer of his " wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to Aſdrubal, who ſtood by Æmilianus, " Abandoned vil- " lain, ſaid ſhe, and moſt cowardly of mortals! both I, " and theſe my children, ſhall be ſoon buried in theſe " flames; but as for you, great general of Carthage, what a " ſplendid triumph will you be reſerved to grace! What " tortures may you not expect to ſuffer!" This put a period to the ſtate of Carthage, and conſequently to the diſpute for the empire of the world, which had continued, almoſt without intermiſſion, betwixt two of the moſt famous republics to be met with in hiſtory, for the ſpace of an hundred and eighty years. What inſtructions the conſcript fathers at Rome ſent the proconſul, in relation to the total demolition of Carthage, and how, in conſequence of theſe inſtructions, that unfortunate city was entirely razed, the cities confederated with it diſmantled, as well as thoſe that had declared for the Romans rewarded, and the whole country appertaining to it turned into a province, together with many other particulars relative to the cataſtrophe we are now upon, our readers will find recited at large in the Roman hiſtory [u].

He carries off an immenſe quantity of plunder to Rome.

THUS fell Carthage, in the conſulate of C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius, about a hundred and forty-ſix years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra; a city, whoſe deſtruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, compoſed of the moſt profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treaſure Æmilianus carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, according to the Roman military law, was ſo immenſe, that it exceeded all belief, Pliny making it amount to four (S) millions four hundred and ſeven thouſands weight of ſilver.

[u] Iidem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 2. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 23. Flor. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 356.

(S) This was not the only treaſure Æmilianus met with now in Carthage. According to Salluſt, he preſerved from the flames ſeveral valuable libraries, which he preſented to the ſons of Micipſa. The works of all the moſt noted Phœnician and Punic authors

ſilver. The iniquity of the Roman conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole courſe, of this war, is acknowledged by Velleius, and other hiſtorians, who cannot be ſuſpected of the leaſt partiality in favour of the Carthaginians, In fine, Rome, though, in a manner, miſtreſs of the world, could not imagine herſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity, as long as even the name of Carthage remained; ſo true is it, that a rivetted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cauſe for fear is removed,

thors were undoubtedly included in theſe collections, ſome of the principal of which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were the following:

1. Dius, a celerated Phœnician hiſtorian, a fragment of whoſe work, relating to the friendly intercourſe betwixt Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, has been preſerved to us by Joſephus, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the firſt of his treatiſe againſt Apion.

2. Eumachus, a Carthaginian writer, cited by Phlegon, who, amongſt other things, related, that, whilſt the Carthaginians were drawing a line round Africa Propria, they diſcovered two human ſkeletons, depoſited in two coffins, of an enormous ſize. One of theſe, according to Phlegon, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto diſcovered.

3. Hieronymus Ægyptius, who, according to Freculphus Lexovienſis, a chonological hiſtorian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a hiſtory of Phœnicia. For a further account of him, we muſt refer to onr readers to Voſſius.

4. Heſtiæus Mileſius, a compiler of Phœnician hiſtory, taken notice of by Joſephus, in the tenth book of his Jewiſh antiquities.

5. Hypſicrates, a native, as ſhould ſeem, of Phœnicia, who compoſed a hiſtory of that country in the Phœnician language. A Greek tranſlation of this author, done by one Chætus, if not the original itſelf, was extant in the time of Tatian. He is likewiſe taken notice of by Euſebius, in the tenth book of his Præparatio evangelica.

6. Iolaus, a compiler of Phœnician hiſtory, whoſe works are all loſt, except a few fragments, which ſeem entirely fabulous. From what Bochart, Geſner, and Voſſius, have related of him, the loſs of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. Mochus or Moſchus, a Phœnician, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country in his mother-tongue. Chætus above-mentioned tranſlated this piece into Greek. Joſephus, Tatian, and Athenæus, ſupply us with the ſhort account we have of him.

8. Moſchus

removed, and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. The Romans ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, eſpecially Byrſa and Megara. However, all perſons who deſired it, were admitted to ſee Carthage, nothing affording Æmilianus a higher ſatisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with Rome for ſuperiority ſuch a ſeries of years. The Carthaginian priſoners, ſent to Rome, were diſtributed in the various provinces of Italy, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of Carthage, we muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that Syncellus aſſerts this city to have ſtood ſeven hundred

8. Moſchus Sidonius, a native of Sidon, who, according to Strabo, ſeems to have been the founder of the atomical philoſophy.

9. Procles, a Carthaginian hiſtorian, ſome of whoſe fragments have been preſerved to us by Pauſanias.

10. Sanchoniatho, a Phœnician hiſtorian, who, according to the moſt received opinion, lived a little before the ſiege of Troy. He extracted his hiſtory, which was written in the Phœnician language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the ſacred writings depoſited in temples. Philo of Byblus, who according to Suidas, lived in the reign of Hadrian, tranſlated this hiſtory into Greek, ſome extracts of which we find in the firſt book of Euſebius's Præparatio evangelica. Suidas informs us, that he wrote one treatiſe of the religious inſtitutions of the Phœnicians; another of Hermes's phyſiology; and a third of the Egyptian theology. Porphyry makes him to have been of Berytus; but he was of Tyre, if we will give credit to Athenæus.

11. Theodotus, a writer of Phœnician hiſtory, whoſe performance Chætus tranſlated into Greek. Our readers wi l find every thing relating to him, that antiquity has ſupplied us with, in Bochart and Voſſius (25).

(25) Strab. l. xvi. & alib. Joſeph antiq. & cont. Apion. paſſ. Euſeb. in præp. evang. paſſ. Heſtiæus Mileſius apud Joſeph. in antiq. Judaic. l. iii. Phlegon Trallian. de reb. mirabil. c. 18. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iii. iv. & alib. Tatian. in orat. adverſ. gent. Voſſ. de art. hiſtor. c. 7. & de hiſt. Græc. l. iii. Geſn. in biblioth. & Bochart. in Chan. Suid. paſſ. Porphyr. adverſ. chriſtian. l. iv. Vide etiam Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. Bochart. in Chan. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. Reince. hiſt. Jul. Hendr. de repub Carthagin. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. quamplurim.

hundred and forty-eight years, which almoſt entirely correſponds with ſir Iſaac Newton, Salmaſius, Petavius, &c. and therefore may be conſidered as an additional argument in favour of what thoſe great men have offered on that head [w].

ABOUT twenty-four years after this ſtately metropolis had been laid in aſhes by Æmilianus, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate, C. Gracchus, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of ſix thouſand Roman citizens. The workmen, according to Plutarch, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundation of the new city; which the ſenate being informed of, would have ſuſpended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with ſuch preſages, continued carrying on the work, and finiſhed it in a few days. From hence it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of huts were erected, eſpecially ſince we are told by Velleius, that Marius, after his flight into Africa, lived in a poor, mean condition amidſt the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle, and himſelf at the ſame time ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city. But whether Gracchus executed his deſign, as Plutarch intimates, or the work was entirely diſcontinued, in compliance with the ſenate's orders, as Appian ſuggeſts, it is certain this was the firſt Roman colony, that ever was ſent out of Italy [x].

Carthage afterwards rebuilt by the Romans themſelves.

APPIAN relates, that Julius Cæſar, having landed his forces in Africa, to put an end to the war with Pompey's adherents there, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, ſtruck with the viſion, he wrote down in his pocket-book the deſign he formed, on this occaſion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that being murdered ſoon after in the curia at Rome by the conſpirators, he was not able to execute it. However, ſays the ſame author, Auguſtus Cæſar, his adopted ſon, finding this memoir amongſt

And after various turns of fortune, is at laſt razed by the Saracens.

[w] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 11. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Polyb. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. Appian. ubi ſup. Luc, Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Georg. Syncell. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. Auguſt. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. ſub fin. Aug. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. Themiſt. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent alioſq; mult.

[x] Appian. ubi ſup. Plut. in Gracch. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 19 Liv. in epit. lx.

amongſt his papers, built a city at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which antient Carthage ſtood, which he called by the ſame name, in order to avoid the ill effects of thoſe imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction. Thither he ſent a colony of three thouſand men, who were ſoon joined by conſiderable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by Appian, is not conſiſtent with what we find advanced by Strabo, who intimates, that both Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the ſame time by Julius Cæſar. It is certain this laſt author, who flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius, affirms Carthage in his time to have been equal, if not ſuperior, to the largeſt city in Africa; which can ſcarce be admitted, if we ſuppoſe it to have been built by Auguſtus, after the concluſion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to ſuppoſe him to have built it. Be that as it will, Plutarch follows Strabo, and therefore, in oppoſition to Appian, gives a ſanction to his authority. Pliny mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his days, though the town then was not of ſo large an extent, as that deſtroyed by Æmilianus. Solinus gives us to underſtand, that the town built by Gracchus was called Junonia, and, for ſome time, of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the conſulate of M. Antoninus and P. Dolabella, it made ſuch a figure, that it was eſteemed the ſecond city in the Roman dominions; which, in our opinion, adds ſome weight to the laſt obſervation of Strabo. It was looked upon as the capital of Africa for ſeveral centuries after the commencement of the chriſtian æra. Maxentius laid it in aſhes about the ſixth or ſeventh year of Conſtantine's reign. Genſeric, king of the Vandals, took it A. C. 439. but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the Roman empire by that renowned commander Beliſarius. At laſt the Saracens, under Mohammed's ſucceſſors, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, ſo completely deſtroyed it, that no other traces or footſteps of it are now to be diſcovered, than thoſe we have already taken notice of in the firſt ſection of the Carthaginian hiſtory [y].

[y] Appian. in Libyc. ſub fin. Strab. l. xvii. p. 833. Plut. in Cæſ. Dio Caſſ. l. xliii. & l. lii. Plin. l. v. c. 4. Solin. c. 27. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 21. Oroſ. l. v. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 570. Mermol. l. ii. c. 9, 10. D. Bern. Aldret. in var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619, 620.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The history of the Numidians, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Numidia.

THE limits of the region, called Numidia, have been differently defined by the antient geographers. Pliny gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers Tusca and Ampsaga; which includes the Numidia Nova of Ptolemy, together with the district of the Cirtesii. Mela affirms it to have extended from the river Molochath or Mulucha, to the borders of Africa Propria, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of Cirta. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by Strabo, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by Polybius, Livy, and Dio, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the Massyli and Masœsyli, the last of which was bounded on the west by the Mulucha, as the first was on the east by the Tusca. Dionysius Afer, Silius Italicus, and Appian, as well asthe former historians, add no small weight to Strabo; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of Numidia upon the plan he has laid down [a].

The limits of Numidia.

NUMIDIA then was limited on the north by the Mediterranean; on the south by Gætulia, or part of Libya Interior; on the west by the Mulucha, which separated it from Mauritania; and on the east by the Tusca, a boundary it had in common with Africa Propria. If we suppose Malva, Malvana, Mulucha, Molochath, and the present Mullooïah of the Algerines to be the same river, and the modern Zaine to correspond with the antient Tusca, as the learned and ingenious

Numidia had different bounds assigned to it at different times.

[a] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Ptol. l. iv. c. 2. Pompon. Mel. l. i. c. 6. Strab. l. xvii. p. 570. Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 48. & l. xxviii. c. 17. Dio Cass. l. xli. p. 172. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 187. Sil. Ital. l. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. Appian. in civil. l. iv. p. 995; & alib.

nious Dr. Shaw ſeems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length, Twunt, the weſtern Algerine frontier, about fifty miles to the eaſt of the former river, being in 0° 16′ W. long. from London, and Tabarka, the antient Tabraca, upon the latter, in 9° 16′ to the eaſt of that city. The breadth cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained; but, ſuppoſing it to have been nearly the ſame with that of the preſent kingdom of Algiers, as there is good reaſon to apprehend it was, in the narroweſt part it muſt have been about forty miles, that being the diſtance near Tlemſan from the deſert or Saraha to the ſea-coaſt, and above a hundred in the broadeſt, Jijel being in N. lat. 36° 55′, and Lowtaiah, ſituated amongſt the mountains of Atlas, in 34° 50′. In the Carthaginian times, Numidia contained two conſiderable nations, the moſt powerful of which, according to Strabo, was called the Maſſyli, and the other the Maſœſyli or Maſſœſyli. The country inhabited by the Maſſœſyli is, by ſome authors, eſteemed a part of Mauritania; but Polybius, Livy, and Strabo, whoſe authority will bear down that of all other writers in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was conſidered as appertaining to Mauritania in after-ages by the Romans, we learn from Dio, who not only intimates this, but likewiſe aſſerts, that it had the name of Mauritania Cæſarienſis given it by the emperor Claudius[b].

The extent of Numidia.

NUMIDIA, including Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maſſyli, and Mauritania Cæſarienſis, or that of the Maſæſyli, extended from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 1° 15′ W. to 9° 16′ E. of London. Ptolemy is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before ſhewn him to be in that of Africa Propria; for he places The Great Promontory in 35°, and the Ampſaga in 31° 45′ N. lat. and ſo in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coaſt is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. directi on; whereas, according to the lateſt obſervations, to the Promontorium Apollinis it is N. E. and from thence to the Ampſaga, inclining to the N. In ſhort, according to the ſame obſervations, Ptolemy differs ſo widely from the truth in the whole, that thoſe places, which he has fixed in a ſouthern inclination, ſhould have had a northern one; and The Great Promontory, which he has placed

[b] Plin. Mel. Strab. Ptol. &c. ubi ſup. Dio Caſſ. l. xl. p. 671. If. Voſſ. in Mel. ubi ſup. Dr. Shaw's geographical obſervations of Algiers, c. 1.

placed 3° 15′ to the northward of the Ampſaga, is really 1° 37′ S. of it. Several places likewiſe of this country he has put five degrees farther ſouth, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly poſſeſſed by the Maſſyli, from the moſt accurate obſervations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, ſeems to have extended itſelf from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 6° 30′ to 9° 60′ E. long. from London. From hence the ſituation and extent of the Maſæſylian kingdom may likewiſe be eaſily determined [c].

The country of the Maſſyli.

THE country of the Maſſyli, Numidia Propria, or, as ſome authors call it, Terra Metagonitis, was ſeparated from the proper territory of Carthage by its eaſtern boundary the river Tuſca, and from the kingdom of the Maſæſyli, or Mauritania Cæſarienſis, if we will believe Pliny, by the Ampſaga. It ſeems to correſpond with that part of the province of Conſtantina lying between the Zaine and the Wed el Kibeer, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The ſea-coaſt of this province is, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky, anſwering appoſitely enough to the appellation given it by Abulfeda, viz. El Adwah, the high or lofty. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories that formed the kingdom of the Maſæſyli, though this nation is repreſented as leſs potent than the Maſſyli by Strabo. We ſhall only mention ſuch of the principal places ſeated in it, as have been taken the greateſt notice of by the antients, the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves obliging us, at preſent, to paſs over all the reſt [d].

Cirta.

THE capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was Cirta, a place of very conſiderable note amongſt the antients. It ſtood about forty-eight miles from the ſea, and at a ſmall diſtance from the Ampſaga. According to Strabo, it was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of Micipſa, who invited a good number of Greeks to come and reſide in it. Mela and Pliny intimate, that it was likewiſe known by the name of Sittianorum Colonia in their time, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, when under the dominion of Syphax. The latter name it received from the colony

[c] Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup. [d] Strab. l. ii. Plin. Mel. Ptol. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 7. & alib.

colony ſettled there by P. Sittius, who, having been of ſingular ſervice to Cæſar in the African war, received a great extent of territory in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to Manaſſes, one of Juba's confederates, from that prince, as we learn from Appian and Dio; for which reaſon we find it called Cirta Julia by Ptolemy, who names the territory adjacent to it, the diſtrict of the Cirteſii, which he ſeparates from Numidia, making it to include the cities of Vaga, Miræum, Lares, Ætara, and Azama. That Cirta was one of the largeſt, as well as ſtrongeſt, cities of Numidia, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and the commodiouſneſs of its ſituation; for the greateſt part of it was built upon a kind of peninſular promontory, inacceſſible on all ſides, except towards the ſouth-weſt. This promontory was above a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the ſouthward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landſkip aroſe from a moſt agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themſelves to a great diſtance. To the eaſtward the proſpect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the ſouth-eaſt, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of Cirta with a diſtant view of the high mountain, called at preſent Ziganeah, as well as thoſe large and fertile eminences, whoſe modern name is Seedy Rougeiſe. The peninſular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was ſeparated from the neighbouring plains by a deep, narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, where a rivulet, that ſeems to have been a branch of the Ampſaga, the modern Rummel of the Algerines, conveyed its ſtream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of moſt excellent workmanſhip. The iſthmus, near which ſtood the principal gate of the city, is about half a ſtadium broad, being entirely covered at preſent with a ſeries of broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a ſmall plain parallel to the valley above deſcribed. The moſt eminent fragments of antiquity ſtill remaining are, 1. A particular ſet of ciſterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards ſquare. 2. The aqueduct, whoſe remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the ciſterns, ſufficiently demonſtrate the wealth, public ſpirit, and magnificence of the Numidian princes, who held their reſidence here. 3. Part

of

of a large and noble edifice, four of whoſe baſes, ſeven foot in diameter, ſtill in their places, ſeem to have formed part of the portico. This ſtands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the Turkiſh garriſon of Conſtantina is always poſted. That name was given Cirta in the reign of Conſtantine the Great, who repaired and adorned it, according to Aurelius Victor. Cirta was the metropolis of Maſiniſſa's dominions, that prince himſelf, his father Gala, and ſeveral other kings of the ſame family, reſiding there, as we learn from Polybius, Livy, and others. Strabo informs us, that Micipſa took care to render it ſo large, populous, and flouriſhing, that, in his time, it could ſend into the field an army of twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the Phœnicians, even before Dido's arrival in Africa; for Cirta or Certa ſeems to have ſignified city in the Phœnician language when Hercules built Carteia, about the time that he firſt came into thoſe parts, as we learn from Heſychius, who tells us, that one of his names was Melicerta, i. e. king of Certa, Cirta, or the city. We have likewiſe already obſerved, that the Canaanites or Phœnicians, when expelled their native country by Joſhua, fled into Numidia; and that ſeveral proper names of places here were Phœnician; nay, we have, from ſome good authors, rendered it probable, that the Phœnicians ſettled in Numidia and Mauritania long before the Iſraelites diſpoſſeſſed them of the land of Canaan. It may not be improper to add, that the antient Cirta was much larger than the modern Conſtantina, which is about 6° 36′ eaſt of London, and in north latitude 36° 20′ [e].

VAGA, a large city, according to Ptolemy, a few miles eaſt of Cirta. Plutarch calls it Baga, and Salluſt Vacca; which is the name likewiſe given it by Silius, Pliny, and St. Auſtin. The Romans placed a ſtrong garriſon here under the command of Turpilius, as we learn from Salluſt and Plutarch [f]. Vaga.

LARES,

[e] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Mel. ubi ſup. Plin. l. v. c. 3. Dio. Caſſ. l. xliii. ſub. init. Appian. in civil l. iv. p. 996. Liv. l. xxx. c. 12, & alib. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 259, & alib. Ptol, geogr. l. iv. c. 3. Shaw ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide etiam. Plut. in Mario, p. 409 Heſych, apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 2. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 575. [f] Salluſt. Plut. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D. Auguſt. cont. Donatiſt. l. iii. c. 6.

Lares.

LARES, a town ſouth-eaſt of Cirta, taken notice of by Ptolemy, which ſome think different from that in the itinerary called Laribus Colonia, or, according to Schottus, Laribum Colonia. This place is mentioned by Salluſt, and other antient authors [g].

Azama

AZAMA, a town which Ptolemy makes to be fifteen days journey diſtant from Carthage, lying ſouth-eaſt of Cirta. Some authors imagine this to be the ſame with Zama, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the ſignal defeat Hannibal reeeived near it. But this is rendered improbable by Livy and Polybius, who fix Zama on a ſpot at leaſt two thirds nearer Carthage. Mirœum and Ætara, the other two places in the diſtrict of the Cirteſii, taken notice of by Ptolemy, are ſo obſcure, that it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them [h].

Collops Magnus.

ABOUT eighteen miles from the Ampſaga, at the weſtern bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, or, as it is now called, the gulf of Stora, ſtood the Cullu, or Collops Magnus, of Pliny and Ptolemy. There is nothing remaining at preſent of this antient city, but a few miſerable houſes, and a ſmall fort. The modern name is Cull, which, as well as the antient, might be derived from a ſmall port before it, Culla in Arabic and Phœnician ſignifying a port. At the eaſtern extremity of the ſame gulf was the Ruſicada of Ptolemy, the Sgigata or Stora of the moderns. A few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity diſcernible in it. The antient geographers have fixed it fifty or ſixty Roman miles from Cullu; whereas in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet ſeems to be the Tapſas of Vibius Sequeſter [i].

Tacatua.

NOT many miles to the north-eaſt ſtood the Tacatua of Pliny, Ptolemy, and the itinerary, the Tuckuſh of the Algerines, at preſent a pleaſant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At ſome diſtance from it, in an eaſtern direction, was the Sulluco or Collops Parvus of Ptolemy, the modern ſmall port of Tagodeite [k].

AT

[g] Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 90. Ptol. ubi ſup. D. Auguſt. cont. Donatiſt. l. vi. c. 28. [h] Polyb. l. xv. c. 5. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29. Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 57. Hirt. in B. Afr. c. 91. Plin. l. v. c. 4. Ptol. ubi ſup. & inſcript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 364. [i] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Solin. c. 26. Vib. Sequeſt. de flumin. Ptol. ubi ſup. & Itinerar. Antonin. Shaw. ubi ſup c. 7. [k] Plin. Ptol. Itiner. & Shaw ubi ſup.

AT the weſtern extremity of the gulf of Hippo, upon the river Armua, was the city of Hippo Regius, a place we have had occaſion to mention frequently in the Roman and Carthaginian hiſtory. Upon the ſpot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is ſtill to be ſeen. According to Leo Africanus, the city of Bona, or, as the Moors call it, Blaid el Aneb, Town of Jujebs, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of theſe ruins. This ſeems to be confirmed by the name Bona, which is undoubtedly a corruption of Hippo or Hippona. It is probable, that Bona has the ſame ſituation that Ptolemy's Aphrodiſium had, ſince he places it fifteen miles to the north of Hippo. The ruins of Hippo take up a ſpace about half a league in circumference, conſiſting, as uſual, of large broken walls and ciſterns. This city was called Hippo Regius, becauſe it was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the Numidian kings, as Silius Italicus informs us. And indeed its commodious ſituation both for hunting and commerce, the ſalubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, the delightful proſpect they enjoyed, which took in the ſea, a ſpacious harbour, a variety of mountains covered with trees, and plains diverſified with rivers, fountains, and fertile ſpots of ground, in a moſt beautiful manner, all at once, demonſtrate this city to be as worthy of ſuch an honour, as any other in the Numidian dominions. We have before ſhewn the word Hippo to be of Phœnician extraction, which is a proof, that the antient inhabitants were of the ſame origin. We ſhall reſerve the deſcription of Bona for the hiſtory of Algiers, to which it will more properly belong [1]. Hippo Regius.

THABRACA or Tabraca was a maritime city of Numidia Propria, ſeated on the weſtern bank of the Tuſca. Mela, Juvenal, Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Auſtin, all make mention of it. Pliny inſinuates, that it was a Roman colony in the latter ages. The ruins of it are ſtill remaining, and out of them has ſprung the modern Tabarca, where there are ſeveral broken walls and ciſterns, with a ſmall fort and garriſon of Tuniſeens. Bochart ſays, that Thabraca was a Phœnician word, and equi- Tabraca.

[1] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Liv. l. xxix. c. 3. Plin. & Mel. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 259. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 4. J. Leo African .p. 211. Shaw ubi ſup. & Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 88.

valent to the Latin Frondoſa, which, he ſhews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verſe of Juvenal:

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca ſaltus
Sat. x. ver. 194 [m].

Naragara. NARAGARA or Nadagara, a very antient town, ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance ſouth-weſt of Tabraca, on the confines of Africa Propria. Here, towards the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, Scipio is ſaid to have encamped for the benefit of the water, Hannibal at the ſame time taking poſt upon an eminence four miles diſtant from him. Polybius ſeems to have called this place Margaron. It is ſuppoſed, that ſome fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are ſtill to be ſeen [n].

Sicca. SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for Sicca, Sicca Venerea, or, as ſome will have it, Venerea. But, as we have taken notice of this place elſewhere, as well as the lewd cuſtom prevailing in it, and as its ſituation cannot, with any preciſion, be aſcertained, we ſhall drop all further particulars relating to it [o].

Thirmida. THIRMIDA, a town of this province, where Hiempſal, according to Salluſt, loſt his life; but whether it ſtood on the borders of the Maſſyli, or remote from them, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [p].

Suthul. SUTHUL, a city where that prince's treaſure was depoſited, as we are informed by the ſame hiſtorian. It ſhould ſeem probable from ſome hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from Thirmida [q]

Madaura. MADAURA, a city, as may be inferred from St. Auſtin, in the neighbourhood of Sicca Venerea, Tagaſte, and Hippo Regius. It was famous for the birth of Apuleius the Platonic philoſopher; which is all we can ſay of it [r].

As

[m] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Pomp. Mel. l. i. c. 7. Ptol. ubi ſup. J. Leo African. p. 287. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw. ubi ſup.
[n] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29 Shaw ubi ſup. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 642. Vide & Salluſt. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. [p] Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 12. [q] Idem ibid. c. 37. [r] Apul. Madaurenſ. in metamorphoſ. l. xi. de Platon. philoſ. l. iii. & in apol. D. Aug. in confeſ. l. ii. c. 3.

As for Sava, Gemellæ, Calama, Lambeſa, Theveſte, Tadutti, Sigus, Tipaſa, Simiſthu, Lamaſba, and an infinite number of other obſcure places, mentioned chiefly, if not ſolely, by Ptolemy, the Itinerary, Peutinger's table, the Notitia, Æthicus, Oroſius, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we muſt here confine ourſelves, as they cannot improve our idea of any ſingle fact or circumſtance relative to the hiſtory we are now upon, our readers will not only excuſe a deſcription, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be ſufficient, in order to compleat our geographical deſcription of this province, to give a ſuccinct account of the moſt remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, iſlands, and ſome of the principal curioſities of it, to which we ſhall beg leave to premiſe a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it [s]. Sava, &c.

WE have already obſerved, that the ſea-coaſt of this province was, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky. To which we ſhall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew leſs capable of culture, in proportion as it approached the Sahara. In many places, for ſeveral leagues together, nothing was to be ſeen but a ſolitary deſert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their ſupport; in others fruitful diſtricts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the moſt delicious pomgranates, apples, &c. afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to travellers. But the natural hiſtory, both of Numidia Propria, and Mauritania Cæſarienſis, our readers may expect in a proper place [t]. The ſeacoaſt of this province mountainous.

THE firſt ridge of mountains we ſhall take notice of, is that upon the borders of Gætulia, which terminated the country between the parallels of Sitifi and Cirta, called by the antients Buzara. 2. That called Thambes, extending itſelf as far as Tabraca. 3. The Mampſarus of Ptolemy, upon the frontiers of Gætulia, which ſeparated that country, or the Sahara, from the Mauritania Sitifenſis. 4. The Mons Audus of Ptolemy, or the Mons Auraſius of the middle age, known at preſent amongſt the Turks by the name Jibbel Aureſs or Evreſs. All of which will hereafter be minutely deſcribed [u]. The mountains of it.

[s] Vide Ptol. Itinerar, Antonin. Peuting. tab. Notit. Æthic. Oroſ. &c. [t] Abulfed. & Shaw. ubi ſup. [u] Plin. Ptol. & Shaw. ubi ſup.

THE firſt promontory that falls under our obſervation is the Tritum of Strabo, and the Metagonium of Mela, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the Ampſaga, called at preſent the Sebba Rous, or Seven Capes, by the Algerines. 2. The Hippi Promontorium of Ptolemy, the Mabra of the ſea-charts, about twenty leagues eaſt of the former. It goes now among the Algerines by the name Ras el Hamrah, i. e. The Red Cape, and has the ruins of two ſmall buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league diſtant from the Hippi Promontorium, to the northward, is the Stoborrum Promontorium of Ptolemy. This was in the gulf of Hippo, and about a league from the city of that name [w].

The rivers. OF the rivers which water Numidia Propria, the moſt remarkable are the following: 1. The Ampſaga, which ſeparated this region from that of the Maſæſyli or Mauritania Cæſarienſis. That river fell into the ſea about ſix leagues to the weſt of Cullu, and is at preſent named the Wed el Kibeer, or Great River; which very well tallies with the ſignification of the word Ampſaga, Aphſah importing in Arabic broad, large, ample, &c. At preſent it appears to be made up of the following branches: The Wed el Dſahab, River of Gold, whoſe ſource is at Kaſbaite, a heap of ruins ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt; the rivulet of Jimmeelah, in the ſame direction nearly with the Wed el Dſahab, but at a little more than forty miles diſtance; the Wed el Hammam, twenty miles to the weſt of Conſtantina; the Wed el Sigan, fifteen miles to the ſouth-weſt from Phyſgeah; and the ſprings of Hydrah, about half that diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. The modern geographers have generally conducted the chanel of their Ampſaga towards the gulf of Cull; whereas the Wed el Kibeer, which truly anſwers to the Ampſaga of the antients, has no ſuch direction, but falls into the ſea ſix leagues to the weſtward. Cellarius ſeems to fix its ſource in that ridge of mountains, by Ptolemy called Buzara, upon the borders of the Sabara; which runs counter to the lateſt and moſt accurate obſervations. 2. The Armua of Pliny, the modern Sei-bouſe, which emptied itſelf into the weſtern extremity of the gulf of Hippo. This frequently lodges great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring ſhore, and, by reaſon

[w] Mel. l. i. c. 7. Strab. l. xvii. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup.

reaſon of the low ſituation of the adjacent country, occaſions frequent inundations. 3. The Rubricatus of Ptolemy, or Ma-fragg of the Algerines, has its fountains on ſome hills, that lie at a little diſtance to the ſouth of Hippo, its mouth being about four leagues eaſterly from that of the Armua. Bochart thinks, that the word Rubricatus is a Latin one, equivalent to the Punic or Phœnician Siſara, i. e. Red or Purple; and that both the river and the lake ſo called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the Africans and Carthaginians were ſo famous for; which notion ſeems to be confirmed by Pliny and Dioſcorides, but particularly by Herodotus, who informs us, that the Zygantes, the antient inhabitants of this country, beſmeared themſelves with a liquid ſubſtance of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at preſent generally ſtopped up with a high bank of ſand, raiſed by the north and north-eaſt winds; ſo that it is ſeldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The Tuſca, called now the Zaine, the boundary of this province on the ſide of Africa Propria. It is ſaid, that, in the language of the neighbouring Kabyles, or remains of the old Africans, the word Zaine denotes an oak-tree, and conſequently approaches pretty near in ſignification to Thabraca, the Phœnician name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The Zaine has its ſource in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what Leo has advanced [x].

ALL the moſt noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Thoſe to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been juſt touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of Zama, whoſe waters, if drunk copiouſly, rendered the voice loud and ſonorous, according to Pliny and Vitruvius. This extraordinary quality, if Bochart may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town; for זמר Zamar, cecinit, ſonorus fuit, and in Pihel זמר Zimmer, canere fecit, ſonorum eſſe fecit, &c. plainly allude to it. The eliſion of the R was very common in the oriental words adopted into other languages; as in Vacca from בקר Bacar, Μαζακα from מוסר Muſar, Mappa from מפר Mapar, &c. The Town of Zamar Fountains.

[x] Herodot. l. iv. Plin. l. v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. Dioſcorid. l. v. Ptol. ubi ſup. Strabo, Mel. Solin. ubi ſup. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. J. Leo African. p. 287. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Shaw paſſ.

was ſituated near the ſource of the Ampſaga; and if we ſuppoſe it to have occupied the ſame ſpot of ground that Marmol's Zamor or Zamora does, Bochart's etymon will appear extremely probable. Zama was the city in which king Juba reſided, and was levelled with the ground by the Romans, according to Stabo [y].

THE only iſlands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever ſuppoſed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The Inſulæ Naxicæ or Pithecuſæ of Scylax, oppoſite to Collops Magnus, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to Europe than Africa. 2. The iſland of Tabraca near the mouth of the Zaine, or Tuſca, now in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of Algiers [z].

Curioſities of this province.

THE principal curioſities of Numidia Propria are, 1. The large marſhy plain between Blaid el Aneb and Hippo, with the river Booemah, which hath a bridge of Roman workmanſhip upon it. 2. The Roman inſcriptions found diſperſed all over this province. 3. The rich lead mines in the mountains of Beni Boo-Taleb. 4. The lukewarm ſprings, bubbling within a learge ſquare baſon of Roman workmanſhip, which ſeem to be the Aquæ Calidæ or Aquæ Tibilitanæ of the antients, lying about ten leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Hippo Regius, and ſixteen to the eaſt of Cirta or Conſtantina. To which we might add ſeveral others, did we not reſerve them for the natural hiſtory of the kingdom of Algiers [a].

The limits and extent of the Regio Maſæſylorum.

THE limits and extent of the Regio Maſæſylorum of Strabo, or the Mauritania Cæſarienſis of Dio, being that tract lying between the Mulucha and Ampſaga, is already aſcertained, by the determination of thoſe of Numidia in general, and Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maſſyli, in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not conſiderable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the Maſſyli. It lay betwixt 34° 30′ and 37° N. lat. and extended from 1° 15′ W. to 6° 30′ E. long. from London, including that part of the country of the weſtern Moors bounded on the weſt by the Mullooïa, and on the eaſt

[y] Plin. l. xxxi. c. 2. Vitruv. l. viii. c. 4. Strab. l xvii. Marmol in deſcript. d'Afr. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. [z] Scylax Caryand. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 142. Marmol l. v. c. 54. [a] Ptol. & Shaw ibid.

east by the mountains of Trara, the provinces of the kingdom of Algiers called Tlemsan and Titterie, together with the eastern part of that going by the name of Constantina. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, &c. we shall touch upon in the concisest manner possible [z].

IGILGILI, a town of this tract, about seven leagues to the westward of the Ampsaga, where, according to Pliny, Augustus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy places this town half a degree to the southward of Saldæ, in a situation contrary to that of the modern Jijel, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. Shaw takes this place to be the Igilgili of the antients. It is scarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of Augustus, because the name Igilgili, which Pliny intimates it to have had in the Augustan age, was apparently not of Roman extraction [a]. Igilgili.

SALDÆ, another place where Augustus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy makes it to be two degrees distant from Igilgili, and the itinerary ninety-three miles; which is false, if, with the traveller above-mentioned, we admit the modern Boujeiah to be the antient Saldæ. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names Boujeiah and Saldæ, and the city, which goes by the former name, is but thirteen leagues from Jijel, the supposed Igilgili of the antients, perhaps our sagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two different towns; which sentiment we own ourselves disposed to entertain [b]. Saldæ,

RUSAZUS, another Augustan colony west of Saldæ, taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and the itinerary. Rusazus.

We

[z] Polyb. Liv. Strab. Mel. Plin. Solin. Appian. Ptol. Dio Cass. &c. ubi sup. Shaw, ibid. [a] Plin. l. v. c. 2. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi sup. [b] Iidem ibid.

(A) It is probable, that Miltine a town mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, must have been near the confines of Mauritania Cæsariensis, or in that province, but the particular spot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It seems probable, from what we find hinted of it by Diodorus, to have been a place of considerable force, and situated in a populous country. As for the cities of Tocas, Phellina, Maschala, Acris, &c. they seem to have had their situation near the borders of Africa Propria. For a confirmation of this, we must refer our readers to a former note, (1).

(1) Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 191. (Z)

We remember not this place to be famous in history for any remarkable tranſaction that happened in or near it [c].

Ruſcurium. RUSUCURIUM, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, that was highly diſtinguiſhed by the emperor Claudius, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by Pliny [d].

Ruſconium. RUSCONIUM, another Roman colony, that owed its origin to Auguſtus, ſeated near the mouth of the Serbes or Serbetis. Ptolemy calls it Ruſtonium; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by Pliny. In the itinerary we find it named Ruſguniæ Colonia. It has been imagined, that a ſmall caſtle on cape Temendfuſe or Metafus, fifteen miles eaſt of Algiers, in ſituation anſwers pretty nearly to it; becauſe Icoſium, which is ſuppoſed to have correſponded with the preſent Algiers, and Ruſconium, had the ſame diſtance, and were placed in the ſame direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, Ruſconium had a Cothon, ſome traces of which are ſtill remaining; and the modern Dellys occupies the very ſpot of ground Ruſucurium ſtood upon. The three towns laſt-mentioned, from their names, ſeem to have been originally Libyan or Phœnician [e].

Icoſium. ICOSIUM, whoſe ſituation has juſt been determined, may ſeem to have taken up the ſpace on which Algiers was afterwards built, both from the conſideration already offered, and from ſome Roman inſcriptions found in this laſt city, taken notice of by Gramaye [f].

Tipaſa. TIPASA, a Roman colony, mentioned by Ptolemy and the itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conqueſt of Numidia by the Romans. It was forty-ſeven miles from Icoſium, in a north-eaſt direction; which is an additional argument in favour of Algier's being the antient Icoſium, and likewiſe evinces, that the preſent Tefeſſad is the Tipaſa of the old geography [g].

Jol. THE next city of conſequence on the ſea-coaſt, to the weſtward, was Jol, the ſeat of the younger Juba, who, out of the great veneration he had for Auguſtus, gave it the

[c] Iidem ibid. [d] Iidem ibid. [e] Itinerar. Antonin. Plin. Ptol. Shaw, ubi ſup. & p. 88. [f] Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup. Gram. Afr. illuſt. l. vii. c. 1. Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 82. J. Leo. African. p. 204. [g] Ptol. Plin. Itinerar. Shaw, &c. ubi ſup.

the name of Cæſarea, according to Eutropius, Pliny, and Strabo. That it had a port, and an iſland lying in the mouth of it, we are aſſured by Strabo; which gives us good grounds to ſuppoſe, that the modern Sherſhell anſwers to the Jol or Julia Cæſarea of the antients. The large circuit, and ſumptuous remains of an old city at Sherſhell, together with its ſituation, and many other concurring circumſtances, ſerve likewiſe to render extremely probable ſuch a ſuppoſition. For a full and ample deſcription of the port or Cothon, and all other particulars of note relating to Sherſhell, ſome of which were doubtleſs applicable to the Numidian Jol, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the obſervations of the ingenious traveller ſo frequently cited. We ſhall only add, that a colony was ſettled here by the emperor Claudius; and that Bochart affirms the word Jol, in the oriental languages, to ſignify high or lofty; which agrees with the ſituation of the place, and conſequently proves, that it was either founded by the Orientals, or by ſome of their deſcendents [g].

Canucius.

THE Canucius of Ptolemy, Gunugi of Pliny, and Gunugus of the itinerary, anſwering to the Breſk of the Algerines, ſtood about nine miles to the weſtward from Jol. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a Roman colony planted in it by Auguſtus, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring Kabyles not permitting people of any nation to make a ſettlement in it [h].

Cartenna.

CARTENNA, a very conſiderable city, ſituated, as ſhould ſeem, near the mouth of the river Cartennus, where Auguſtus ſettled the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion. Ptolemy indeed places it ſome leagues more weſterly; but the poſition he aſſigns many of his towns, is ſo extremely erroneous, that he deſerves no credit, when any ſhadow of an argument can be offered againſt him. Now, Cartenna, in the Phœnician language, ſignified the city of Tenna; and we find a promontory ſome leagues to the eaſtward, at this day called the cape of Tennes, and a town named Tnis or Tennis not far diſtant from it. It was not unuſual amongſt the moſt antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give thoſe rivers the names of the new-

[g] Strab. l. xvii. p. 571. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vii. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 3. [h] Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw ubi ſup.

new-built towns. Of this the city and river of Camicus in Sicily, to omit many others that might be produced, is a ſufficient proof. That Tenna, Tennes, or Tanas, was a local proper name in Numidia, is not only evident from the cape abovementioned, but from the Tanas, which was a river of this country, though its courſe cannot, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, be aſcertained. Whether Tenna or Tennis was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the ſoil, as the learned traveller we are ſo much obliged to ſeems to inſinuate, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiſs, if we diſſent from him, when he derives Tanis, the name of a moſt antient and illuſtrious city of Egypt, from תין tin, clay, and makes this city to have been the ſame with Peluſium; for Tanis, in Hebrew letters, is Tzaan, or Zoan, and the word itſelf Egyptian, whoſe ſignification is intirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of Antoninus, at leaſt forty-four Roman miles from Peluſium, and conſequently muſt have been different from it. We have deduced the word Cartenna from the Phœnician language, becauſe it appears from Procopius and Euſebius, not to mention other writers, that the Phœnicians ſent colonies into this country in the moſt early times [i].

Arſenaria. ON the weſtern banks of the Cartennus, the antients place Arſenaria, a town where, if Pliny may be credited, a Latin colony was planted under ſome of the firſt Roman emperors. As the laſt-mentioned author makes it to be three Roman miles from the ſea, it is probable the modern Arzew anſwers to it [k].

Quiza. THE next maritime town of note, in a weſtern direction, is the Quiza Xenitana, Quiza Colonia, or Quiza Municipium, of Ptolemy, Mela, Pliny, and the itinerary. Dr. Shaw will have Geeza to be the antient Quiza; which, as the ſituation aſſigned this laſt was immediately after the Portus Magnus, is not improbable [l].

Siga, SIGA, an antient city of great repute, ſituated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the ſame name. According

[i] Plin & Ptol. ubi ſup. Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 90. Pſal. lxxviii. 12. Euſeb. chron. p. 11. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 29. Hyde in Perit. p. 23. Shaw. p. 36.
[k] Plin. ubi ſup. & Shaw, p. 28. [l] Mel. Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup.

According to Pliny, Syphax's palace was here, which, together with the city itſelf, was demoliſhed in the time of Strabo. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony ſettled there, as we are informed by Ptolemy. Dr. Shaw believes, that the Tafna anſwers to the river, and Tackumbreet to the town, of Siga. It appears from Scylax, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls Sigum. It was the laſt maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great diſtance from the Malva, which our learned traveller has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the ſame river with the Molochath and Mulucha [m].

THE firſt mediterranean cities worthy our notice, to the weſt of the Ampſaga, were Sitifi and Satifi, ſixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourſe to Ammianus Marcellinus, Ptolemy, and other antient writers. By their names, they ſeem to have been founded by the Phœnicians [n]. Sitifi and Satafi.

AUZIA or Auzea, a city of great antiquity, if, with Menander Epheſius, we ſuppoſe it to be the African city of that name founded by Ithobaal king of Tyre. Tacitus tells us, that it was built in a ſmall plain, ſurrounded on all ſides with barren foreſts of a vaſt extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring Arabs Sour Guſlan, the walls of the antelopes, a great part whereof, flanked at proper diſtances with little ſquare towers, is ſtill remaining [o]. Auzia.

TUBUSUPTUS or Tubuſuttus, a town mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus, which Lipſius takes to be the Thubuſcus beſieged by Tacfarinas, according to Tacitus. From what Marcellinus has hinted, it ſeems to have been ſituated near the Mons Ferratus [p]. Tubuſuptus.

As Nababurum, Vitaca, Uſſara, Vazagad, Auſum, Robonda, Zaratha, Chizala, Lamida, Vaſana, Phloryia, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long ſince buried in oblivion, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and proceed to the principal promontories, Nababurum.

[m] Scylax. Caryand. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Shaw, p. 19, 20, 21. [n] Ptol. ubi ſup. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxviii. ſub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. D. Auguſt. epiſt. cxxii. [o] Tacit. annal. l. iv. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7. Procop. ubi ſup. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw, p. 81. [p] Plin, & Polyb. ubi ſup. Tacit. an. iv. c. 24. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 24. Juſt. Lipſ. in Tacit. ubi ſup.

mountains, rivers, &c. of this province, which it will be neceſſary for our readers to have a general idea of, in order to underſtand thoſe accounts of the tranſactions happening in it, that have been tranſmitted down to us by the antient hiſtorians [q].

The promontories of this province.

THE firſt promontories, that preſent themſelves to our view, are the Audus and Vabar of Ptolemy. The Aſhounemonker of the Algerines ſeems to anſwer to Vabar, having ſome traces of old ruins ſtill remaining upon it. 2. The Promontorium Apollinis of Pliny and Polemy, the Nackos of the Moors, and cape Tennes of the modern geographers. It deduces its name Nackos, i. e. The bell, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almoſt 2° E. long. from London. 3. The Promontorium Magnum of Ptolemy was a large and conſpicuous cape near 1° E. of the Malva or Mulucha. This is at preſent called by ſailors Cape Hone, and by the inhabitants Ras Hunneine and Mellack. It lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of Twunt, and is a continuation of the mountains of Trara [r].

The mountains.

AMONGST the mountains of note in the Numidia Maſæſylorum may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at preſent diſtinguiſh themſelves to the ſouthward of the plains of Sudratah, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount Atlas. 2. The Zalacus of Ptolemy, which ſeems to have had the ſame poſition as the preſent mount Wannaſhreeſe. 3. Mount Malethubalus, upon the frontiers of Gætulia. This is in the Sahara, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into Europe. 4. The Durdus of Ptolemy, lying between the mountains of El Callah and Trara. 5. The Mons Phruræſus, immediately ſucceeding Malethubalus. 6. The Montes Chalcorychii, near the country of the antient Herpiditani, between mount Durdus and the Malva or Mulucha [s].

The rivers.

THE moſt remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The Audus, placed by Ptolomy at the bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, no traces of which are now to be ſeen. 2. The Siſaris, called at preſent by the Moors and Algerines the Manſoureah, whoſe water was probably

[q] Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. &c. Shaw paſſ.

[r] Plin. Ptol. &c. ubi ſup.

[s] Iidem ibid.

probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name imports, as has been already obſerved. 3. The Niſſava, known at this day by the name of the river of Boujeiah, becauſe it empties itſelf into the ſea a little to the eaſtward of that city. It conſiſts of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different directions, and has its ſource at Jibbel Deera, ſeventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The Serbetis, now the Yſſer, a large river, whoſe mouth is about eight leagues from Temendfuſe, and lieth ſomething nearer Ruſgunia than Rufuccuræ. We are told, that its ſources are from the mountainous diſtrict to the S. S. W. that the weſtermoſt branch of it is called Shurffa, after the name of the neighbouring Arabs; and the other Wed el Zeitoune, i. e. The river of olives, from the vaſt quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The Savus, a river falling into the ſea near Pliny's Icoſion, which our learned traveller takes to have had the ſame ſituation as the Algiers of the moderns. If this be admitted, the Hameeſe bids faireſt for the antient Savus, eſpecially as Leo calls this very river Sefsaia, a word nearly approaching to Savus. 6. The Chinalaph of Ptolemy is the moſt noted river of the Algerines, who call it Shelliff. It ariſeth in the Sahara, at the diſtance of eighty miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The fountains which form its ſource, from their number and contiguity, are known amongſt the Arabs by the name Sebbiene Aine, or Sebaoun Aioun, The ſeventy fountains. A minute deſcription of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The Cartennus, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the ſtream formed by the Sikke and the Habrah anſwers. Marmol calls a river in this ſituation Cirat; which may give ſome countenance to the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. 8. The Flumen Salſum, at preſent called the Wed el Mailah, is a ſtream ſomething leſs than the Cherwell, as it paſſeth by Oxford. 9. Aſſara, a river mentioned by Ptolemy, which may poſſibly be the ſame with the Iſſer of Abulfeda. The Iſſer is one of the four branches that form the Tafna, which our readers may find deſcribed in that curious piece we have ſo often referred them to [t].

The iſlands appertaining to it.

THE only iſlands that deſerve our attention are, 1. The Acra of Scylax, an iſland that forms the modern port of Harſhgoone, under which veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. 2. The Tres Inſulæ of Antoninus, ſituated

[t] Iidem ibid. & J. Leo African. p. 205.

ſituated about ten miles from the Mulucha, to the north-weſt of that river [u].

Its curioſities. THE chief curioſities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a Roman city, called at preſent Caſſir, among the Beni Grohberry, to the northward of Jibbel Afroone; upon the mountains adjacent to which the Algerines frequently dig up large pipes of lead, ſuppoſed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water thoſe parts produced to Saldæ. 2. The rivulet of ſalt-water, which glides through the valley Dammer Cappy, i. e. The iron gate. 3. The large ſalt-pits, five miles to the ſouthward of Arzew. 4. One of the fountains of the Habrah at Niſrag, where the water burſts out with a ſurpriſing noiſe and rapidity; as alſo the hot bath, and ſeveral antient ciſterns upon a branch of the Habrah, when it arrives within eight leagues of the ſea. 5. Wanaſhreeſe, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with ſnow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many fleaks and ſparks of which being brought down by the river Wed-el-Fuddah, and left upon the banks of it expoſed to the ſun, gave occaſion to the name Wanaſhreeſe. 6. The Jibbel Miniſs, an entire mountain of ſalt. 7. The Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the antients, the Hammam or Bath of Mereega of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately deſcribed in that branch of the modern hiſtory, to which they properly belong [w].

[u] Scylax Caryand. Itinerar. Antonin. & Shaw, ubi ſup.
[w] Geogr. Nubienſ. J. Leo African. & Shaw, paſſ.

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, &c. of the Numidians.

The antiquities of the Numidians. ALL the authors, famous for their reſearches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the iſthmus of Suez to the lake Tritonis, was chiefly peopled by the deſcendents of Miſraim; and that the poſterity of his brother Put, or Phut, ſpread themſelves over all the region betwixt that lake and the Atlantic ocean. It is certain Herodotus gives great countenance to this notion; for he tells us, that the Libyan Nomades, whoſe territories, to the weſt, were bounded

bounded by the Triton, agreed in their cuſtoms and manners with the Egyptians; but that the Africans, from that river to the Atlantic ocean, differed almoſt in all points from them. Ptolemy mentions a city called Jurea near Adrumetum; and Pliny a river of Mauritania Tingitana, known by the name of Fut or Plut; which ſeems to confirm the above-mentioned ſuppoſition. The diſtrict adjacent to this river we find mentioned by ſome authors under the appellation of Regio Phutenſis; which plainly alludes to the name Phut. That word ſignifies ſcattered or diſperſed; which very well agrees with what we find related of the Numidians by Mela and Strabo; ſo that we may, without any ſcruple, admit the Aborigines of this country to have been the deſcendents of Phut. Aldrete, Gaſper Varreiro, and others, think, that ſome remains of Phut are ſtill diſcernible in the modern Fez; which notion, after a peruſal of thoſe writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to eſpouſe. However, it appears from Euſebius, Procopius, St. Auſtin, and others, that the Aborigines were not the only antient inhabitants of Numidia, ſince the Phœnicians, in almoſt the earlieſt ages, ſent colonies thither. But tho' both theſe nations deſcended from Ham, they yet differed in many particulars, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve [a].

Their government.

POLYBIUS, as has been already obſerved, informs us, that the Carthaginians once poſſeſſed all that part of Africa, extending from the confines of Cyrenaica to the pillars of Hercules; but this, we apprehend, is to be underſtood of the ſea-coaſt of that vaſt tract: for it ſufficiently appears from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and other antient hiſtorians, that the interior Numidia, at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was independent on the Carthaginians. It is true, the Numidians always aſſiſted the Carthaginians in their wars; but moſt of thoſe forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, ſent in purſuance of ſolemn

[a] Herodot. l. iv. c. 186, 187. Ptol. l. iv c. 1. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Euſeb. de loc. Hieron. in tradit. Hebr. Euſtath. in Hex. Iſid. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 8. Strab. l. ii. Geneſ. x. 6. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard Aldret. var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. Gaſpar Varreiro in lib. de Ophir. Euſeb. chron. p. 11. Procop. ubi ſup. D. Auguſt. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 574

ſolemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of paſſages drawn from the authors juſt mentioned, were it in any manner neceſſary. The Carthaginian form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of Numidia ſubject to the ſtate of Carthage, though, in others, abſolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who conſiders, that not only the kingdom of Antæus, including this country, as well as Mauritania Tingitana, and conſequently that of his conqueror Hercules, was deſpotic, but likewiſe that Iarbas, Gala (B), Syphax, Maſiniſſa, and other later princes, ruled here with an unlimited ſway. The old eaſtern governments alſo, from whence that of Numidia was derived, put the point here inſiſted upon beyond diſpute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims, that formed the baſis of it, we are entirely in the dark, the moſt authentic antient hiſtorians not ſupplying us with the leaſt hint relative thereto [b].

Laws. WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of Numidia were legiſlators, or, if ſo, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their ſubjects, hiſtory informs us not. The Carthaginian laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongſt all the Numidians under the dominion of Carthage. Could Iſidore be relied upon, ſome laws of the Medes and Perſians might poſſibly have been obſerved in ſeveral diſtricts of this country, ſince he ſeems to intimate, that thoſe nations, in antient times, planted a colony

[b] Polyb. Liv. Diod. Sic. Salluſt. Flor. Appian. Juſtin. Virg. Serv. Sil. Ital. Lucan. Eutrop. Oroſ. Zonar. Cedren. aliiq: quamplurim. paſſ. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 571, 572. & alib. paſſ.

(B) We are informed by Appian, that there were many reguli, or heads of tribes, in the county of the Maſæſyli, not much unlike the emirs of the preſent Arabs, who enjoyed a ſort of ſovereignty over their reſpective tribes, but yet acknowledged Syphax for their chief. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that Syphax's government, with reſpect to theſe princes, was deſpotic, otherwiſe he could not have brought ſuch numerous armies into the field. What has here been obſerved of Syphax, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the Maſæſyli, as well as thoſe of the Maſſyli (2).

(2) Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. p. 10. edit. Tol. Amſt. 1670.

ny in Numidia, at leaſt, that there was an intercourſe betwixt them and the Numidians. Salluſt likewiſe more than inſinuates the ſame thing, ſince he affirms, that the Perſians ſailed hither before the Phœnicians, when, intermixing with the Gætulians, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the Numidian nation. To which that author ſubjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of houſes, nor to carry on any commerce with the Spaniards, by reaſon of their different languages, and the great ſea betwixt them, the Perſians built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ſhips inverted, which they removed from place to place; and that, from this circumſtance, they called themſelves Numidæ, a word which, in the Perſic tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconſiſtent with itſelf, and the notion couched therein entirely repugnant to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, our readers will not ſcruple to reject it [c].

Religion. As the firſt Numidians, in common with all other Indigenæ of that vaſt tract between the borders of Egypt and the Atlantic ocean, were called Libyans, we may infer from Herodotus, that the principal gods they ſacrificed to were the Sun and Moon. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the firſt colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worſhip into the pagan world. It is likewiſe an argument, that this colony did not conſiſt of Perſians, ſince the Sun only was their principal deity. Some of theſe Numidians alſo might probably worſhip Triton, Minerva, and Neptune (C), eſpecially thoſe near the

[c] Iſidor. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Saluſt. in Jugurth. Vide & Bernard. Aldret. en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388.

(C) Father Delrio thinks, that the Nephthuim of Moſes was either the great anceſtor, or nation, of the Numidians. If ſo, it is very poſſible, that Neptune, one of the great gods of Africa, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion ſeems to be countenanced by St. Jerom, who reads it Neptuim; which is almoſt entirely the ſame word with Neptunus, after the rejection of the Latin termination US. Aldrete, a perſon of moſt profound erudition, comes into this opinion (3).

(3) P. Delrio apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 6. ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid.

confines of Africa Propria, as the same author seems to suggest. That part of this nation subject to Carthage, it is reasonable to presume, paid divine honours to the Phœnician and Greek deities, that were the objects of the Carthaginian worship, of which we have already given so full and ample an account. It appears from Herodotus, that Hephæstus, or Vulcan, was an Egyptian deity worshipped at Memphis; but whether or no the Numidians held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him, we must leave others to decide [d].

Language. FROM what has been just offered, our readers will allow it probable, that Misraim and Phut, with their descendents, moved together into Africa; and that their posterity inhabited contiguous regions; nay, if any credit may be given to Herodotus, and other authors of the best repute, they agreed, for many ages, in most particulars. Herodotus seems to intimate, that in his time, or at least not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called Numidia, went by the general name of Libyans; and that the Numidians were then possessed of the country situate between the frontiers of Egypt and the river Triton, since he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called Libyan Nomades, in contradistinction to the Libyans, who extended themselves from thence to the westwards, as far as the Atlantic ocean. This observation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it seems to be of considerable consequence; for it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the Massyli and Masœsyli, though of a very early date, were not called Numidia, till after, or at least a little before, the time of Herodotus; and that this name was occasioned by an irruption of a great body of the Libyan Nomades into the countries to the westward of the Triton about the period abovementioned. In confirmation of this notion, it may be observed, that no mention is made of the Numidians by any of the Greek or Roman historians, till about the time of Herodotus; which is a presumptive argument, that they made no considerable figure, and consequently did not possess territories of so large an extent then as afterwards.

Though

[d] Herodot. l. iv. Univers. hist vol. xvi. p. 629. Vide etiam Herodot, l. iii. Bochart Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.


TROGLODYTICUS
SINUS ARABICUS
ARABIAE
FELICIS
PARS
Metacompso
Pnups
Berethis
Gerbo
Patæta
Napata
Sandace
Premis
magna
Attiri
Babylonii
Thoron
Muza
Ocelis
Auxuma
Adulis
Adulitæ
Auxumitæ
Antiochi Silen
Dire
Avalites
Sinus
Aualitæ
Molibæ
Avalites
emporium
Nubæ
Pars Avalitarum
Maleos emp.
Aromata
Opone
Elephas M.
Garbata M.
Apocopa
Coloe
Coloe palus
Sinus Hesperius
Pechini
Asaboras flu.
Astapus Au
Maſtitæ
Noti cornu
Eſſina emp.
Serapionis statio
Maste
Tonice
Sinus
Barbaricus
Raptus fl.
Rapta Metrop.
Prasum promont
Occidens
Oriens

Septentrio

Atlas major
Gaetulia
Talubath
Natembes
Melanogætuli
Jagapola M.
Malacath
Tucalabath
Daphthitæ
Mausoli
Bagazi
Soloentia prom.
Massa fl.
Tarzetha
Magura
Daradus fl.
Balbira
Ubrix
Stachir fl.
Perphosius Portus
Stachiræ
Hesperi cornu
Deorum currus M.
Perorsi
Sinus Hesperius
Ichthyophagi
Aethiopes
Arualtis Mons
Nigritæ
Panagra
Nigira metropolis
Thamondacana
Saluce
Cecisani
Anygath
Churitæ
Dudum
Alitambi
Libya palus
Libya Interior
Maurali
Odrangidi
Caphas Mons
Orphes
Matites
Achamæ
Thala Mons
Gongalæ
Tarualtæ
Mimaci
Thalæ
Dolopes
Astacuri
Aroncæ
Derbici
Arangas M.
Elephantophagi
Daradi
Cadupi seu Duppi
Lynxamatæ
Blemmyes
Phasaca Regio
Bacalitis
Dauchitæ
Calitæ
Thelonidæ Paludes
Lynxama
Rubino
Artagira
Thuppa
Tueruenuda
Girgiris M.
Vanius
Gelanus
Bedirum
Jaba
Garama metropolis
Delris
Geua
Badiath
Lycomedis Palus
Pselcha
Cataractes major
Tasitia
Abuncis
Erchoas
Jatachtha
Tathis fl.
Nacl
Merœ
Jacolde
Eser
Babylonii
Attiri
Premis magna
Napata
Jacole
Sandace
Pnups
Berethis
Gerbo
Patata
Metacompsi
Catadupi
Troglodytica
Sinus Barbaricus
Arabiae Felicis Pars
Aethiopia sub Aegypto
Auxumitæ
Auxuma
Adulitæ
Adulis
Aualitæ
Molibæ
Nubæ
Pechini
Struthophagi
Megabari
Garbata M.
Coloe
Coloe palus
Azania
Ocelis
Muza
Dire
Avalites
Sinus
Antiochi Silen
Avalites emporium
Mondi emp.
Aromata
Apocopa
Elephas M.
Maste
Mastitæ
Aethiopia Interior
Noti cornu
Essina emp.
Serapionis statio
Tonice
Raptus fl.
Rapta Metrop.
Sinus Barbaricus
Prasum promont
Nili Fontes secundum Ptolemæum
Montes Lunæ Ptolemæi
Incognita Ptolemæo
Æquinoctalis Circulus sive Æquator

LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTUM, et MELANOGÆTULORUM REGIO, AETHIOPIA SUB AEGYPTO, AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

Though therefore it can ſcarce be doubted, but that Numidia Propria and Mauritania Cæſarienſis were at firſt peopled by Phut's deſcendents, it is probable, that neither of thoſe provinces were called Numidia till the age of Herodotus, or at leaſt not long before that age, when the Libyan Nomades, or Numidians, paſſed into them. However, in conformity to what has been aſſerted above, we muſt remind our readers, that the Phœnicians, in the moſt early ages, and after them the Carthaginians, planted colonies here. Pliny, Solinus, and Strabo, by intimating, that the Numidians of their time agreed in ſome points with the Libyan Nomades of Herodotus, add ſome weight to the hypotheſis we have juſt offered to the conſideration to the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages ſpoken in Numidia were, 1. That of the Libyan Nomades, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old Egyptian. 2. The Carthaginian. 3. The Phœnician. And 4. That of Phut's immediate deſcendents, who at firſt came there, which, in ſome points, might have differed from all the reſt. That the tongue prevailing, in part of Numidia at leaſt, was different from the Phœnician and Carthaginian, is evident from Salluſt, and others. However barbarous the Numidians might have been, ſome of them uſed letters, not very unlike thoſe that made up the Punic alphabet, as appears from the legends of ſeveral antient Numidian coins [c] (D).

With regard to the cuſtoms of the Numidians, our readers will neither expect nor deſire us to be prolix on

[c] Herodot. l. iv. Plin. l. v. c. 3. Strab. l. ii. & l. xvii. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Vide etiam Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 26. Spon. miſcel. erudit. antiq. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. Beg. theſ. Brand. vol. i. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. Herodot. l. i. & l. iv. Phil. Jud. de vit. Moſ. l. i. Liban. progym.

(D) This likewiſe appears from the letter Bomilcar wrote to Nabdalſa or Nadabalſa, a Numidian nobleman of the firſt rank; which being delivered into the hands of Jugurtha, occaſioned the death of Bomilcar, and many others, as we learn from Salluſt. What we have here advanced, is likewiſe countenanced by Livy, and other authors (4).

(4) Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 73, 74. Liv. aliiq; ſcript. apud D. Bernard. Aldret. en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otr. provinc. l. iii. c. 33. p. 467. Vide & Val Max. l. i. c. 1.

that head: neither the limits we have prescribed ourselves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order therefore to form a general idea of these customs, it will be sufficient to observe, that the principal of them were the following:

The Numidians were divided into tribes, &c

1. THE Numidians were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the same manner as the Arabes Scenitæ, and not very unlike the present Tartars; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their ancestors the antient Scythians; whereas the circular dou-wars of the Numidians were composed of their mapalia, with which the hhymas, or tents, of the modern Bedoweens nearly correspond. Mela, Strabo, Virgil, Pliny, and others, put this point beyond dispute. The mapalia, or Numidian tents, were secured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of such hair-cloth as our coal-sacks are made of. They were all of the same form, oblong, resembling the inverted bottom of a ship, in conformity to the description Sallust has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having consumed all the produce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another, as is the custom of their posterity the Bedoweens at this day. As this part of Africa consisted of dry and barren sandy deserts, interspersed with fruitful spots, (for which reason Strabo compares it to a leopard's skin) such a way of life was absolutely necessary for those who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have observed of their language, that nome, agreeable to what we find advanced by Diodorus Siculus, St. Cyril, Epiphanius, Eusebius, and others, must have been either an Egyptian or Syriac word, signifying part, portion, division, &c. and not of Greek extraction, as some absurdly pretend; to which add ידא ida or yeda, place, limits, country, &c. and the name Numidia is formed in a much more rational and apposite manner, than it is possible for it to be upon the principles of those persons, who suppose it deduced from a language entirely unknown to the Numidians [f].

2. THOSE

[f] Pomp. Mel. c. 9. Strab. l. xvii. Virg. georg. iii. Plin. & Solin. ubi sup. Dionys. Af. ver. 184. Lucan. pass. Vide etiam Fest. Avien. ver. 277. Sal. in Jugurth. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 35. Euseb. præp. evang. l. iii. p. 57 Epiphan. & Cyril. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 24. Val. Schind. lex. pent. in voc. נד & alib. Aldret. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 17. & Shaw ubi sup. p. 286—291.

Some of them lived in ſmall huts or cottages, called magaria.

2. THOSE Numidians who lived in fixed habitations, for the moſt part dwelt in ſmall cottages, raiſed either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or built out of ſome ſuch ſlight materials, in the ſame manner as the gurbies of the Kabyles are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees, as thoſe of the gurbies are. The Numidians, at leaſt thoſe of Phœnician extraction, called theſe habitations magaria, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. Shaw informs us, that the towns or villages formed of theſe huts, are at preſent built upon eminences, and called by the Kabyles, who inhabit them, Daſhkras [g].

They rode without bridles.

3. The Numidians rode without ſadles, and many of them without bridles, whence Virgil calls them Numidæ infræni. As their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horſes from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The cuſtom we are now upon ſuggeſts to us the meaning of the word Metagonium (E), the proper name of a promontory, as likewiſe of the country of the Maſſyli, as has been obſerved above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to מתג יניח meteg ionihh, or meteg ioniahh, one that lays aſide, or that hath laid aſide, his bridle. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the Greek tongue [h].

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

4. ACCORDING to Strabo, they had many wives, concubines, and conſequently many children, as the Orientals had, tho', in other reſpects, they were very temperate and abſtemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping

[g] Virg. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Salluſt. ubi ſup. Iſidor. orig. l. xv. c. 22. Plin. Solin. ubi ſupra. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2, Shaw ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 568. Vide & Feſt. Chariſ. & Sil. Ital. l. ii. [h] Virg Æn. iv. ver. 41. Liv. apud. Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 359. Serv. in Virg. ubi ſup. aliiq; mult. Vide Schind. lex. pent. in voc.

(E) It appears from Martial and Lucan, that the cuſtom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongſt the Maſſyli than the Maſæſyli. Now the country of the Maſſyli was the Terra Metagonitis, as has been already obſerved; which not a little ſupports the etymon we would give of Metagonium (5).

(5) Martial. l. ix. Lucan. l. iv.

camping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be entirely ſuperfluous [i].

The king's brother ſucceeded to the crown in Numidia.

5. THE king's next brother, not his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in Numidia, particularly in the country of the Maſſili. This we learn from Livy, who, in proof of what he aſſerts, tells us, that Gala, the father of Maſſiniſſa, was ſucceeded by his next brother Deſalces [k].

The diet of the Numidians.

6. THEIR diet conſiſted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulſe, water, &c. and they abſtained almoſt entirely from wine; fleſh was ſometimes, though not ſo frequently, uſed. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in ſummer and winter, Appian ſeems to attribute their long lives, and the large ſhare of health they enjoy. In conformity to nature and experience, that author aſſures us, that the ſummers in Numidia were not near ſo hot as in India and Ethiopia [l].

They uſe only a whip or rod on horſeback.

7. THE Numidians, particularly the Maſſyli, did not only ride without ſaddles and bridles, but likewiſe all ſorts of accoutrements, as we learn from what Appian relates of Maſſiniſſa, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to ruſh upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceneſs. However, they made uſe of a rod or whip, with which they eaſily managed their horſes, though in the midſt of the hotteſt engagements [m].

Are clad in looſe garments.

8. MANY of the poorer ſort of people in Numidia went almoſt naked; but the Numidians of any faſhion wore their garments looſe, not making uſe of a ſaſh or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the Carthaginians, and moſt of the other Africans. Hence that of Virgil [n]:

Hic Nomadum genus, & diſcinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.

Eminent for their ſkill in throwing of darts, &c.

9. THEY were eminent for their ſkill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they diſcharged in vaſt numbers upon the enemy. As they ſeldom or never failed

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Sal. in Jugurth. [k] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29. [l] Appian. in Libyc. c. 6, 39, & 64. Strab. l. xvii. [m] Lucan. l. iv. Liv. l. xiv. Oppian. de venat: l. iv. Martial. l. ix. Herodian. l. vii. Strab. l. xvii. Vide & Liv. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xl. [n] Virg. Æn. l. viii. ver. 724. Serv. in loc. Sil. Ital. l. i. Plaut. in Pœnul. act. v. ſc. 2. Tertul. de pall.

failed doing great execution, this rendered them very formidable °.

10. WE are told, that the Maſſyli, when at war with their neighbours, for the moſt part, choſe to come to a general action in they night-time P. Fight in the night-time.

11. DESERTION was no crime amongſt the Numidians, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed q. Diſertion no crime amongſt them

12. IN fine, there muſt have been a great variety of cuſtoms in Numidia, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were oppoſite to one another in many particulars, one of which Diodorus calls the Aſphadelodians, who were probably of a different caſt from the reſt, ſince he informs us, that they were black as the Ethiopians. According to Hellanicus, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the Libyan Nomades, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they conſtantly carried about with them, their ſmall mapalia being made of aſphodelus, great quantities of which they took care in the ſummer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable ſhady retreat. This circumſtance undoubtedly gave occaſion to the name Diodorus calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient hiſtorians r.

THE Numidians, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or ſciences amongſt them. The Carthaginians and Phœnicians indeed who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reaſon to believe, no ſmall part of the inhabitants of the moſt conſiderable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and ſciences they were famous for. However, the proper Numidians ſeem to have been eminent for their ſkill in managing horſes (F), and knowledge in ſome branches of Arts, &c.

the

° Appian. in Libyc. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Herodian. l. vii. P Nic. Damaſcen. in excerptis Valeſ. p. 518, 519. q Salluſt. in Jugurth. r Diod. Sic. l. xx. Hellanicus apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p ſt.

(F) Theſe horſes were very ſmall, but extremely ſwift, and eaſily managed, according to Livy and Strabo. They were ſatisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirſt a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly

the military art. Some knowledge likewiſe of the Egyptian theology, polity, and philoſophical notions, we cannot well ſuppoſe them to have been deſtitute of, ſince their anceſtors had, for a ſeries of generations, an intercourſe with the poſterity of Miſraim; but as to the extent of any knowledge of this kind amongſt them, we are entirely in the dark. The preſent Kabyles and Bedoweens, according to Dr. Shaw, ſpend their time chiefly in making hykes, or woollen blankets, and burnooſes, as they call cloaks or upper garments, in an employment not unlike to which poſſibly ſome of the antient ruſtic Numidians might have been engaged, eſpecially ſince he imagines the Kabyles to be the remains of the old Africans. As for the chronology of the Numidians, if they had any, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it muſt have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, viz. the Carthaginians, Phœnicians, and moſt early Egyptians. In one point however they differed from moſt, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of Nic. Damaſcenus [s].

[s] Nic. Damaſcen. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 520, 521. Shaw, ubi ſup. Vide etiam quamplurim. ex auctor. ſupra laudat.

ugly gait, a ſtiff neck, and threw their head forward, the Numidian horſeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. Livy ſeems to intimate, that, in Hannibal's time, ſome of the Numidian cavalry uſed bridles, and were heavy armed troops, wearing coats of mail, ſwords, ſhields, and lancets; which is countenanced by Polybius, Salluſt, and others (6).

(6) Appian. & Strab. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxi. c. 44, 46. l. xxii. c. 48. Polyb. l. iii. c. 65. Sil. Ital. l. iv. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Iſidor. orig. l. xvii. c. 12, & alib, Juvenal. ſcholiaſt. Appian. in Libyc. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 29. Vide & Polyb. apud Juſtum Lipſium, in tract. de milit. Rom. ut & ipſum Lipſ. ibid. l. iii. dial. 7 & 8.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of the Numidians, from the earlieſt accounts of time, to the conqueſt of their country by the Romans.

When the Phœnicians came firſt into Numidia.

NUMIDIA, being pretty remote from Egypt, as well as that part of Libya contiguous to it, ſeems to have been but thinly peopled before the firſt arrival of the Phœnicians there. When this happened, we cannot preciſely determine; but, according to Euſebius, who is followed by Bochart, and other authors of good repute, it muſt have been above three hundred years before the foundation of Carthage. For Ariſtotle relates, that the Phœnician hiſtorians made Utica to be two hundred eighty-ſeven years older than Carthage; and Euſebius affirms Hercules, ſurnamed Diodas or Deſanaus, i. e. the Phœnician Hercules, to have been extremely famous all over Africa this very year, and to have conquered Antæus in the fartheſt part of Mauritania near Zilis and Tingis, about fifty years before. Sir Iſaac Newton however, not without reaſon, fixes this event nearer the time of the Trojan war. Salluſt, Florus, and Oroſius likewiſe, inform us, that this Hercules, whom Salluſt calls Libys, built Capſa. From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of Antæus included Numidia, and even Africa Propria, or elſe that Hercules over-ran theſe countries after he had conquered Mauritania; the former of which notions appears to us the moſt probable. We muſt defer touching upon the war betwixt Hercules and Antæus, till we come to the hiſtory of the Mauritanians, though the conſequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon [a].

No accounts of the Numidian affairs for ſeveral of the earlieſt centuries now remaining.

THE tranſactions of Numidia, during many of the earlieſt centuries, have, for a long ſeries of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable however, that as the Phœnicians were maſters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the Carthaginian times. King Iarbas probably reigned here, as well as in Africa Propria, if not in Mauritania, and other parts of Libya, when Dido began to build Byrſa;

[a] Ariſtot. de mirabil. Euſeb. in chron. Flor. l. iii. c. 1. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Oroſ. l. v. c. 15. Vide Bochart. in præfat. ad Chan.

Byrsa; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from Justin, that, about the age of Herodotus, the people of this country were called both Africans or Libyans, and Numidians; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the Libyan Nomades with these (G) Africans or Libyans. Justin likewise intimates, that, about this time, the Carthaginians vanquished both the Moors or Mauritanians, and Numidians, who had leagued together against them; the consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since Dido's arrival in Africa by the latter. As for the part the Numidians acted in all the wars betwixt the Dionysii, Agathocles, &c. and the Carthaginians, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here [b].

The Carthaginians treat the Micatanian Numidians with great severity.

After the conclusion of the first Punic war, the African troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the Carthaginians. The most active of all others, in this rebellion, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Micatanian Numidians. This so incensed the Carthaginians, that, after Hamilcar had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those Numidians. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they and their posterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians. The conduct of the Numidians in the Carthaginian service, during the

[b] Georg. Cedren. hist. compend p. 140. Justin. l. xix. c. 2. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. xvi. pass.

(G) The Numidians. particularly the Massæsyli, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what Herodotus relates of the Libyan Nomades, as we learn from Appian and Strabo. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (7).

(7) Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. & 64. Strab. l. xvii.

the firſt Punic war, was ſuch as merited the higheſt applauſe, as our readers will plainly perceive by conſulting a former part of this hiſtory [c].

Syphax defeated twice by Maſiniſſa.

In the conſulate of the younger Fabius and Sempronius Gracchus, Syphax, king of the Maſæſyli, entered into an alliance with the Romans. This induced Gala, king of the Maſſyli, to conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians, in conſequence of which his ſon Maſiniſſa marched at the head of a powerful army to give Syphax battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of Carthaginians, as ſoon as he came up with the Maſæſyli, he engaged them. The fight was ſharp and bloody; but at laſt Maſiniſſa carried the day, putting thirty thouſand of the Maſæſyli to the ſword, and driving Syphax into the country of the Mauruſii, or Mauritania. This, for the preſent, gave a check both to the progreſs of Syphax's arms, and the towering projects of the Romans. However, the Maſæſylian monarch found means, ſome time after, to aſſemble another formidable army of Maſæſylians and Mauritanians; which was likewiſe defeated and diſperſed by Maſiniſſa. But the face of affairs in this country ſoon afterward greatly changed [d].

A brief account of Maſiniſſa's affairs before he entered into an alliance with the Romans.

Gala dying whilſt his ſon Maſiniſſa was acting at the head of the Numidian troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians in Spain, his brother Deſalces, according to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion in Numidia, took poſſeſſion of the Maſſylian throne. That prince dying ſoon after his acceſſion, Capuſa, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one Mezetulus, a perſon of royal extraction, but an enemy to the family of Gala, found means to excite a great part of his ſubjects to a revolt; which enabled him to form a conſiderable corps, and to bring Capuſa to a general action; which ended in his favour, and Capuſa, with moſt of the nobleſſe, being ſlain, he obtained the Maſſylian crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to aſſume the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of guardian or protector to Lacumaces, the only ſurviving young prince of the blood, whom he graced with the royal title. To ſupport himſelf in his uſurpation, ~~he~~ married the widow of Deſalces, who was Hanni~~bal's~~ niece, and conſequently of the moſt powerful family

[c] Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valeſii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. paſſ. [d] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48, 49. Appian. in Libyc.

family in Carthage. In order to attain the ſame end, he ſent embaſſadors to Syphax, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time Maſiniſſa, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his couſin's ſlaughter, and of Mezetulus's uſurpation, immediately paſſed over to Africa, and went to the court of Bocchar, king of Mauritania, to ſolicit ſuccours. Bocchar, ſenſible of the great injuſtice offered Maſiniſſa, gave him a body of four thouſand Moors to eſcorte him to his dominions. His ſubjects, having been appriſed of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The Moors, in purſuance of their orders, returned home, as ſoon as Maſiniſſa reached the confines of his kingdom; notwithſtanding which, and the ſmall body that declared for him, having accidentally met Lacumaces at Thapſus with an eſcorte going to implore Syphax's aſſiſtance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by aſſault, after a faint reſiſtance. However, Lacumaces, with many of his men, found means to eſcape to Syphax. The fame of this exploit gained Maſiniſſa great credit, inſomuch that the Numidians flocked to him from all parts, and, amongſt the reſt, many of his father Gala's veterans, who preſſed him to make a ſpeedy and vigorous puſh for his hereditary dominions. Lacumaces having joined Mezetulus with a reinforcement of Maſæſylians, which he had prevailed upon Syphax to ſend to the aſſiſtance of his ally, the uſurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer Maſiniſſa battle; which that prince, though much inferior in number, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement enſued, and, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, Maſiniſſa, by his own conduct and bravery, and the valour of his troops, gained a complete victory; the immediate conſequence of which was a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom. Mezetulus and Lacumaces, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of Carthage. However, looking upon his preſent ſituation as precarious, he offered to declare Lacumaces the heir apparent to the crown, and treat him in a manner ſuitable to his high rank, provided he would immediately make his ſubmiſſion to him; and, after having pardoned Mezetulus, and reſtored to him every thing that he had forfeited by his treaſonable conduct, to take him into favour, if he would acknowledge him as his ſovereign. Both of them readily complied with the propoſal, and immediately returned home; ſo that the tranquillity and repoſe of Numidia would have been then ſettled upon a ſolid and laſting foundation;

foundation, had not this been prevented by Aſdrubal, who was then at Syphax's court. He inſinuated to that prince, who was diſpoſed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was greatly miſtaken, if he imagined Maſiniſſa "would be ſatisfied with his hereditary countries; that he "was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition, than "either his father Gala, his uncle Deſalces, or any other of "his family; that he had often diſcovered in Spain marks "of a moſt rare and uncommon merit; and that, in fine, "unleſs this riſing flame was extinguiſhed before it came to "too great a head, both the Maſæſylian and Carthaginian "ſtates would be infallibly conſumed by it." Syphax, alarmed by theſe ſuggeſtions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a diſtrict, which had long been in diſpute between him and Gala, but then in the poſſeſſion of Maſiniſſa. This brought on a general action between thoſe two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly to the top of mount Balbus, attended only by a few of his horſe. Such a deciſive battle at the preſent juncture, before Maſiniſſa was fixed in his throne, could not but put Syphax into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the Maſſyli. Maſiniſſa in the mean time made nocturnal incurſions from his poſt upon mount Balbus, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the Carthaginian territory contiguous to Numidia. This diſtrict he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewiſe laid waſte with fire and ſword, carrying off from thence an immenſe booty, which was bought by ſome merchants, who had put into one of the Carthaginian ports for that purpoſe. In fine, he did the Carthaginians more damage, not only by committing ſuch dreadful devaſtations, but by maſſacring and carrying into captivity vaſt numbers of their ſubjects on this occaſion, than they could have ſuſtained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of an open and legal war. Syphax, at the preſſing and reiterated inſtances of the Carthaginians, ſent Bocchar, one of his moſt active commanders, with a detachment of four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to reduce this peſtilent gang of robbers, promiſing him a great reward, if he could bring Maſiniſſa either alive or dead. Bocchar, watching his opportunity, fell upon them unawares, as they were ſtraggling about the country without any order or diſcipline; ſo that he took many priſoners, diſperſed the reſt, and purſued Maſiniſſa himſelf, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had taken poſt. As he looked

looked upon the expedition to be in a manner ended, he did not only ſend many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to Syphax, but likewiſe all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe. With this detachment he drove Maſiniſſa from the ſummit of the hill, and purſued him through ſeveral narrow paſſes and defiles, as far as the plains of Clupea, where he ſo ſurrounded him, that all the Maſſylians, except four, were put to the ſword, and Maſiniſſa himſelf, after having received a dangerous wound, eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. As this was effected by croſſing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants were drowned in the ſight of the detachment that purſued him, it was rumoured all over Africa, that Maſiniſſa had been ſwallowed by the ſtream; which gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to Syphax and the Carthaginians. For ſome time he lived undiſcovered in a cave, where he was ſupported by the robberies of the two horſemen, that had made their eſcape with him; but, having cured his wound, he boldly began to advance to his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horſe, and, ſoon after his arrival amongſt the Maſſyli, ſo many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; with which he did not only reinſtate himſelf in his dominions, but likewiſe laid waſte the borders of the Maſæſyli. This ſo irritated Syphax, that he immediately aſſembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiouſly upon a ridge of mountains between Cirta and Hippo. His army he commanded in perſon, and detached his ſon Vermina, with a conſiderable force, to take a compaſs, and attack the enemy in rear. In purſuance of his orders, Vermina ſet out in the beginning of the night, and took poſt in the place appointed him, without being diſcovered by the enemy. In the mean time Syphax decamped, and advanced towards the enemy, in order to give them battle. When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of a riſing ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his ſon Vermina muſt have formed the ambuſcade behind them, he began the fight. Maſiniſſa being advantageouſly poſted, and his ſoldiers diſtinguiſhing themſelves in an extraordinary manner, the diſpute was long and bloody; but Vermina unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were ſcarce able before to oppoſe the main body

body under Syphax, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and forced to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by Syphax, and partly by his ſon, ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the unhappy Maſſyli, that only Maſiniſſa himſelf, with ſeventy horſe, eſcaped to the Leſſer Syrtis. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the Carthaginians and Garamantes, till the arrival of Lælius, and the Roman fleet, on the coaſt of Africa. What happened immediately after his junction with the Romans, our readers will find related at large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs [e].

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax and Maſſiniſſa.

We have already obſerved, that the Carthaginians loſt Maſiniſſa by depriving him of his dear Sophoniſba. That lady was verſed in various branches of literature, excellently well ſkilled in muſic, the greateſt beauty of that age, or perhaps any other, and of ſuch exquiſite charms in every reſpect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a ſight of her, was ſufficient to captivate the moſt rigid and ſevere philoſopher. Maſiniſſa therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the ſtate of Carthage, when her father Aſdrubal, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to Syphax. The Carthaginians however endeavoured to fix that prince in their intereſt, and, in order to this, prevailed upon Syphax to reſtore him his dominions. Maſiniſſa, to have his full revenge both of Syphax and the Carthaginians, feigned himſelf entirely ſatisfied with ſo generous a ceſſion, and outwardly expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the ſame time he was underhand with the Romans meditating their ruin. Aſdrubal had either ſome private intelligence, or entertained a ſuſpicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuſcade for Maſiniſſa after his arrival in Africa from Spain, which that prince happily eſcaped. Syphax in the mean time acted much ſuch a part as Maſiniſſa; for he aſſured the Romans of an inviolable attachment to their intereſt, though he had entered into the ſtricteſt engagements with the Carthaginians, at the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife, whoſe charms he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting. The conſequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival Maſiniſſa, have been already related

[e] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29—34. Appian. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 276, & ſeq.

related at large. It will be ſufficient therefore in this place to obſerve, that, by the aſſiſtance of Lælius, Maſiniſſa reduced Syphax's kingdom; that, according to Zonaras, he and Scipio ſo far outwitted Hannibal before the memorable battle of Zama, that, by a ſtratagem, they deprived him of ſome advantageous poſts, which, with a ſolar eclipſe happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the Carthaginian troops, greatly contributed to the victory the Romans obtained; and that, at the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, he was amply rewarded by the Romans for the important ſervices he had done them. As for Syphax, after the loſs of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for ſome time at Alba, from whence being removed in order to grace Scipio's triumph, he died at Tibur in his way to Rome. Zonaras adds, that his corpſe was decently interred; that all the Numidian priſoners were releaſed; and that Vermina, by the aſſiſtance of the Romans, took peaceable poſſeſſion of his father's throne. However, part of the Maſæſylian kingdom was before annexed to Maſiniſſa's dominions, in order to reward that prince for his ſingular fidelity and cloſe attachment to the Romans, as has been already obſerved [f] (H).

As an account of all the principal tranſactions, in which Maſiniſſa was concerned between the ſecond and third Punic wars, has been already extracted from the beſt antient hiſtorians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without

[f] Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. Zonar, l. ix. c. 11, 12. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 294.

(H) This ſeems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of Livy, who gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that Syphax's family, for a conſiderable term after the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, reigned in one part of Numidia; for he intimates, that Archobarzanes, Syphax's grandſon, and probably Vermina's ſon, hovered, with a powerful army of Numidians, about the Carthaginian frontiers, a few years before the third Punic war broke out, in order, as ſhould ſeem, either to cover them, or enable the Carthaginians to make an irruption into Maſiniſſa's territories. Cato however pretended, that theſe forces, in conjunction with thoſe of Carthage, had a deſign to invade the Roman dominions, which he urged as a reaſon to induce the conſcript fathers to deſtroy the African republic (8).

(8) Liv. epit. l. xlviii.

without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requiſite, in order to complete the hiſtory of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view ſome points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the cloſe, of life; the wiſe diſpoſitions made after his death by Æmilianus, in order to the regulation of his domeſtic affairs; and ſome particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the moſt celebrated Greek and Roman authors [g].

Maſiniſſa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the Carthaginian army under Aſdrubal, poſted upon an eminence, Maſiniſſa cut off all manner of ſupplies from them; which introduced both the plague and a famine into their camp. As the body of the Numidian troops employed in this blockade was not near ſo numerous as the Carthaginian forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned muſt have been extremely ſtrong, and conſequently the effect of great labour and art. The Carthaginians, finding themſelves reduced to the laſt extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which Maſiniſſa dictated to them: 1. That they ſhould deliver up all deſerters. 2. That they ſhould recall their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they ſhould pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver, within the ſpace of fifty years. 4. That their ſoldiers ſhould paſs under the jugum, each of them carrying off only a ſingle coat. As Maſiniſſa himſelf, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprize, he muſt have been extremely well verſed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His underſtanding likewiſe he muſt have retained to the laſt. This happened a ſhort time before the beginning of the third Punic war [h].

Maſiniſſa diſguſted at the Romans.

Soon after, the conſuls landed an army in Africa, in order to lay ſiege to Carthage, without imparting to Maſiniſſa their deſign. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the Romans, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and conſulted him on all occaſions. When therefore the conſuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made anſwer, "That they ſhould "have a reinforcement from him, when they ſtood in need "of it." It could not but be provoking for him to conſider,

[g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. & xvii. paſſ. [h] Appian. in Libyc. §. 40, 41.

that, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends ſhould come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the leaſt intelligence of it [i].

He dies.

HOWEVER, his mind ſoon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the Romans. Finding his end approaching, he ſent to Æmilianus, then a tribune in the Roman army, to deſire a viſit from him. What he propoſed by this viſit, was to inveſt him with full powers to diſpoſe of his kingdom and eſtate, as he ſhould think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this ſtep; but, believing that death would not permit him to have a perſonal conference with Æmilianus upon this ſubject, he informed his wife and children, in his laſt moments, that he had impowered him to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all his poſſeſſions, and divide his kingdom amongſt his ſons. To which he ſubjoined, "I require, that whatever Æmilianus "may decree, ſhall be executed as punctually, as if I "myſelf had appointed it by my will." Having uttered theſe words, he expired, at above ninety years of age [k].

Some particulars relating to his character.

THIS prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, as appears from ſeveral preceding parts of this hiſtory. However, ſays Appian, being ſupported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity for a long ſeries of years. His kingdom extended from Mauritania to the weſtern confines of Cyrenaica; from whence it appears, that he was one of the moſt powerful princes of Africa. Many of the inhabitants of this vaſt tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their ſoil, and to reap thoſe natural advantages, which the fertility of ſome parts of their country afforded them. He was of a more robuſt habit of body than any of his cotemporaries, being bleſſed wi h the greateſt health and vigour, which was doubtleſs owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he inceſſantly ſuſtained. We are informed by Polybius, that ſometimes he ſtood upon the ſame ſpot of ground from morning till evening, without

[i] Idem ibid. c. 55, 56. Liv. & Polyb. paſſ. [k] Appian. ubi ſup. c. 63, 64. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Zonar. l. ix. 27. p. 464, 465. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 529.

out the leaſt motion, and at others continued as long in a ſitting poſture. He would remain on horſeback for ſeveral days and nights together, without being ſenſible of the leaſt fatigue. Nothing can better evince the ſtrength of his conſtitution, than his youngeſt ſon, named Stembal, Sthemba, or Stembanus, who was but four years old at his deceaſe. Tho' ninety years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by young men, and always rode without a ſaddle. Pliny tells us, that he reigned above ſixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of Carthage. Plutarch from Polybius obſerves, that the day after a great victory won over the Carthaginians, Maſiniſſa was ſeen ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. Suidas relates, that, to the laſt, he could mount his horſe without any aſſiſtance. According to Appian, he left a numerous well-diſciplined army, and an immenſe quantity of wealth (I), behind him [1].

[1] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii, & xvii. paſſ. Appian. in Libyc. c. 63. Val. Max. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xvii. Polyb. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Caſaub. 1619. Plin. l. vii. c. 40. Plut. in comment. an ſen. gerend ſit reſp. p. 791. Cic. de ſenect. Suid. in voc. Μασανίσσης. Val. Max l. viii. c. 13. Polyb. in excerp. Valeſ. p. 175. Liv. epit. l. Zonar. aliiq; plur.

(I) We are farther told, that Maſiniſſa always went bare headed, even though the weathor was never ſo ſevere; and that, in his extreme old age, he could ſit on horſeback for four-and-twenty hours together, without being in the leaſt fatigued. Some authors ſay, that he was a pious prince, and ſent back to Melita or Malta a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of Juno's temple, as a preſent by his admiral. It is added, that he cauſed inſcriptions in Numidian letters to be engraven on ſome of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as ſoon as he knew it belonged to the goddeſs. Valerius Maximus ſays, that, not being able to repoſe any confidence in any of his children, officers, &c. he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He ſuſtained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His ſubjects he trained up in the military art, inſtead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inſcriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the Numidians had an alphabet of their own (9).

(9) Cic. de ſenect. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. l. viii. c. 13. & ix. c. 13.

Æmilianus divides his kingdom and effects amongst his three sons. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal.

MASINISSA, before his death, gave his ring to his eldest son Micipsa; but left the distribution of all his other (K) effects and possessions amongst his children, as has been just observed, entirely to Æmilianus. Of fifty-four sons, that survived him, only three were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Æmilianus, arriving at Cirta after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongst these three, though to the others he gave considerable possessions. To Micipsa, who was a prince of a pacific disposition, and the eldest son, he assigned Cirta, the metropolis, for the place of his residence, in exclusion of the others. Gulussa, the next to him, being a prince of a military geunis, had the command of the army, and the transacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And Mastanabal, or, according to Livy and Sallust, Manastabal, the youngest, had the administration of justice, an employment suitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immense treasures Masinissa had amassed, and were all of them dignified by Æmilianus with the royal title. After he had made these wise dispositions, that young nobleman departed from Cirta, taking with him a body of Numidian troops, under the conduct of Gulussa, to reinforce the Roman army, that was then acting against the Carthaginians [m].

Mastanabal and Gulussa die soon after their father Masinissa.

MASTANABAL and Gulussa died soon after their father, as appears from the express testimony of Sallust. We find nothing more remarkable of these princes, besides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to assist the Romans in the third Punic war; and that the former was pretty well versed in the Greek language. Micipsa therefore became sole possessor of the kingdom of Numidia. In his reign, and the consulate of M. Plautius Hypsæus

[m] Appian. ubi supra, c. 63, 64, Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Liv. ubi supra. Zonar. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. Athen, deipnosoph. l. vi.

(K) It is said, that Masinissa was served in earthenware, after the Roman fashion; but all the strangers at his table in plate. The second service, or desart, was adorned with golden baskets, in conformity to the Italian custom, so ingeniously worked, that they resembled those made of twigs, rushes, &c. Greek musicians likewise attended his entertainments (10).

(10) Ptol. comment. l. viii. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. vi.

Hypſœus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, according to Oroſius, a great part of Africa was covered with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even deſtroyed dry wood; but at laſt they were all carried by the wind into the African ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In Numidia only periſhed eight hundred thouſand men, and in Africa Propria two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt, thirty thouſand Roman ſoldiers quartered in and about Utica, for the defence of the laſt province. At Utica in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. Micipſa had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew Jugurtha. That young prince was the ſon of Maſtanabal; but his mother having been only a concubine, Maſiniſſa had taken no great notice of him. However, Micipſa, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children [n].

JUGURTHA poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf, with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited to the martial genius of the Numidians; and, though he ſurpaſſed all his fellowſportſmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other ſavage (L) beaſts. Salluſt, to finiſh his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf [o].

[n] Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 5. Liv. epit. l. Appian. in Libyc. Oroſ. l. v. c. 11. [o] Salluſt. ubi ſup. Flor. l. iii. c. 1.

(L) Salluſt ſeems to intimate, that many of the natives of Numidia were deſtroyed by theſe wild beaſts; for he ſays, that the Numidians were ſo healthy, and of ſuch robuſt conſtitutions, that almoſt all of them attained to old age, except thoſe who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beaſts, ſcarce any diſeaſe ever proving fatal to them (11).

(11) Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.

Micipſa jealous of his nephew Jugurtha.

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections at firſt charmed Micipſa, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he ſoon began to reflect, that he was conſiderably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirſted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. Theſe reflections ſoon excited his jealouſy, and determined him to expoſe Jugurtha to a variety of dangers, ſome of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he ſent to aſſiſt the Romans, who were at that time beſieging Numantia in Spain. But Jugurtha, by his admirable conduct, did not only eſcape all theſe dangers, but likewiſe won the eſteem of the whole army, and the friendſhip of Scipio, who ſent a high character of him to his uncle Micipſa. However, that general gave him ſome prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, obſerving, no doubt, in him certain ſparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences [p].

Jugurtha's perfidiouſneſs and cruelty.

BEFORE this laſt experiment, Micipſa had endeavoured to find out ſome method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongſt the Numidians obliged that prince to lay aſide all thoughts of this nature. After his return from Spain, the whole nation almoſt adored him. The heroic bravery he had ſhewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmoſt calmneſs of mind, which enabled him to preſerve a juſt medium between a timorous foreſight and an impetuous raſhneſs, a circumſtance rarely to be met with in perſons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct given by Scipio, attracted an univerſal eſteem; nay, Micipſa himſelf charmed with the high idea the Roman general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, reſolving, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two ſons (M) to the crown.

Finding,

[p] Salluſt. ubi ſup. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 9.

(M) Diodorus Siculus relates, that tho' Micipſa had many children, his three favourite ſons were Adherbal, Hiempſal, and Micipſa. The ſame hiſtorian likewiſe adds, that he was the moſt

Finding, ſome few years afterwards, that his end approached, he ſent for all the three to his bed ſide, where, in preſence of the whole court, he deſired Jugurtha to recollect with what extreme tenderneſs he had treated him, and conſeqently to conſider how well he had deſerved at his hands. He then entreated him to protect his children on all occaſions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their fathers bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their intereſts, he likewiſe complimented him upon his bravery, addreſs, and conſummate prudence. He further inſinuated, that neither arms nor treaſures conſtitute the ſtrength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real ſervices and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, "continued he, can we find better friends than in brothers? "And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his "relations, repoſe any confidence in, or depend upon, "ſtrangers?" Then addreſſing himſelf to Adherbal and "Hiempſal, And you, ſaid he, I enjoin always to pay the "higheſt reverence to Jugurtha. Endeavour to imitate, "and, if poſſible, ſurpaſs, his exalted merit, that the world "may not hereafter obſerve Micipſa's adopted ſon to have "reflected greater glory upon his memory than his own "children." Soon after, Micipſa, who, according to Diodorus, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though Jugurtha did not believe the king to ſpeak his real ſentiments with regard to him, yet he ſeemed extremely pleaſed with ſo gracious a ſpeech, and made him an anſwer ſuitable to the occaſion. However, that prince at the ſame time was determined within himſelf to put in execution the ſcheme he had formed at the ſiege of Numantia, which was ſuggeſted to him by ſome factious and abandoned Roman officer, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this ſcheme was, that he ſhould extort the crown by force from his two couſins, as ſoon as their father's eyes were cloſed; which, they inſinuated, might eaſily be effected by his moſt clement of all the Numidian monarchs; and that he ſent for a great number of Greeks, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philoſophy, by whole inſtructions he became a moſt celebrated philoſopher (12).

(12) Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 385, 386.

own valour, and the venality of the Romans. Accordingly, a ſhort time after the old king's death, he found means to aſſaſſinate Hiempſal in the city of Thirmida, where his treaſures were depoſited, and drive Adherbal out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himſelf obliged to fly to Rome, where he endeavoured to engage the conſcript fathers to eſpouſe his quarrel; but, notwithſtanding the juſtice of his cauſe, they had not virtue enough effectually to ſupport him. Jugurtha's embaſſadors, by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money amongſt the ſenators, brought them ſo far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. When thoſe embaſſadors therefore declared, that Hiempſal had been killed by the Numidians, on account of his exceſſive cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggreſſor in the late troubles; that he was only chagrined, becauſe he could not make that havock amongſt his countrymen he would willingly have done; and entreated the ſenate to form a judgment of Jugurtha's behaviour in Africa from what he had ſhewn at Numantia, rather than from the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, by far the greateſt part of the ſenate diſcovered themſelves prejudiced in his favour. A few however, that were not loſt to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, inſiſted upon bringing him to condign puniſhment; but, as they could not prevail, he had the beſt part of Numidia allotted him, and Adherbal was forced to reſt ſatisfied with the other [q].

He bribes the Roman ſenate, and maſſacres Adherbal.

JUGURTHA, finding now by experience, that every thing was venal at Rome, as his friends at Numantia had before informed him, thought he might purſue his towering projects without any obſtruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the laſt diviſion of Micipſa's dominions threw off the maſk, and attacked his couſin by open force. As Adherbal was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and almoſt in all reſpects the reverſe of Jugurtha, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, ſtormed ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and overran a good part of his kingdom without oppoſition. Adherbal, depending upon the friendſhip of the Romans, which his father, in his laſt moments, aſſured him would be a ſtronger ſupport to him tha

[q] Salluſt. & Flor. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 26. Oroſ. l. v. c. 15.

than all the troops and treasures in the universe, dispatched deputies to Rome, to complain of these hostilities. But, whilst he lost his time in sending thither fruitless deputations, Jugurtha overthrew him in a pitched battle, and soon after shut him up in Cirta. During the siege of this city, a Roman commission arrived there, in order to persuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding Jugurtha untractable, the commissioners returned home, without so much as conferring with Adherbal. A second deputation, composed of senators of the highest distinction, with Æmilius Scaurus, president of the senate, at their head, landed some time after at Utica, and summoned Jugurtha to appear before them. That prince at first seemed to be under dreadful apprehensions, especially as Scaurus reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the resentment of the Romans, if he did not immediately raise the siege of Cirta. However, the Numidian, by his address, and the irresistible power of gold, as was afterwards suspected at Rome, so mollified Scaurus, that he left Adherbal at his mercy. In fine, Jugurtha had at last Cirta surrendered to him, upon condition only, that he should spare the life of Adherbal; but the merciless tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got possession of the town, ordered him to be put to a most cruel death. The merchants likewise, and all the Numidians in the place capable of bearing arms, he caused, without distinction, to be put to the sword [r].

He corrupts Bestia and Scaurus.

Every person at Rome, inspired with any sentiments of humanity, was struck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal senators still concurred with Jugurtha's ministers in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithstanding which, the people, excited thereto by Caius Memmius their tribune, who bitterly inveighed against the venality of the senate, resolved not to let so flagrant an instance of villainy go unpunished. This disposition in them induced the conscript fathers likewise to declare their intention to chastise Jugurtha. In order to this, an army was levied to invade Numidia, and the command of it given to the consul Calpurnius Bestia, a person of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his insatiable avarice.

Jugurtha,

[r] Idem ibid. Liv. ep. lxiv.

Jugurtha, being informed of the great preparations making at Rome to attack his dominions, sent his son thither to avert the impending storm. The young prince was plentifully supplied with money, which he had orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men. But Bestia, proposing to himself great advantages from an invasion of Numidia, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart Italy in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition; which decree being notified to them, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of Rome; and Bestia soon after landed with a powerful army in Africa. For some time he carried on the war there very briskly, reduced several strong-holds, and took many Numidians prisoners. But, upon the arrival of Scaurus, whose character has been already given in the Roman history; a peace was granted Jugurtha upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from Vacca, the place of his residence, to the Roman camp, in order to confer with Bestia and Scaurus, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after settled between them in private conferences, every body at Rome was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consul had sacrificed to their avarice the good of the republick. The indignation therefore of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius also fired them with his speeches. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the prætor Cassius, a person they could confide in, to Numidia, to prevail upon Jugurtha to come to Rome, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one Bœbius Salca, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity; nay, by the efficacy of gold, he did not only elude all the endeavours of the people of Rome to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled Bomilcar, one of his attendants, to get Massiva, an illegitimate son of Micipsa, assassinated in the streets of Rome. That young prince was advised by many Romans of probity, well-wishers to the family of Masinissa, to apply for the kingdom of Numidia; wich coming to Jugurtha's ears, he prevented the application by this

execrable

execrable ſtep. However, he was obliged to leave Italy immediately. He departed Rome with paſſing that ſevere reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned [s].

Obliges the Roman army to paſs under the jugum, and quit Numidia.

Jugurtha had ſcarce ſet foot in Africa, when he received advice, that the ſenate had diſannulled the ſhameful peace concluded with him by Beſtia and Scaurus. Soon after, the conſul Albinus tranſported a Roman army into Numidia, flattering himſelf with the hopes of reducing Jugurtha to reaſon before the expiration of his conſulatate. In this however he found himſelf deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, ſo amuſed and impoſed upon Albinus, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predeceſſors. His brother Aulus, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, was ſtill more unſucceſstul; for, after riſing from before Suthul, where the king's treaſures were depoſited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impoſſible to extricate himſelf. He therefore was obliged to ſubmit to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the jugum, with all his men, andto quit Numidia entirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate deſtruction. The avaricious diſpoſition of the Roman commander prompted him to beſiege Suthul, the poſſeſſion of which place, he imagined, would make him maſter of all the wealth of Jugurtha, and conſequently paved the way to ſuch a ſcandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as ſoon as known at Rome, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The Roman troops retired into Africa Propria, which they had now reduced into the form of a Roman province, and there took up their winter-quarters [t].

Defeated by Metellus.

In the mean time Caius Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to enquire into the conduct of theſe perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance Jugurtha had found means to elude all the decrees of the ſenate. This put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occaſioned a proſecution of the guilty ſenators, that was carried on, for ſome time, with the utmoſt heat and violence. Lucius Metellus the conſul, during theſe tranſactions,

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Salluſt. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. ubi ſup.

tranſactions, had Numidia aſſigned him for his province, and conſequently was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt Jugurtha. As he perfectly diſregarded wealth, the Numidian found him ſuperior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which conſtitute the great captain; ſo that Jugurtha found him in all reſpects inacceſſible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of Metellus, with the greateſt caution, and exert his utmoſt bravery, in order to compenſate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. Marius, Metellus's lieutenant, being likewiſe a perſon of uncommon merit, the Romans reduced Vacca, a large, opulent city, and the moſt celebrated mart in Numidia; defeated Jugurtha in a pitched battle; overthrew Bomilcar, one of his generals, upon the banks of the Muthullus; and, in fine, forced the Numidian monarch to take ſhelter in a place rendered almoſt inacceſſible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, Jugurtha ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a conſummate general, to whom deſpair adminiſters freſh ſtrength, and ſuggeſts new lights. But his troops could not make head againſt the Romans; they were again worſted by Marius, though they obliged Metellus to raiſe the ſiege of Zama. Jugurtha therefore, finding his country everywhere ravaged, his moſt opulent cities plundered, his fortreſſes reduced, his towns burnt, vaſt numbers of his ſubjects put to the ſword, and taken priſoners, began to think ſeriouſly of coming to an accommodation with the Romans. His favourite Bomilcar, in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by Metellus, obſerving this deſpoſition, found it no difficult matter to perſuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horſes, and deſerters, in whom the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, into the hands of the Romans. Some of theſe laſt, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, retired to Bocchus king of Mauritania, and liſted in his ſervice. But Metellus ordering him to repair to (N) Tiſidium, a city of Numidia,

(N) This city ſeems to have been ſituated either upon the borders of Africa Propria, or in that province, ſince Metellus diſtributed

Numidia, there to receive farther directions, and he refuſing a compliance with that order, hoſtilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in favour of Jugurtha: he retook Vacca, and maſſacred the Roman garriſon, though Turpilius, the commandant, found means to make his eſcape. However, ſoon after a Roman legion ſeized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the greateſt ſeverity. About this time one of Maſtanabal's ſons, named Gauda, whom, Micipſa, in his will, had appointed to ſucceed to the crown, in caſe his two legitimate ſons and Jugurtha died without iſſue, wrote to the ſenate in favour of Marius, who was then endeavouring to ſupplant Metellus; the occaſion and effect of which ſolicitation has already been related. That prince, having his underſtanding impaired by a declining ſtate of health, fell a more eaſy prey to the baſe and infamous adulation of Marius, who, after having ſoothed his vanity, aſſured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the Numidian throne, as ſoon as Jugurtha was either killed or taken, which muſt in a ſhort time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the Roman army with an unlimitted commiſſion. Soon after, Bomilcar and Nabdalſa formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate Jugurtha, at the (O) inſtigation of Metellus; but this being detected, Bomilcar, and moſt of his accomplices, ſuffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had ſuch an effect upon Jugurtha, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repoſe. He ſuſpected perſons of all denominations, Numidians as well as foreigners, of ſome black deſign againſt him. Perpetual terrors ſat brooding over his mind; inſomuch that he never got a wink of ſleep, but by ſtealth, and often changing his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting buted his troops in winter quarters there, after the concluſion of the campaign (13).

(O) Frontinus relates, that Metellus endeavoured to ſecure Jugurtha's perſon, not to aſſaſſinate him, which, he inſinuates, might have been more eaſily effected. But as this runs counter to Salluſt, who is ſuperior, in point of authority, to Frontinus, this hiſtorical fragment deſerves not much credit (14).

(13) Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth. (14) S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 8.

Starting from his ſleep, he would frequently ſnatch his ſword, and break out into the moſt doleful cries. So ſtrongly was he haunted by a ſpirit of fear, jealouſy, and diſtraction [u].

Overthrown a ſecond time by him.

JUGURTHA, having deſtroyed great numbers of his friends, on ſuſpicion of their having been concerned in the late conſpiracy, and many more of them deſerting to the Romans and Bocchus king of Mauritania, found himſelf, in a manner, deſtitute of counſellors, generals, and all perſons capable of aſſiſting him in carrying on the war. This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him diſſatisfied with every thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity againſt the enemy, and at others retreat with no ſmall ſwiftneſs from them. Then he reſumed his former courage; but ſoon after deſpaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt he was forced by Metellus to a battle. That part of the Numidian army Jugurtha commanded behaved with ſome reſolution; but the other fled at their firſt onſet. The Romans therefore entirely defeated them, took all their ſtandards, and made a few of them priſoners. Not many of them were ſlain in the action, ſince, as Salluſt obſerves, the Numidians truſted more to their heels than their arms for ſafety in this engagement [w].

Metellus takes Thala.

METELLUS purſued Jugurtha and his fugitives to Thala, a place we have formerly deſcribed. His march to this place, being through vaſt deſerts, was extremely tedious and difficult; but being ſupplied with wooden veſſels of all ſizes taken from the huts of the Numidians, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had ſubmitted to him, he inveſted that city. He had no ſooner ſat down before it, than a moſt copious ſhower of rain, a thing very uncommon in thoſe deſerts, proved a great and ſeaſonable refreſhment to his forces, who, animated thereby, as though the gods had declared for them, prepared to attack the town with ſuch vigour, that Jugurtha,

[u] Idem ibid. Liv. epit. lxv. Plut. in Mar. Vell Paterc. l. ii. c. 11. [w] Salluſt. Liv. Paterc. Oroſ. ubi ſup. Eutrop. ubi ſup, c. 27.

Jugurtha, with his family, and treaſures depoſited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garriſon, conſiſting of Roman deſerters, ſetting fire to the king's palace, and conſuming themſelves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. Jugurtha, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into Gætulia, where he formed a conſiderable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of Mauritania, and engaged Bocchus, king of that country, whoſe daughter he had married, to enter into an alliance with him; in conſequence of which, having reinforced his Gætulian troops with a powerful body of Mauritanians, he turned the tables upon Metellus, and obliged him to keep cloſe within his intrenchments. Salluſt informs us, that Jugurtha bribed Bocchus's miniſters to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he inſinuated, that, ſhould Numidia be ſubdued, Mauritania muſt be involved in its ruin, eſpecially as the Romans ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones in the univerſe. In ſupport of what he advanced, he produced ſeveral inſtances very appoſite to the point in view. However, the ſame author ſeems to intimate, that Bocchus was determined to aſſiſt Jugurtha againſt his enemies by the ſlight the Romans had formerly ſhewn him. That prince, at the firſt breaking out of this war, ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmoſt conſequence to it at that juncture, a few of the moſt venal and infamous ſenators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon Bocchus in favour of Jugurtha, than the relation he ſtood in to him; for both the Moors and Numidians adapted the number of their wives to their circumſtances, ſo that ſome had ten, twenty, &c. to their ſhare. There kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of courſe all degrees of affinity, reſulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is obſervable, that the poſterity of thoſe antient nations have the ſame cuſtom prevailing amongſt them at this day [x].

SUCH

[x] Idem ibid Strab. l. xvii. Vide & Bern. Aldret. ubi ſup. p. 400, 401. & ſeq.

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus from the interest of Jugurtha.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in Numidia, when Metellus received advice of the promotion of Marius to the consulate. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already observed. But, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, though this would facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. To this end embassadors were dispatched to the Mauritanian court, who intimated to Bocchus, "That it would be highly imprudent "to come to a rupture with the Romans without any "cause at all; that he had now a fine opportunity of con-"cluding a most advantageous treaty with them, which "was much preferable to a war; that, whatever depend-"ence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to "run the hazard of losing his dominions by embroiling "himself with other states, when he could easily avoid "this; that it was much easier to begin a war, than to "end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone to "do; that, in fine, he would by no means consult the "interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate for-"tunes of Jugurtha." To which Bocchus replied, "That, "for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than "peace; but that he could not help pitying the deplorable "condition of Jugurtha; that if the Romans therefore "would grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they "had offered him, he would bring about an accommoda-"tion." Metellus let the Mauritanian monarch know, that it was not in his power to comply with what he desired. However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new consul Marius's arrival. By this conduct he served two wise ends; for, first, he prevented thereby Bocchus from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing Jugurtha desired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the Romans impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to discover something of the genius and disposition of the Moors, a nation, of whom the Romans, till then, had scarce formed any idea, which, he imagined, might be of no small service, either to himself or his successors, in the future prosecution of the war [y].

JUGURTHA,

[y] Sallust. Vel. Patere. & Plut. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 462.

Marius reduces Capſa.

JUGURTHA, being informed, that Marius, with a numerous army, was landed at Utica, adviſed Bocchus to retire, with part of the troops, to ſome place of difficult acceſs, whilſt he himſelf took poſt upon another inacceſſible ſpot with the remaining corps. By this meaſure, he hoped the Romans would be obliged to divide their forces, and conſequently be more expoſed to his efforts and attacks. He likewiſe imagined, that, ſeeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head againſt them; which might occaſion a relaxation of diſcipline, the uſual attendant of a too great ſecurity, and conſequently produce ſome good effect. However, he was diſappointed in both theſe views; for Marius, far from ſuffering a relaxation of diſcipline to take place, trained up his troops, which conſiſted chiefly of new levies, in ſo perfect a manner, that they were ſoon equal in goodneſs to any conſular army that ever appeared in the field. He alſo cut off great numbers of the Gætulian marauders, defeated many of Jugurtha's parties, and had like to have taken that prince himſelf priſoner near the city of Cirta. Theſe advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated Bocchus, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the Romans, not being ſufficiently ſatisfied of his ſincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time Marius puſhed on his conqueſts, reducing ſeveral places of leſs note, and at laſt reſolved to beſiege Capſa. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater ſecrecy, he ſuffered not the leaſt hint of his deſign to tranſpire, even amongſt any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached A. Manlius, one of his lieutenants, with ſome light-armed cohorts to the city of Lares, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and depoſited the military cheſt. Before the lieutenant left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuſe him, he intimated, that himſelf, with the army, ſhould take the ſame rout in a few days; but, inſtead of that, he bent his march towards the Tanais, and, in ſix days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a ſhort time, in order to refreſh his troops; which having done, he advanced to Capſa, and made himſelf maſter of it, in the manner we have already related. As the ſituation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to Jugurtha, whoſe plan of operations, ever ſince the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he levelled it with the ground,

ground, after it had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewiſe, being more ſtrongly attached to that prince than any of the other Numidians, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of courſe, bearing a more implacable hatred to the Romans, he put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. The true motive of the conſul's conduct on this occaſion ſeems here to be aſſigned, though we are told by Salluſt, in conformity to the Roman genius, that neither avarice nor reſentment prompted him to ſo barbarous an action, but only a deſire to ſtrike a terror in the Numidians [z] (P)

Jugurtha prevails upon Bocchus to aſſiſt him.

THE Numidians, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of Marius, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſor's great atchievements, particularly the reduction of Thala, a city, in ſtrength and ſituation, nearly reſembling Capſa. Following his blow, he gradually preſented himſelf before moſt of the places of ſtrength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of Capſa; others taking by force, he laid in aſhes; and, in ſhort, filled the greateſt part of Numidia with blood, horror, and confuſion. The operations of the campaign were concluded by the reduction of a caſtle, that ſeemed impregnable,

[z] Salluſt. Liv. Flor. Plut. Eutrop. Oros ubi ſupra.

(P) Salluſt does not only inform us, that the Numidians lived after much the ſame manner as the Libyan Nomades of Herodotus, but likewiſe that they were called Nomo-Numidæ; which ſeems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word Numidia. He likewiſe tells us, that theſe Nomo-Numidæ encreaſed ſo exceedingly, that they overſtocked their original country; and therefore a great multitude of them were obliged to make an irruption into the country afterwards from them called Numidia, where they ſettled. This piece of hiſtory the ſame writer affirms to have been extracted from ſome Punic books belonging to king Hiempſal. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by Herodotus concerning the irruption of the Libyan Nomades into Numidia, is probably true, ſince it is atteſted by the Punic writers themſelves, though it muſt be owned, that where theſe authors contradict Herodotus, and the generality of the beſt hiſtorians, ſuch a degree of credit is not due to them (15).

(15) Herodot. ubi ſup. l. iv. Salluſt. in bell. Juguth.

impregnable, ſeated on the Mulucha, where Jugurtha kept part of his treaſures (Q). In the mean time Jugurtha, not being able to prevail upon Bocchus, by his repeated ſolicitations, to advance into Numidia, where he found himſelf greatly preſſed, was obliged to have recourſe to his uſual method of bribing the Mauritanian miniſters, in order to put that prince in motion. He alſo promiſed him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the Romans out of Africa, or get all the Numidian dominions confirmed to him by treaty [a].

So conſiderable a ceſſion could not fail of engaging Bocchus to ſupport Jugurtha with his whole power. The two (R) African monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, ſurpriſed Marius near Cirta, as he was going into winter-quarters. The Roman general was ſo puſhed on this occaſion, that the barbarians thought themſelves certain of victory, and doubted not but they ſhould be able to extinguiſh the Roman name in Numidia; but their incaution and too great ſecurity enabled Marius to give them a total defeat, which was followed four days after by ſo complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand men, by the acceſſion of a powerful corps of Moors, commanded by Bocchus's ſon Volux, was entirely ruined. Sylla, Marius's lieutenant, moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt action, which laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. Bocchus, now looking upon Jugurtha's condition as deſperate, and not being willing to run the riſk of loſing his dominions, clapped up a peace with Rome. However, the republic gave him to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be ranked amongſt its friends, till he had

They are both defeated by Marius, upon which Bocchus delivers up Jugurtha to the Romans.

[a] Salluſt. Flor. Plut. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

(Q) Notwithſtanding the immenſe treaſures Jugurtha had been in poſſeſſion of, ſo late as ſome years after the death of Gala, father to Maſiniſſa, a great part of the Numidians, all thoſe at leaſt inhabiting the open country, had no gold or ſilver money. However, they were not very ſenſible of this defect, ſince it was ſupplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by Livy (16).

(R) Frontinus ſays, that Jugurtha never began a battle with the Romans till towards evening, that, if he ſhould happen to be defeated, he might eſcape by favour of the night (17).

(16) Liv. l. xxix. c. 31. (17) S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 13.

had delivered up into the conſul's hands Jugurtha, that inveterate enemy of the Roman name. The Mauritanian monarch, having entertained a high idea of an alliance with that ſtate, reſolved to ſatisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his reſolution by one Dabar, a Numidian prince, the ſon of Maſſugrada, and deſcended, by his mother's ſide, from Maſiniſſa, who, being cloſely attached to the Romans, and extremely agreeable to Bocchus, on account of his noble diſpoſition, had defeated all the intrigues of Aſpar, Jugurtha's miniſter. Upon Sylla's arrival at the Mauritanian court, the affair there ſeemed to be entirely ſettled. However, Bocchus, who was for ever projecting new deſigns, and, like the reſt of his countrymen, in the higheſt degree perfidious, debated within himſelf, whether he ſhould ſacrifice Sylla or Jugurtha, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of ſentiments. The ſudden changes, which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, his air, and his whole perſon, evidently ſhewed how ſtrongly his mind was agitated; but at laſt he returned to his firſt deſign, to which the bias of his mind ſeemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, to be conducted to Marius, who, by that ſucceſsful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of Numidia was now reduced to a new form: Bocchus, for his important ſervices, had the country of the Maſæſyli, contiguous to Mauritania, aſſigned him, which, from this time, took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maſſyli, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to Hiempſal, another to Mondreſtal, both deſcendents of Maſiniſſa, and the third the Romans annexed to Africa Propria, or the Roman province, adjacent to it. What became of Jugurtha, after he had graced Marius's triumph (S), at which ceremony he was led in chains,

(S) According to Plutarch, Marius's triumph happened on the firſt day of January, which began the year amongſt the Romans, when Jugurtha was expoſed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleaſed with that ſight, the Numidian, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himſelf terrible to the Romans; nay, Florus intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a ſecond Hannibal. Plutarch adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell diſtracted; that, when he was afterwards

chains, together with his two ſons, through the ſtreets of Rome, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work [b].

Tranſactions in Numidia after the death of Jugurtha.

JUGURTHA'S two ſons ſurvived him, but ſpent their lives in captivity at Venuſia. However, one of them, named Oxyntas, was, for a ſhort time, releaſed from his confinement by Aponius, who beſieged Acerræ in the war between the Romans and the Italian allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the Numidian forces off from the Roman ſervice. Accordingly thoſe Numidians no ſooner heard, that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; which obliged Julius Cæſar, the conſul, to part with all his Numidian cavalry, and ſend them back into Africa. Some few years after this event, Pompey defeated Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Hiarbas, one of the kings of Numidia, killing ſeventeen thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. Not ſatisfied with this victory, that general purſued the fugitives to their camp, which he ſoon forced, put Domitius to the ſword, and took Hiarbas priſoner. He then reduced that part of Numidia which belonged to Hiarbas, who ſeems to have ſucceeded Mandreſtal above-mentioned, and gave it to Hiempſal, a neighbouring Numidian prince,

[b] Salluſt. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. lxvi. Plut. in Mar. & in Syl. Dio. Caſs l. xliii. Appian. de bell. civ. Flor. Eutrop. & Oros. ubi ſup. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Strab. l. xvii. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 474. &c. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 12.

afterwards thrown into priſon, whilſt ſome tore of his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with wich they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly diſcompoſed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was caſt naked into the dungeon, he forced a ſmile, crying out, O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours! In this place He ſtruggled for ſome time with extreme hunger, and ther expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithſtanding his own inhuman diſpoſition, will remain an eternal monument of the Roman cruelty and ingratitude. Mithridates therefore juſtly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandſon of Maſiniſſa, a prince that contributed as much to the deſtruction of their only rival Carthage as either of the Africani (18).

(18) Juſt. l. xxxviii. c. 6. Plut, in Mario.

deſcended from Maſiniſſa, who had always oppoſed the Marian faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception Hiempſal, or his ſon Mandreſtal, gave young Marius, Cethegus, Lectorius, and others of the ſame party, when proſcribed by Sylla, and forced to ſeek an aſylum at his court, we muſt refer our readers to Plutarch and Appian [c].

Cæſar treats Juba in a very indecent manner.

SUETONIUS informs us, that a diſpute happened at Rome between Hiempſal and one Maſintha, a noble Numidian, whom, it is probable, he had, in ſome reſpect, injured, when Julius Cæſar firſt began to make a figure in the world. This is a plain demonſtration, that Numidia was, at that time, in reality, ſubject to the Romans, ſince the ſubjects there could then apply to the Romans for redreſs, even from their ſovereign. The ſame author adds, that Cæſar warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of Maſintha, and even groſly inſulted Juba, Hiempſal's ſon, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct on this occaſion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an African, and reproached him with being a tributary dependent prince. In ſhort, he ſcreened Maſintha from the inſults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reaſon may be aſſigned for Juba's adhering ſo cloſely afterwards to the Pompeian faction [d].

Juba defeats Curio, one of Cæſar's lieutenants.

IN conſequence of the indignity Cæſar had offered Juba, and the diſpoſition it had occaſioned, that prince did Cæſar great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and Pompey. By a ſtratagem he drew Curio, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which it was his intereſt at that time to have avoided. He cauſed it to be given out all over Africa Propria and Numidia, that he was retired into ſome remote country at a great diſtance from the Roman territories. This coming to Curio's ears, who was then beſieging Utica, it hindered him from taking the neceſſary precautions to prevent a ſurprize. Soon after, the Roman general receiving intelligence, that a ſmall body of Numidians was approaching his camp, he put himſelf at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they ſhould eſcape, began his march in

[c] Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 376. & 388. Liv. ep. lxvii. Plut. in Mar. in Syl. & in Pomp. [d] Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 71.

in the night, looking upon himſelf as ſure of victory. Some of their advanced guards he ſurpriſed aſleep, and cut them to pieces, which ſtill further animated him. In ſhort, about day-break he came up with the Numidians, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then faſting, and vaſtly fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time Juba, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the main body of the Numidian army, to ſupport the detachment ſent before to decoy Curio, advanced to the relief of his men. The Romans had met with a great reſiſtance before he appeared; ſo that he eaſily broke them, killed Curio, with a good part of his troops, upon the ſpot, purſued the reſt to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them priſoners. Moſt of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their eſcape on board the ſhips in the port of Utica, were either ſlain by the purſuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of Varus, who would have ſaved them; but Juba, who arrogated to himſelf the honour of this victory, ordered them all to be put to the ſword • (T).

THIS

• Cæſ. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8. Dio, l. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Appian. de bell. civil. l. 2. p. 455. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.

(T) Cæſar, who gives us the particulars of this action, intimates, that Sabura, Juba's general, receiving continual reinforcements from his maſter, who kept at a ſmall diſtance from him, at laſt overpowered the Romans, though they behaved with great bravery; that Sabura cut off Curio's retreat, by poſting ſome parties of his horſe upon ſeveral eminences near the field of battle; that, in conſequence of this, almoſt the whole Roman corps, commanded by Curio, was cut to pieces; and that part of the body of troops left with the quæſtor Rufus to guard the camp, made their eſcape to Sicily. In other points, for the moſt part, he agrees with Dio, whom we have here choſen to follow. Appian inſinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the Bagrada; that Juba cauſed a rumour to be induſtriouſly propagated, that he was returned home, to repreſs the courſes of ſome neighbouring nations, who frequently made incurſions into his dominions, and had only ſent Sabura, with a ſmall body of troops, to obſerve the enemy. This, adds the ſame author, occaſioned the deſtruction of almoſt two entire Roman legions, with a body of horſe, velites, and ſlaves. Appian alſo relates, that, upon the

Cæſar overthrows Scipio, Juba, and Labienus.

THIS victory infuſed new life and vigour into the Pompeian faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon Juba, and gave him the title of king of all Numidia. But Cæſar and his adherents declared him an enemy to the ſtate of Rome, adjudging to Bocchus and Bogud, two African princes entirely in their intereſt, the ſovereignty of his dominions. Juba afterwards, uniting his forces with thoſe of Scipio, reduced Cæſar to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by Publius Sittius (U). That

the news of Curio's overthrow, Flamma, the Roman admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board; that many of them, with Pollio, a Roman commander, ſo crouded ſome merchant-ſhips, in order to make their eſcape on board them, that they immediately ſunk, whilſt others were thrown over board for the ſake of the money they brought with them; and laſtly, that Juba, having placed a great number of the unhappy priſoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of Utica, cauſed them to be pierced with darts. Though Varus did his utmoſt to prevent this inhuman maſſacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, Curio's head was cut off, and carried as an agreeable preſent to Juba (19).

(U) Appian gives us the following account of this P. Sittius: Being accuſed of a certain crime at Rome, he abandoned that city before his tryal came on, and aſſembled a body of Italians and Spaniards, with which he paſſed over into Africa. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongſt themſelves. Sometimes he aſſiſted one of theſe princes, and ſometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. This rendered his name terrible to the Moors and Numidians, inſomuch that he eaſily made the ſcale preponderate in favour of Cæſar, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of Africa, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one Manaſſes, a Numidian prince, who had aſſiſted Juba. The other part of this diſtrict was given to Bocchus. Sittius ſettled the troops who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by Arabio, Manaſſes's ſon, who after Julius Cæſar's death, ſent ſix thouſand Africans to aſſiſt S. Pompeius in Spain. Theſe Africans, returning home ſome time after, diſciplined after the Roman manner, enabled Arabio to diſpatch Sittius, and likewiſe to drive Bocchus out of the territory he had uſurped from him (20).

(19) Cæſ. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 455, 456. (20) Appian. ibid. l. iv. c. 620, 612.

That general, having formed a conſiderable corps conſiſting of Roman exiles, and Mauritanian troops ſent him by Bocchus, according to Dio, or, as Cæſar will have it, Bogud, made an irruption into Gætulia and Numidia, whilſt Juba was employed in Africa Propria. As he ravaged theſe countries in a dreadful manner, Juba immediately returned with the beſt part of his army, to preſerve them from utter deſtruction. However, Cæſar, knowing his horſe to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack Scipio in the abſence of the Numidian, till his own elephants, and a freſh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from Italy; which acceſſion of ſtrength, he imagined, would enable him to give a good account, both of the Roman forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time Scipio diſpatched reiterated expreſſes to (W) Juba to haſten to his aſſiſtance, but could not prevail upon him to move out of Numidia, till he had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of all the Roman dominions in Africa, if they could from thence expel Cæſar. This immediately put him in motion; ſo that having ſent a large detachment to make head againſt Sittius, he marched with the reſt of his troops to aſſiſt Scipio. However, Cæſar at laſt overthrew Scipio, Juba, and Labienus near the town of Thapſus, and forced all their camps. As Scipio was the firſt ſurpriſed and defeated, Juba fled into Numidia, without waiting for Cæſar's approach; but the body of Numidians detached againſt Sittius, having been broken and diſperſed by that general, none of his ſubjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to deſpair, he ſought death in a ſingle combat with Petreius, and, having killed him, cauſed himſelf to be diſpatched by one of his ſlaves [f] (X). AFTER

[f] A. Hirt. de bell. African. c. 3, 4, & ſeq. Appian. ubi ſup. l. iv. p. 620, 621. Dio, l. xliii. Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ.

(W) Juba, according to Dio, pretended to aſſiſt Pompey, not out of a motive of reſentment, but becauſe he was a defender of the ſenate and people of Rome. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cauſe, ſubſtitute the pretext (21).

(X) Hirtius intimates, that Juba killed Petreius in this combat, and was himſelf afterwards diſpatched by his ſlave. Orſius relates, that Petreius run himſelf through with his ſword; and that

(21) Dio, l. xli..

Cæsar reduces Numidia to the form of a province.

AFTER this decisive action, and the reduction of Africa Propria, Cæsar made himself master of all Numidia Propria, which he reduced to a Roman province, appointing Crispus Sallustius to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to shake off the Roman yoke. However, Bocchus and Bogud still preserved a sort of sovereignty in the country of the Masæsyli and Mauritania, since the former of those princes, having deserted Cæsar, sent an army into Spain to assist the Pompeians; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for Cæsar at the ever memorable battle of Munda. Bogud, afterwards siding with Anthony against Octavius, sent a body of forces to assist him in Spain; at which time the Mauritanians revolting from him, Bocchus, with an army composed of Romans in the interest of Octavius, who passed over from Spain into Africa, and his own subjects, possessed himself of Mauritania Tingitana. Bogud fled to Antony, and Octavius, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of Tingi with all the privileges of Roman citizens. He likewise confirmed Bocchus king of Mauritania Cæsariensis, or the country of the Masæsyli, in the possession of Tingitana, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this he imitated the example of his great predecessor Julius Cæsar, who divided some of the fruitful plains of Numidia among the soldiers of P. Sittius, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed Sittius himself sovereign of that district. Sittius (Y), as has been intimated above, having taken Cirta, killed Sabura, Juba's general, entirely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the Pompeian fugitives, that escaped from the battle of Thapsus, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After Bocchus's death, that Juba hired a person to kill him; but Appian, Eutropius, and Dio, assure us, that they slew each other (22).

(Y) We learn from Hirtius, that Sittius, or, as he calls him Sitius, greatly distressed Juba before the battle of Thapsus, by possessing himself of a castle situated on a hill, where that prince had a very considerable magazine (23).

(22) Appian. de bell. civil. p. 490. Oros. l. vi. c. 16. sub fin. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 23. Dio, l. xliii. (23) A. Hirt. de bell. Afric. c. 5.

death, Mauritania and the Maſæſylian Numidia were, in all reſpects, conſidered as Roman provinces, according to Dio; which ſeems to evince, that the hoſtilities Bocchus committed againſt Carinas, whom Octavius had appointed governor of Spain, mentioned by Appian, were not attended with any bad conſequences, either to himſelf or the Romans, ſince he continued on the throne of the Maſæſylian Numidia and Mauritania as long as he lived. What happened to Bogud after he was driven out of his dominions, as alſo a brief account of the younger Juba (Z), his ſon Ptolemy, and Tacfarinas, who gave the Romans no ſmall trouble in the reign of Tiberius, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find in the hiſtory of the Moors or Mauritanians [g].

g A. Hirt. ubi ſup. &. de bell. Alex. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hiſp. Dio. l. xliii. xlix. l. Strab. l. iii. Flor. ubi ſup.

(Z) As Maſiniſſa's family makes ſo conſiderable a figure, both in the Roman and Carthaginian hiſtory, it will not be amiſs to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them. See the adjoining table.

ERRATUM.

In Page 10. l. 23. for Carthage read Tyre.

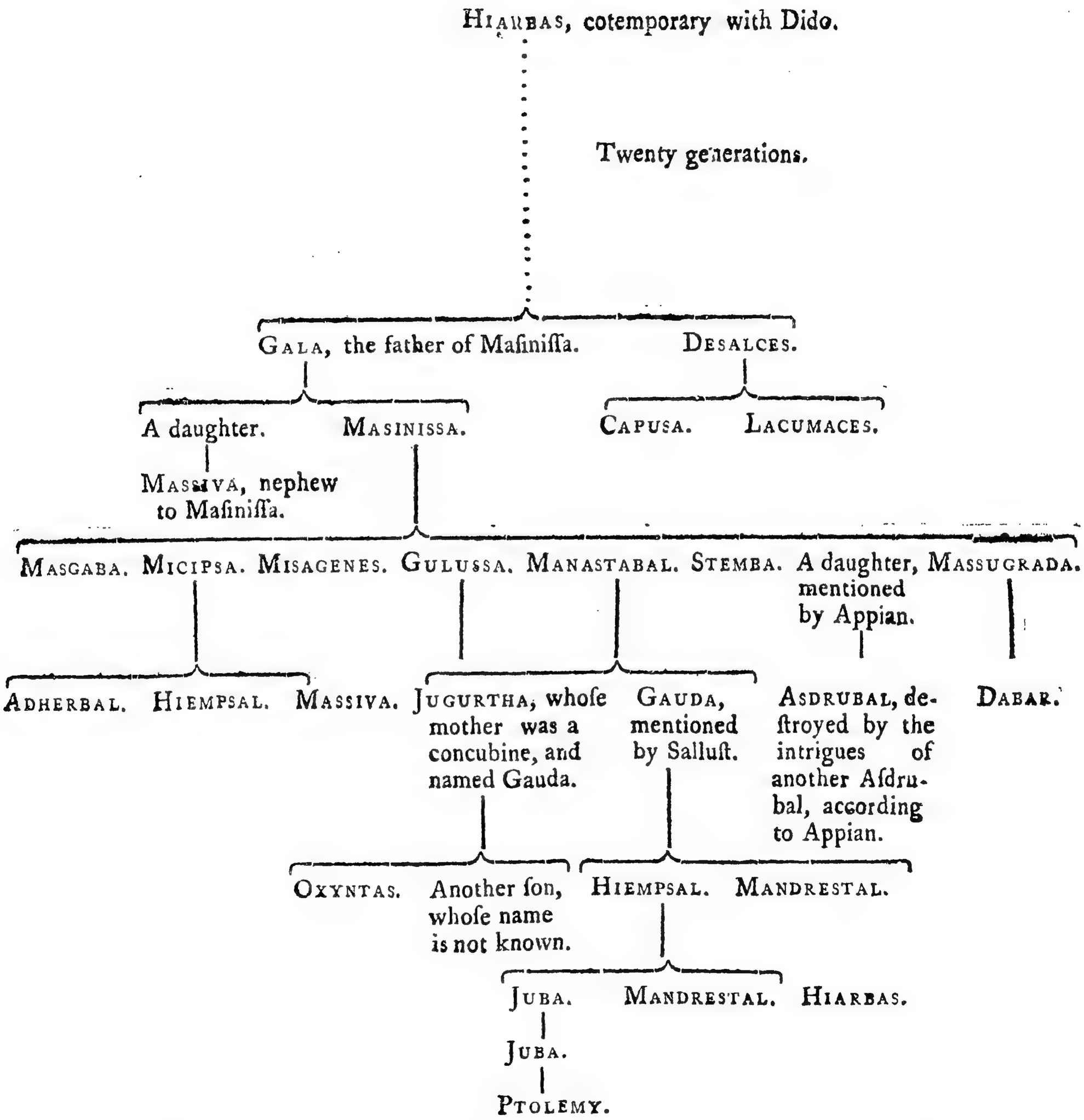
HIARBAS, cotemporary with Dido.

⋮

PTOLEMY.

We have placed Hiarbas, cotemporary with Dido, at the head of this family, ſince we find a prince of it called Hiarbas, taken notice of by Plutarch, as likewiſe becauſe it appears from Stephanus Byzantinus and Euſtathius, that the Mazyes, Hiarbas's ſubjects, were Numidians (24).

(24) Liv. Appian. Sueton. Salluſt. Dio. Caſſ. Cæſ. Hirt. Plut. Juſtin. Steph. Byzant. Euſtath. aliiq; ſcript. plurim.



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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

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Septentrio

HISPANIAE PARS

MARIS MEDITERRANEI

sive INTERNI PARS

SINUS GADITANUS

OCEANUS ATLAN-TICUS

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

35

30

25

Gades
Fretum Herculeum
Tingis
Regnum Regnum
Lixus
Lixus Fl.
Asarium
Tamuda
Tabernae
Rusadir
Promontorium pr.
Gissara port.
Siga
Portus Magnus
Portus Divini
Bocchi Regnum
Portus Magnus
Portus Divinus
Assonnaria
Apollinis pro.
Oppidum Novum
Cartenna
Victoria
Cisi
Tucca
Tisara
Sitifi
Igilgili
Jatafi
Salde
Tubusuptus
Tubusuctis
Vazagada
Numidiae
Labdia Laudia
Hippa
Auzia
Tubuna
Germiana
Zalacus M.
Iripa
Vaga
Burca
Tarrun
Nacmusii
Galapha
Purpurariae Insulae
Atlas minor Mons
Gusa R.
Rusubis Portus
Solis Mons
Musocaras
Portus
Dorath
Phthuth Flu.
Herculis promont.
Fortunatae Inf.
Tamusida
Tingitana
Banasa
Gilda
Sala
Tocolosida
Gontiana
Herpis
Molochath
Malucha R.
Mauretania
Caesariensis
Julia Caesarea
Cuiculi
Rusicada
Tacatua
Rusicade
Tabraca
Ubus
Tipasa
Casae
Cocuarta Ad
Gimniga
Punici
Quiza
Tiana
Julia Caesarea
Tenes
Jamus Fl.
Malva R.
Julia
Tubusuctis
Tubusuptus
Aqua Tibilitana
Vaga
Vacca
Hippon Regius
Simitu
Hippon Diarrhytus
Tunes
Tuneta
Carthago
Falli
Ustica
Tigaste
Sicca
Veneria
Madaura
Tucca Terebinthina
Thubursica
Lamasba
Tamugada
Cirta
Milevi
Lares
Lambaesa
Calagna
Symire
Mileum
Numidia
Massylii
Numidiae Propriae
Africae Propriae
Byzacii Pars
Capsa
Thevesti
Thevestae sive Tusca
Tigisis
Auras Mons
Zama
Musuni
Audus Mons
Ismuc
Misulani
Thambra Mons
Nasabutes
Sabubures
Pars
Nisibes
Buzana Mons
Campus Sitaphius
Garamantes
Ampsaga Flu.
Bagrada Flu.
Gaetulia
Iadium prom.
Suriga
Bocanum hemerum
Tala
Una flu.
Banubae
Igna flu.
Tala flu.
Vacuatae
Libya Interior
Deserta pleraque
Tropicus Cancri
Atlas Major
Mons

MAURETANIA,
NUMIDIA,
GÆTULIA &c.

I. Wheatley Sculp.t

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. II.

The hiſtory of the Mauritanians, to the entire reduction of their country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Mauritania.

Deſcription of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or as it is called by Strabo, Maurusia, and the country of the Mauruſii, was bounded on the eaſt by the Malva or Mulucha; on the weſt by the Atlantic ocean; on the ſouth by Gætulia, or Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. This kingdom, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of Claudius, had the name of Mauritania Tingitana given it by that prince, as we are informed by Dio. From Pliny, and ſome inſcriptions in Gruter, it likewiſe appears, that it was called by the Romans at that time, as well as afterwards, ſimply Tingitania, from its principal city Tingi, in order to diſtinguiſh it from Mauritania Cæſarienſis. If we may judge from what has been already obſerved of Numidia and Africa Propria,

the antients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, answering nearly to the Tingitania of the antients, can be entirely depended upon. All that can be done, is to make use of the best lights that have been hitherto afforded us[a].

Limits and extent of Mauritania.

THOUGH Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, then was considerably broader than Mauritania Cæsariensis, the corresponding parts of Mount Atlas, or the confines of Gætulia, lying more to the southward, yet Pliny and Martianus, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth, when they affirm the greatest breadth of this Mauritania to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate of by observing, that the Malva or Mullooïah, its eastern limit, about 1° 15′ W. of London, is something above two hundred and forty miles distant from the Atlantic ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of Fez to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of Morocco, from cape Non to the Mountains which divide it from Segelmessa, above three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with respect to the antient Tingitania, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of Pliny, which amounts only to an hundred and seventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the southern limits of Tingitania cannot be ascertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but Septa, the present Ceuta, its most advanced city to the northward, is about 35° 58′ N. latitude, and about 6° W. longitude from London. The Al-Magreb Al-Achsa of Abulfeda includes the Maurusia of Strabo, or the country we are now upon, and part of Mauritania Cæsariensis, as it extends from the Atlantic ocean, which he calls the sea Almohit, to Tlemsan. We must not omit observing, that Ptolemy places the Atlas Major, his southern boundary of this kingdom, at a vast distance from the southern limits assigned it by Pliny, in the deserts of Gætulia or Libya Interior. But it appears, from what has been already advanced, as well as the best relations of modern travellers, that

[a] Strab. l. xvii. p. 570. Dio Cass. l. lx. p. 771. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Vet. inscript. apud Gruter. p. 482. n. 7. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 1.

that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to Tingitania[b].

MAURITANIA and Mauruſia are names of this region derived from the Mauri, an antient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old hiſtorians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongſt themſelves about the origin of this word. Salluſt affirms it to be a corruption of the word Medi; but this is by no means probable. Dr. Hyde deduces it from מַעֲבָרִי Mabri or Mav'ri, "one that lies near the paſſage," as he thinks the ſtreights of Hercules might properly enough be called. Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis and Manilius think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, ſwarthy colour of the people to which it was applied; but none of theſe etymons ſeem ſo eaſy and natural as that of Bochart, who makes Maurus to be equivalent to מאחור Mahur; or, as an eliſion of gutturals in the oriental languages is extremely common, Maur, i. e. "one from the weſt," or "a weſtern perſon," ſince Mauritania was weſt of Carthage and Phœnice. However, in our opinion, it would ſound better ſtill, ſhould we ſay, "one that comes from the end," or "utmoſt limit, of "Africa," or "the boundary of our voyages," as both the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, for ſeveral ages, might have ſaid of the Tingitanians; for the ſtreights or pillars of Hercules limited the weſtern voyages of thoſe nations for a conſiderable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the beſt authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at leaſt a good part of it, was firſt called Phut, ſince it appears from Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Jerom, that a river and territory not far from mount Atlas went by that name. From the Jeruſalem Targum it likewiſe appears, that part of the Mauri may be deemed the offspring of Lud the ſon of Miſraim, ſince his decendents, mentioned Gen. x. are there called מְרִיטָאֵי Mauri or Mauritani. We have already evinced, that

Whence ſo called.

A 2

[b] Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Martian. de duab. Mauritan. geogr. Nubienſ. in clim. 3. Iſm. Abulfed. ex traduct. V. Cl. Joan. Gagnier. Marmol, en l'Afrique, l. iv. J. Leo Afric. paſſ. L'Afrique en pluſieures cartes novelles, &c. par le ſieur Sanſon D'Abbeville, &c. à Paris, 1683. Novelle methode pour apprendre la geographie univerſal. par le ſieur De La Croix, &c. à Paris, 1705. Luyts introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. Atl. geogr. vol. iv. Moll's geogr. in the kingd. of Morocco and Fez. Shaw's geograph. obſervations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See alſo Morery, and a new geographical dictionary publiſhed at Lond. 1737.

that this region, as well as the others to the eaſt of it, had many colonies planted in it by the Phœnicians. Procopius tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the Phœnician language and character upon them: "We are the Canaanites, that "fled from Joſhua the ſon of Nun, that notorious robber." Ibnu Rachich, or Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer cited by Leo, together with Evagrius and Nicephorus Calliſtus, aſſerts the ſame thing. How, in after-ages, that vaſt tract, extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, came to be called Barbary, our readers will be informed in another place [c].

The Mauritanians, according to Ptolemy, were divided into ſeveral cantons or tribes. The Metagonitæ were ſeated near the ſtreights of Hercules. The Succoſii, or Cocoſii, according to Bertius, took up the coaſt of the Iberian ſea. Under theſe two petty nations, the Maſices, Verues, and Verbicæ or Vervicæ, ſettled themſelves. The Saliſæ or Salinſæ were ſituated lower, towards the ocean; and ſtill more to the ſouth the Volubiliani. The Maurenſii and Herpiditani poſſeſſed the eaſtern part of this country, which was terminated by the Mulucha. The Angaucani or Iangacaucani, Nectiberes, Zagrenſii, Baniubæ, and Vacuatæ, extended themſelves from the ſouthern foot of Ptolemy's Atlas Minor to his Atlas Major; which is all that he has intimated of them. Pliny mentions the Baniuræ, whom father Hardouïn takes to be Ptolemy's Baniubæ; and Mela the Atlantes, whom he repreſents as poſſeſſed of the weſtern parts of this region. The names of the different clans of Numidians we have poſtponed, till we come to the hiſtory of the Gætulians, ſince the latter nation was ſo intermixed with the former towards the Roman times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them ſome clans belong [d].

Tingis

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Salluſt. in Jugurth. paſſ. Hirt. de bell. African. Liv. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. Tacit. paſſ. Horat. Lucan. Sil. Ital. & al. quamplurim. ſcript. Græc. & Latin. Hyde in Peritſ. p. 48. Manil. l. iv. Iſidor. Hiſpalenſ. l. ix. c. 12, & l. xiv. c. 5. Val. Schind. lex. pent. in voc. לוד Lud & אחור Ahur vel Aur. Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. x. Eſai. c. xlii. D. Hieron. in Eſai. c. xli. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. p. 257. Evagr. l. iv. c. 18. Niceph. Calliſt. l. xvii. c. 12. Theophan. in hiſt. miſcel. Ibni Raquiq. apud J. Leo African. part. v. Aldret. l. iii. c. 15.

[d] Mel. l. i. c. 4. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Harduin. in Plin. ubi ſup. Salluſt. in Jugurth. & Aldret. l. iii. c. 31.

TINGIS or Tingi, the metropolis, as ſhould ſeem, of Tingitania, was a city of great antiquity. According to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundation of it. Procopius ſeems to intimate, that Tingi was built before the time of Joſhua, ſince he tells us, that the Gergeſites, Jebuſites, and other Canaanitiſh nations or tribes, erected a caſtle in a city, where Tingis, or, as he calls it, Tigiſis ſtood. Dr. Hyde therefore is miſtaken when he affirms Procopius to have aſſerted, that the Gergeſites, Jebuſites, &c. were the founders of Tingis. Pliny inſinuates Antæus to have had a palace at Lixus or Lixos, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at Tingis. This ſeems likewiſe confirmed by Plutarch, who adds, that his ſepulchre was ſtill remaining there in the time of Sertorius, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongſt the inhabitants, cauſed it to be opened, and took out of it a corſe ſixty cubits long. Bochart thinks, that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians called it Tingir, Tiggir, Tagger, &c. which, in their language, ſignified an emporium: and it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of Tingis was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumſtance, reaſonably preſume the Tingitanians did, eſpecially as Pliny ſeems to inſinuate, that to ſome branches of commerce they actually applied themſelves. Bochart's notion therefore receives ſome weight from theſe conſiderations, as alſo from the modern name of this city, Tangier, which we cannot help believing to have been of Phœnician extraction. If we ſuppoſe the antient Tingis to have occupied the ſpot on which Tangier at preſent ſtands, it was very near the ſtreights of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulf of the weſtern ſhore. We are informed by Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, that the Romans drew a colony from this place into the neigbbourhood of Carteia, a town on the other ſide the ſtreights; on which account Pliny abſurdly calls it Julia Traducta, that name being properly applicable to the colony deduced from thence to Spain, to which Strabo gives the appellation of Julia Joza, of the ſame import with the former, Joza, in Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, and Phœnician, being equivalent to the Latin Traducta. We find it likewiſe named by Ptolemy and Marcianus ſimply Tranſducta. Some writers will have Ptolemy to have called Tingis Cæſarea: but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer ſeems to have looked upon Tingis as the moſt noted and uſual proper name of the city we are now upon. Tangier, ſuppoſed to be

the antient Tingis, is in 6° 30′ W. longitude from London, and in N. latitude 35° 56′ [d].

Zelis. ZELIS or Zilis, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Tingis, situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants of this city were transported to Spain, as we learn from Strabo, and a colony of Romans or Italians transplanted thither, as should seem, in their room, according to Pliny. The kings of Mauritania, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over Zelis, it being under the dominion of the Roman governor of Spain. Some authors imagine, that the modern Arzilla answers to Zelis; which if we admit, it stood about seventy miles from the streights of Hercules. Marmol says, that Arzilla was built by the Romans; but this we must not give credit to, if it should be thought proper to countenance the aforesaid supposition; for if Zelis did not owe its origin to the Indigenæ of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction [e].

Lixus. LIXUS or Lixos seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, since, according to Pliny, Antæus had a palace, and therefore probably resided, here. This circumstance renders it likely, that Lixus was superior to Tingis itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find, by comparing the names given the former by Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, with Pliny. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Eratosthenes, to that of the others in this point, since it is supported by Pliny. Lixus therefore and Tingis, in consequence of this preference, we must look upon as two different cities. Pliny relates, that Hercules vanquished Antæus near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the Hesperides, and thirty-two miles distant from Zelis. The same author intimates, that a Roman colony was settled here likewise by Claudius. As Lixus was called by different writers Linx, Linga, Tinga, Tingi, in all probability it was mistaken by some antient historians or geographers for Tingis; and therefore Pliny might

[d] Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. ubi sup. Solin. c. 24. Procop. & Hyde ubi sup. Plut. in Sertor. Strab. l. iii. & alib. Plin. Mel. Ptol. Martian & al apud Bochart in Chan. l. i. c. 24. Moll. de la Croix, &c. ubi sup. Vide & Christ. Cellar, geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 7. ut & Isaac. Voss. atq; Jacob. Gronov. in Mel. l. ii. c. 6. [e] Strab. l. xvii. p. 569. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. Antonin. in itiner. Aldret. ubi sup. l. iv. c. 8. Vide & Cellar. l. iv. c. 7. p. 933. edit. Lipsi. 1732.

might be impoſed upon by ſome of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed Antæus to have had his royal palace at Lixos, ſince it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that he reſided at Tingis. The learned Aldrete aſſerts the word Lixus to be derived from לחישו "lachiſu," or נהרא לחישו "nahara lachiſu, incantation," or the "river of incantation." In ſupport of this ſentiment he obſerves, with the antients, that the town ſtood near the banks of a river of the ſame name; and that ſuch wonderful things had been related of Antæus, as well as his tomb, by various authors, that, to all thoſe who believed them, he muſt appear as a magician. Bochart derives it from לי"ש a lion, becauſe ſuch animals were common in Mauritania. But it may be further obſerved in favour (A) of Aldrete, that the inhabitants of this country were ſuppoſed to have an uncommon ſkill in ſorcery and magic, as appears not only from Virgil and Silius, but likewiſe from what we find related of Sidius Geta by Dio. The river Lixus is mentioned both in the periplus of Hanno, and that of Scylax, as alſo by Ptolemy and Stephanus. Pliny ſeems to turn this river into an æſtuary, which, by its winding courſe, he makes to reſemble a dragon or ſerpent, intimating that it gave riſe to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the Heſperides. Some learned men will have the preſent Larache to be the antient Lixus; and it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of that place gives great countenance to ſuch a ſuppoſition [f].

At ſome diſtance from Lixus, to the ſouthward, Hanno, in his periplus, ſays he built a city, which he called Thymiaterion. In Scylax the name is Thymiaterias; and in Stephanus, Thimiateria. Bochart believes the Punic name to have been דמאתיריה Dumathiria, i. e. "a city ſituated in a plain." Hanno himſelf juſtifies this etymology, as the Thymiaterion.

[f] Hanno Carthag. in Peripl. Plin. ubi ſup. Artemidor. & Eratoſth. apud Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid & alib. Dio, l. lx. Virg. Sil. Ital. Pomp. Mel. Suid. &c. apud Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid. Scylax. Caryand. in peripl. Ptol. ubi ſup. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Vide Is. Caſaub. in Strab. ubi ſup.

(A) In order to ſtrengthen this conjecture, Aldrete obſerves, that the word Tingin, in Arabic, approaches pretty near the ſignification of Lixus; an obſervation, which, we believe, has eſcaped all other writers (1).

(1) Vide Aldret. in loc. citat.

reader will find, by conſulting his periplus; for which reaſon he will not ſcruple giving his aſcent to it. Though this city was ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, ſomewhere to the ſouth of Lixus, the ſpot, on which it ſtood, cannot now be preeiſely determined [g].

Sala. PLINY mentions Sala, a town near a river of the ſame name, not far from the Atlantic ocean, at a conſiderable diſtance from Lixus. All that he obſerves of this town is, that the diſtrict adjacent to it was deſert, infeſted with vaſt herds of elephants, and the excurſions of the Autololes, a tribe of Gætulians. The ſituation, as well as name of, this place, ſufficiently indicates it to be the modern Sallee, a city famous for its corſairs, who ſometimes commit great depredations in the Mediterranean [h].

Rutubis. THE port of Rutubis, where, it is probable, a town ſtood, was two hundred and thirteen miles ſouth of Lixus. At ſome diſtance from this were the Mons Solis, the port of Myſocaras, the promontories of Hercules and Uſadium, and the frontiers of the Autololes. Theſe frontiers terminated Mauritania to the ſouth; and Ptolemy has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is conſiſtent with truth. As for Tamuſiga, Suriga, and other obſcure places mentioned by that geographer, extending ſtill farther to the ſouth, it is ſufficient juſt to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritime towns of Tingitania, bordering on the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean [i].

Exiliſſa. THE firſt maritime town to the eaſtward of Tingis, ſeems to be the Exiliſſa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the moderns to correſpond with this place, as it does likewiſe, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septenſis of Procopius. That author, together with Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, and others, inſinuates this name to have been derived from the ſeven hills, called the "Septem Fratres" by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exiliſſa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the hiſtory of that nation [k].

Ruſadir. RUSADIR, a city and haven, taken notice of by Pliny, not far from the country of the Maſæſyli. Ptolemy calls it Ryſſadirum;

[g] Hanno, Scylax, Steph. Byzant. Bochart. ubi ſup. [h] Mel. & Plin. ubi ſup. Ptol. ibid. Vide J. Leo African. Marm. Cellar. Moll. De la Croix, &c. [i] Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. ut & Polyb. apud Plin. ibid. [k] Mel. Ptol. & Marm. ubi ſup. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. Iſidor. Hiſpalenſ. l. xv. c. i. Vide etiam Antonin. Martian. alioſq; apud Aldret, l. iii. c. 31.

dirum; and, from the itinerary, there ſeems to have been a Roman colony ſettled in it. Some authors will have Melila or Melilla, lately in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, to be the Ruſadir or Ryſſadirum of the antients. If ſo, it ſtood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulf, and was commanded by a mountain on the weſt ſide [l].

Aſcurum.

THE firſt inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the Maſæſyli, was the Aſcurum of Hirtius. According to that author, this place was of ſome conſequence, ſince Bogud, king of Mauritania Tingitana, had a ſtrong garriſon in it, which ſallying out upon a body of the Pompeians, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, driving many of them into the ſea, and the reſt on board their ſhips. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining [m].

Molochath and Galapha.

MOLOCHATH, or Mulucha, and Galapha, which Ptolemy places in Tingitania, muſt belong to Numidia, if the (B) Molochath, Mulucha, and Malva, be the ſame river, as Dr. Shaw has rendered probable; and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing more of them here [n].

Herpis.

HERPIS, a town upon the Mauritanian bank of the Mulucha, lying at a conſiderable diſtance from the city Molochath in a northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are entirely in the dark [o].

Volubilis, Gilda, and Volubilis Priſciana.

MELA ranks Volubilis, Gilda, and Priſciana, amongſt the principal inland towns of Tingitania. Ptolemy ſays, that

[l] Plin. l. v. c. 2. Ptol. ubi ſup. Antonin. itinerar. Marmol. de la Croix, Moll, &c. [m] Hirt. de bell. African. c. 23. [n] Ptol. ubi ſup. Shaw's geogr. obſerv. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. p. 10.—16. [o] Ptol. ubi ſup.

(B) This appears from Florus and Frontinus, who affirm the fortreſs of Mulucha to have been in Jugurtha's dominions, and conſequently in Numidia, Salluſt likewiſe confirms this, when he gives us an account of the ſiege and reduction of that place by the Romans in the Jugurthine war. From Cellarius, in conformity to the old geographers, it ſeems probable, that Galapha was ſouth-eaſt of Mulucha; and therefore, that what has been obſerved of the former, holds more ſtrongly with regard to the latter (z).

(z) Flor. l. iii. c. i. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. l. iv. c. 7.

Volubilis was one of the moſt noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a Roman colony. From various authors it appears to be the Fez of the moderns. Gilda is taken notice of likewiſe by Stephanus, as a city of good repute. They were all ſituated in the heart of the country; but the ſpots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with preciſion, be aſcertained. However, Marmol aſſerts, that Mequinez anſwers to Gilda, which he corruptly calls Silda [p].

Tocoloſida. A little to the ſouth of Volubilis ſtood the Tocoloſida of Ptolemy. According to Marmol, Amergue, a city three leagues from the rivir Eguile, in the province of Habat, anſwers to the antient Tocoloſida; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, entirely depend upon him [q].

Triſidis. THE Triſidis of Ptolemy, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of Tocoloſida. Marmol ſays, that it was built by the Romans, which we can ſcarce believe, upon a riſing ground. The ſame author intimates, that Aben Gezer, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, ſome of whoſe bones, of an enormous ſize, he aſſerts to have been taken out of ſeveral antient tombs in his time.

Gontiana. GONTIANA ſtands ſouth-weſt of Tocoloſida, near the river Sala, and not far from mount Atlas. Marmol informs us, that a ſmall town, by the Moors called Gamaa, upon the road between Fez and Mequinez, is the antient Gontiana; as likewiſe, that this place, though ſtrong by nature, has, for ſome time, been almoſt entirely depopulated and demoliſhed [r].

Banaſa. BANASA, Banaſſa, or Banaſa Valentia, was ſeated in the neighbourhood of the river Subur, at a very conſiderable diſtance, in a northern direction, from Gontiana. Pliny ſeems to intimate, that Banaſa was ſeventy-five miles from Lixus, thirty-five from Volubilis, and as many from the Atlantic ocean. That author, in the ſame place, ſays, that Babba, which Ptolemy calls Babba Julia Campeſtris, was an inland town, forty miles from Lixus; and that Auguſtus planted a Roman colony there. This likewiſe the curious may find confirmed

[p] Ptol. ubi ſup. Mel. l. ii. ex emend. Iſ. Voſſii. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Antonin. itinerar. Marmol, Harris in biblioth. Moll. [q] Ptol. & Marmol, ubi ſup. [r] Idem, ibid.

confirmed by the legends on ſome antique coins exhibited by Goltzius [s].

CHALCE or Chalca, a city of Mauritania Tingitana, mentioned by Scylax and Hecatæus; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. Ptolemy takes notice of a town called Carcome or Carcoma; which Bochart will have to be the Chalce of Scylax and Hecatæus, ſince thoſe two words are of the ſame import in the Syriac and Greek languages. They ſignify braſs or copper; which ſeems to intimate, that this place was near ſome copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in Tingitania, appears from Strabo. Ptolemy makes his Carcoma to be not very remote from Jol, or Julia Cœſarea, but betwixt it and Gades. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points, will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he aſſerts to be a maritime city, is to be ſought for in Mauritania Cæſarienſis. On the contrary, we can ſcarce doubt of its having appertained to Tingitania, from what we find advanced by Strabo. To what has been ſaid we may add, that Polybius cenſures Polyhiſtor, for affirming Chalcea to be the proper name of a Libyan city, ſince, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was ſo called [t]. Chalce.

CALAMINTHA, a town of Libya, probably of Mauritania, taken notice of by Herodotus and Hecatæus, whoſe ſituation is unknown. However, Bochart has ventured to aſſert, that it ſtood on an eminence or riſing-ground. This notion has been ſuggeſted to him by the word itſelf; for he looks upon Calamintha to be equivalent to the Syriac or Phœnician גלמיתא galmitha, an "eminence," or a "city built upon an eminence." From hence he likewiſe infers, that it muſt have been of a Phœnician original [u]. Calamintha.

WE muſt here beg leave to inform our readers, that Marmol has diſcovered his inaccuracy, not to ſay ignorance, in many particulars; for he has either corrupted ſeveral of Ptolemy's names of cities, or aſſigned names, pretended Marmol's inaccuracy.

[s] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Goltz. apud Cellar. l. iv. c. 7.
[t] Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Hecat. perieg. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Strab. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Polyb. & Herodot. apud, Steph. & Bochart. ubi ſup.
[u] Herodot. & Hecat. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. ubi ſup.

pretended to be taken from Ptolemy, to ſeveral places, that are not to be found in his geography, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare theſe two authors. His comparative geography is likewiſe frequently not to be relied upon; for which reaſon we have made but few extracts from him. As for Vobrix, Thicath, Ceuta, and many more inconſiderable towns mentioned by the antient geographers, which are ſcarce ever taken notice of in hiſtory, nay, all traces of which are, in a manner, loſt, we have thought proper to paſs them over in ſilence; neither are we apprehenſive, that, for this, it will be deemed neceſſary to make any apology [w].

Rivers of Tingitania.

THE firſt river of Tingitania, if it does not appertain to Numidia, is the Malva, Malvana, Chylemath, Molochath, or Mulucha; for it went by all theſe names. That theſe names denoted the ſame river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, give the ſame ſituation to the Chylemath and Mulucha, making it the common boundary of Numidia and Tingitania. Strabo alſo affirms his Molochath to ſeparate the country of the Maſæſyli, i. e. Numidia, from Mauritania, i. e. Tingitania; and laſtly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotemporary with Ptolemy, poſitively aſſerts, that the Malva, or Malvana, limited the two Mauritaniæ, i. e. Tingitania, and that part of Numidia joining to it. From whence, as it does not appear from hiſtory, that the limits of thoſe two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, is probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the abovementioned variety of names points out one and the ſame river, the Mullooïah of the preſent weſtern Moors. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the Thaluda, Taluda, or Tamuda of Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, which emptied itſelf into the Mediterranean conſiderably nearer the ſtreights than the former. Pliny repreſents this as navigable, and conſequently as a conſiderable river. The different names given it by different geographers, ſeem to countenance what we have juſt offered in relation to the Mulucha (C). 3. The river

[w] Ptol. & Marmol, paſſ. Vide etiam Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. p. 457.

(C) Ptolemy's Vallona diſcharged itſelf into the ſea not far from the narroweſt part of the ſtreights of Gibraltar, near the place

river Zelis or Zilia, near the city of the ſame name, already mentioned. 4. The Lixus, already taken notice of, when we gave ſome account of the city ſo called. Scylax, in his periplus, mentions a river not far from the Lixus, but betwixt it and the ſtreights, which, Salmaſius thinks, ought to be called Adonis; but as to its courſe, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are entirely in the dark. 5. The Subur, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the Lixus. It paſſed by the city of Banaſa, as has been lately obſerved. 6. The Sala, which took its courſe, according to Pliny, near the confines of the Sahara. 7. The Duus, Cuſa, Aſama, Phthuth, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of, Libya Interior (D), recited by Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are entirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to thoſe geographers themſelves [x] (E).

THE

[x] Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi. ſup. & alib. Antonin. itinerar. Scylax. Caryand. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmaſii.

place where the town Alcazar Saguir, as Marmol calls it, or, according to Moll, Alcazar Quivir, i. e. "the great palace," at preſent ſtands. It appears to us not improbable, that the preſent rivers Sobou, Gueron, Ommirabih, and Sus, anſwer to the Subur, Sala, Duus, and Cuſa, of Ptolemy. Our readers may poſſibly be of the ſame opinion, when they have diligently examined Ptolemy's geographical deſcription of that part of Mauritaniæ contiguous to the Atlantic ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(D) To theſe may be added, from Ptolemy, 1. Mount Diur, which might poſſibly have been near the river of the ſame name. 2 Mount Phocra, extending from the Atlas Minor, to Ruſadir, between the promontories Metagonitis and Seſtiarium. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is Jibbel el Hadith, i. e. the "mountain of iron," according to Ortelius. 3. The Durdus, already mentioned in the hiſtory of Numidia (4).

(E) That Ptolemy knew little of the geography of this part of Mauritania, is generally acknowledged; but will moſt evidently appear from ſeveral circumſtances, which we ſhall beg leave to throw together here: 1. Darodt, or Darodus, is evidently

(3) Ptol Marmol, Moll, &c. ubi ſup. Ortel. aliiq; geograph.

(4) Ptol. ibid.

Promontories.

THE chief capes or promontories of Tingitania were the following: 1. The Metagonitis of Ptolemy, and the Metagonium of Strabo. This promontory, Marmol tells us, in his time was called cape Caſaſa, having a town of the ſame name built upon it. Strabo intimates, that a conſiderable extent of territory, whoſe ſoil was of a dry and ſandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the ſame name amongſt the Mauritanians. This was different from the Terra Metagonitis of Pliny, and the Metagonium of Mela,

dently the ſame name with Dorath, which Ptolemy makes to be the name of a town upon the Diur; as therefore that river, which is the ſouthern limit of the kingdom of Sus, is at this day called Darodt, or Darodus, by the Moors, it muſt be allowed, that Ptolemy's Dorath, not far from the borders of Gætulia, was a river, and probably that which he calls Diur. 2. As this was the ſouthern limit of the country we are now upon, ſuppoſing it to extend as far to the ſouthward as even the preſent kingdom of Sus does, the river Phthuth muſt be to the north of it, and not to the ſouth, as Ptolemy aſſerts; agreeably hereto, Marmol makes Tenſift, the next river to the Darodus, in a northerly ſituation, to be the Phthuth of Ptolemy. 3. As the mouth of the Darodus lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and an half from the tropic of Cancer, it muſt have been in nearly the ſame latitude with Ptolemy's Promontorium Uſadium, and conſequently, much farther to the ſouthward than he extends the Diur. 4. Even the Promontorium Uſadium, the Mons Solis, Portus Myſocaras, Portus Herculis, Tamuſiga, and all the other places he has fixed to the ſouth of the Diur, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or elſe, in antient times, belonged to Libya Interior, and not Tingitania. 5. From Marmol, Gramaye, and ſome of the moſt accurate modern obſervations, it appears, that the towns of Suriga, and Vala, rivers Una, Agna, Sala, &c. to which Ptolemy aſſigns a ſouthern ſituation, in reſpect of the Diur, or Darodus, are really north of it.

Some of our readears may poſſibly imagine, that Ptolemy's Daradas, or Daras, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the ſame river as the modern Darodt, or Darodus, which in Mr. Senex's map of Africa is likewiſe called Dras. But admitting this ſuppoſition, Ptolemy will be out in the parallel he aſſigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (5).

(5) Marmol. Gramaye, De la Croix, Mouette, Dapper, Moll, aliiq; mult.

Mela, near the mouth of the Ampſaga. For their farther ſatisfaction on this head, we muſt refer our curious readers to the learned Lucas Holſtenius, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the Metagonia, in his notes upon Ortelius. 2. The Seſtiarium promontorium of Ptolemy, or the Ruſſadi of the Itinerary. 3. The promontorium Oleaſtrum, ſo called, according to ſome, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The Phæbi promontorium. 5. The cape Cotes, Cottes, or Ampeluſia, not far from Tingis taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo. The moderns call it cape Spartel. From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cotes and Ampeluſia were words of the ſame import in the Phœnician and Greek languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. Mons Solis, Promontorium Herculis, and Uſadium, of which Ptolemy has handed down to us nothing but the bare names [y].

Mountains.

AMONGST the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana we are to rank, 1. Abyle, Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna, for ſuch a variety of names it had, a mountain on the African ſide of the ſtreights of Hercules, called, by the antients, one of Hercules's pillars. Abinna and Abenna ſeem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœnicians. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart. It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Feſtus Avienus, and others. If we are not miſtaken, it is now called by our countrymen, Apes Hill; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. 2. The Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almoſt contiguous to Abyla. 3. Mount Cotta, not far from the Lixus. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, which, according to Oroſius, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or, in the ſtyle of the natives, the Tell from the Sahara. The antients likewiſe inform us, that theſe mountains were known by the names Dyris, Adyris, Dyrim, and Adderim, i. e. great, high, lofty or, the Southern limit, as mount Atlas in generally eſteemed to be with reſpect to Tingitania and Numidia. However, Dr. Shaw

[y] Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Lucas. Holſtenius ad Ortel. p. 121. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

Shaw assures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his observation, in height could not stand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees, rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and that if to this prospect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled Dashkrah, or village of the Kabyles; we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains, without paying any regard to the nocturnal flames, melodious sounds, or the lascivious revels, of such imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place [z].

Ports. THE chief ports of this country were, 1. The Rusadir of Pliny, or Rysladirum of Ptolemy already mentioned. The Itinerary makes the town here a Roman colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape Russadi. 2. That at the bottom of the Sinus Emporicus, where seems to have been a town furnished with inns, warehouses, and all manner of accommodations for the Phœnician merchants, who frequented this place from almost the earliest ages to the time of Augustus. Pliny calls the bay the Sinus Saguti, which Bochart would willingly have read Sinus Saguri; since that lection would enable him to deduce the word from סחור, sachur, mercator, the ת being frequently, amongst the Orientals, pronounced as the ז, of which he produces some instances, and consequently to assign it the same signification as Emporicus. 3. Cotes, Cottes, or Cotta, a port or bay mentioned by Scylax, which may possibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape Cotta above-mentioned; and if so, that author has not given it a right situation, since he places it between cape Mercury and the streights of Hercules. 4. Rusibis, or Rutubis, an harbour taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the south-western part of Mauritania, between the rivers Cusa and Diur. 5. Mysocaras, a port some miles to the south of Rusibis, not far from the river Phthuth. This was the last southern

[z] Idem ibid. Festus Avienus. Sil. Ital. Ammian. Marcellin. Orosius. Philostratus, Eustathius, Tzetzes, aliiq; mult. Vid. et Aldret. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. Schind. Bochart. & Shaw, ubi sup.

ſouthern port of Mauritania, mentioned by the antients, being almoſt contiguous to the northern confines of Gætulia [a].

We ſhall now proceed to the principal iſlands on the coaſt of Tingitania, which were known to the old geographers: Iſlands.

1. The Tres Inſulæ of the Itinerary already mentioned, where their is now good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels, were ſituated to the north-weſt of the Mulucha, at the diſtance of ten miles. 2. Gezira, or rather Jezeirah, a ſmall iſland in the river Lixus, about three leagues, according to Marmol and Leo, from the ſea, and thirty from the city of Fez. Pliny tells us, that in his time this iſland abounded with olives; and intimates, that the antients placed the gardens of the Heſperides here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to Hercules, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. Aldrete believes, that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, laid entirely under water, and at laſt converted into that lake called, by the Spaniards, Laguna grande, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of Larache. 3. Ptolemy's Pæna and Erythia (F), two ſmall obſcure iſland in the Atlantic ocean, oppoſite to the tract between his Major and Minor Atlas. 4. The Inſulæ Purpurariæ, which Pliny aſſures us faced the country of the Autololes. The natives of theſe iſlands were famous for dying that colour called the Gætulian purple, which brought great advantage to king Juba, who, according to the ſame author, firſt diſcovered them. Father Harduïn aſſerts, that they are the iſlands called at this day Madera (G) and Porto Santo, being induced thereto by Pliny,

[a] Scylax, Plin. Ptol. Antonin. itinerar. ubi ſup. et. alib. Bochart. ubi ſup. Agrip. comment. apud Plin. l. v. c. 1.

(F) The iſland Erythia is now called Mogador, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength. This is defended by a garriſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which 'tis about five miles diſtant (6).

(G) Madera, or, as the Spaniards call it, Madeira, is an iſland of the Atlantic ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about ſixty miles broad, ſeventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it ſeems to

(6) Moll, de la Croix, &c.

Pliny, who places them betwixt the Streights and the Fortunate

to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at laſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe, commanded by Don Juan Zarco, and Don Triſtano Vaz, A. D. 1419. Others maintain, that one John Machin, an Engliſhman, diſcovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the Portugueſe took poſſeſſion of it in the year above-mentioned, and are ſtill almoſt the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name Madera, or Madeira, was derived from the vaſt ſtore of wood with which it was ſtocked; the Portugueſe, at their firſt landing, finding it little better than a thick foreſt. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation they ſet fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occaſioned a conflagration of ſeven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richeſt wine, ſugar, the moſt delicious fruits, eſpecially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It alſo abounds with boars and other wild beaſts, as likewiſe with all ſorts of fowls, beſides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of Madera is more temperate than that of the Canaries; and conſequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of thoſe iſlands. The towns are Monchico, Santa Croce, and Funzal, its metropolis, ſo called from the prodigious quantity of fennel at firſt found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the ſee of a biſhop, who is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of Liſbon; and the ſeat of a Portugueſe governor. Notwithſtanding father Hardouin's opinion, ſome authors make it the Cerne, or Cerne Atlantica, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of thoſe hawks ſo well known in Maſſylia, according to Pliny. As that author places this Cerne in the Atlantic ocean, and from the circumſtance juſt mentioned it appears to have been not remote from Maſſylia, ſuch a ſentiment cannot well be deemed entirely groundleſs. Whichever of theſe notions we eſpouſe, Madera ſeems formerly to have appertained to Mauritania.

Porto Santo lies at a ſmall diſtance from Madera, and is under the juriſdiction of the ſame biſhop and governor as Madera. It is only eight miles in compaſs; but the ſoil is extremely fruitful. 'Tis remarkable, that this iſland produces the beſt honey and wax in the world.

Beſides the two aforeſaid iſlands, there is another, called by the Spaniards Iſla Deſierta, i. e. the deſolate iſland, ſeven miles diſtant from the eaſtern coaſt of Madera. But this being inconſiderable, on account of the ſterility of its ſoil,

and

tunate Iſlands. 5. The Inſulæ Beatæ (H), or Fortunatæ,

 of

and its ſmall extent, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The Fortunate Iſlands, or, as they are at preſent called, the Canary Iſlands, are ſeven in number. They lie to the ſouthward of Madera, weſt of the ſouthern coaſt of Mauritania, and betwixt twenty-ſeven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are Palma, Hierro, Gomera, Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, and Lanzarote. Palma and Hierro lie moſt to the weſt. Their ſoil is rich; they have good paſture-ground, produce excellent wine, ſugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the ſame name. The firſt is ſeven leagues long, ſix broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, ſeven broad, and twenty-ſix round. Hierro has a commodious haven; and Palma a volcano that emits vaſt quantities of ſulphureous matter, as we learn from Juan Nunez de Pena. On the weſtern point of Hierro moſt modern geographers place the firſt meridian. Gomera, ſituated to the ſouth of Palma, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, ſugar, and wine, with paſtures for numerous herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compaſs, and has a conſiderable town of the ſame name, beſides a very capacious harbour. Teneriffe, to the eaſt of Hierro, is ſaid to be ſixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the Pico of Teneriffe, frequently covered with ſnow; which renders it probable, that this iſland was Pliny's Nivaria, and Ptolemy's Ninguaria. The Pico is an aſcent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when theſe iſlands were diſcovered by M. Jean de Betancourt, a French gentleman, for Don Juan king of Caſtile, in 1405, the inhabitants of Teneriffe were under ſeveral kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their anceſtors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, St. Chriſtopher de la Laguna, Santa Cruz, Rotava, or Oratava, Rialejo, and Garachico. Canaria, or Gran Canaria, had the ſame name amongſt the antients, as we learn from Pliny; ſo that 'tis probable it was not given by the Spaniards, as ſome writers ſuggeſt; as likewiſe, that ſome knowledge of it has been retained all along from the Roman times, ſince the name aſſigned it by the Romans has been preſerved to the preſent times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compaſs, and about

(7) Plin. l. x. c. 8. l. vi. c. 3. & alib. Vide etiam Marmol, Dav. Voſſ. ad Mel. Moll, Pory, & Hakluyt. tom. ii. p. 2, &c.

of Statius Seboſus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo. Ptolemy gives theſe iſlands too ſouthern a ſituation, affirming them to lie on the coaſt of Libya Interior, whereas they are in the ſame parallel with the ſouthern part of Mauritania, according to Strabo (I); which ſeems to tally with the beſt modern accounts

about thirty from Boſador. Its ſituation is eaſt of Teneriffe, and its capital city Palma, Palmes, or Canaria. In fertility it equals, at leaſt, if it does not exceed, any of the others. Fuerteventura is eaſt of Gran Canaria, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of Africa. 'Tis likewiſe fruitful, and has four towns, Tarafala, Lanagala, Pozo Negro, and Fuerteventura. Lanzarote, north of the former, and in all points anſwering to the reſt, has three towns, Cayas or Lanzarote, Puerto de Naos, and Puerto de Cavallos. Though the ſeven are the principal iſlands that go under the name of the Canaries, yet there are ſeveral others in their neighbourhood of leſs note; as the Iſla de los Lobos, ſituated between Fuerteventura and Lanzarote; the Salvaticæ lying farther towards the north-weſt; beſides Rocca, Gratioſa, Santa Clara, and Alagranza, on the north of Lanzarote. They are all ſubject to the king of Spain; and Canaria is the ſee of a biſhop, ſubject to the metropolitan of Sevil. Canaria formerly produced a ſort of dates, and pine-apples, in conſiderable plenty, according to Pliny. In the rivers alſo of theſe iſlands grew the plant papyrus, as in the Nile, if the ſame author may be credited. From the cuſtom of preſerving the bodies of their anceſtors, in the manner above-mentioned, it ſeems probable, that the antient inhabitants of Teneriffe were either a colony of the Ethiopians, or deſcended from the firſt progenitors of that people; ſince, that ſuch a cuſtom prevailed in very early times amongſt them, we learn from Diodorus Siculus (8).

(I) The beſt modern obſervations tally with Strabo, if, with that author and Ptolemy, we extend the ſouthern limits of Mauritania as far to the ſouthward as within three degrees, or leſs, of the tropic of Cancer; but if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the Darodus, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the Inſulæ Fortunatæ will ſeem to have partly appertained to Gætulia. For our part, we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of Sus and Morocco, particularly the province of Guzula, or Gezula, together with the diſtrict contiguous to the town of Meſſa, belonged to the Gætulians, as will be rendered probable when we come to the hiſtory of that people (9).

(8) Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 148. Ed. Rhodoman. Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Hakluyt, Herbert, Moll, Atl. geogr. &c. (9) Vid. Strab. Plin. Ptol. De la Croix, Moll, alioſq; geogr. ſup. laudat.

counts and obſervations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of theſe iſlands; Marcellus made them ten; ſeven of which he affirms to have been ſacred to Proſerpina, and the other three to Pluto, Ammon, and Neptune. Pliny and Ptolemy, from Juba, relate, that there were ſix of them; and Seboſus, as well as Plutarch, only two. One of them Pliny and Ptolemy call Ombros, Ombrios, and Pluvialia; the former author, two others Junonia; the latter, Junonia, and "the inacceſſible iſland. The other three Pliny and Ptolemy, according to Iſaac Voſſius, named Capraria, Canaria, and Ninguaria, or Nivaria. Ombrios was uninhabited, and deſtitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumſtance it derived its name. This iſland produced a ſort of canes, ſome of which were black, and others white; out of the former the Mauritanians expreſſed a liquor of a bitter taſte; and out of the latter a pleaſant kind of drink. In one of the Junonia's there was a ſmall temple, built of ſtone. Capraria abounded with monſtrous lizards. Nivaria was always covered with ſnow; and Canaria over-run with dogs of an enormous ſize, two of which were preſented to king Juba. From hence they had their names aſſigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other ſorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the Siluri, a kind of ſhad-fiſh, &c. In ſhort, the antients ſo highly eſteemed them, on account of their happy climate, ſalubrious air, and fertile ſoil, that they ſtyled them the fortunate iſlands, and fixed here their Elyſian fields [b].

CURIOSITIES, moſt worthy obſervation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, &c. towards the confines of Libya Interior, of a moſt prodigious and incredible ſize, mentioned by Strabo. 2. The trees growing in the iſland Ombrios, or Pluvialia, and the liquor extracted from them; which ſome learned men have imagined to be the ſugar-canes and moloſſus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the ſouthern parts of Tingitania, which overflowed all the adjacent country, Curioſities.

[b] Plot. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 6. Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Statius Seboſus, & Juba apud Plin. ibid. Strab. ſub init. Marcellus in Æthiopic. apud Proclum, l. i. in Timæ. Plut. in Sertor. Solin. c. 24. Is. Voſſ. ad Mel. l. iii. c. 10. & Jacob. Perizon. ad Ælian. l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam Joan. Harduin. ad Plin. ubi ſup. & Aldret. l. iv. c. 9.

try, and fertilized it in the same manner as the Nile did Egypt; for that there was such a river in this district, appears from the best modern observations compared with Strabo. 4. The several remarkable ruins of Roman antiquities still remaining. 5. The narrow descent of many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a sort of cave, from whence are passages into subterraneous apartments, designed undoubtedly by the antients as repositories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and statues with Punic inscriptions upon them. We shall reserve all other curious particulars for the history of the Sharifs in Fez and Morocco [c].

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.

The antiquity of the Mauritanians.

THAT the descendents of Phut first peopled Mauritania, as well as the tract between the Triton and the Mulucha, has been already observed from various authors. That the Phœnicians likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that from Hirtius, Appian, and Dio, as explained by Aldrete, it may be inferred, that the Arabs are to be ranked amongst some of the most antient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is supported by that of the African historians, or rather a tradition of the Africans, as we learn from Leo and Marmol. The Mauritanians bordering on the confines of Gætulia, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the Pharusii, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the Persians, whom several authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote times. As the Egyptians, in the reign of Ammon, conquered the Atlantides, a nation seated on mount Atlas, we may look upon them likewise as progenitors of the antient Mauritanians. Should it be admitted, that any number of Persians ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region, 'tis likely, that they either attended Hercules in his Libyan expedition, as several writers assert, or formed part of the body of Arabs above-mentioned; for that they came by sea, in the manner related

[c] Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. I. Leo African. Marmol, De La Croix, Moll, &c.

related by Salluſt, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the Pharuſii deduced their origin from the Perſians, ſeems to be inſinuated by the near reſemblance of the word Pharuſii to a name given the Perſians in ſcripture, viz. פרס Paras (K), Pharas, or Pharus; for it may be pronounced all theſe ways. This ſeems not a little to ſupport the authority of Mela, Pliny, and others. As the Perſian and Indian dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we ſhould find the antient Mauri, conſidered as the attendants of Hercules, called Indians by Strabo. According to Leo, ſome of the Moors, and other Africans in his time, believed themſelves to be deſcended from certain tribes of Sabœans, a people of Arabia Felix, who were chaſed out of their native country either by the Aſſyrians or Ethiopians. Others, if we may credit the ſame author, gave out, that their anceſtors were driven out of Aſia by a powerful enemy, and purſued into Greece; from whence they made their eſcape into Barbary, leaving their purſuers in poſſeſſion of the country they laſt abandoned: but this, he adds, was to be underſtood only of the white nations inhabiting ſome parts of weſtern Barbary and Numidia. Marmol relates from the African hiſtorians, that five tribes of Sabœans, under the conduct of Melec Iſiriqui king of Arabia Felix, firſt ſpread themſelves over ſome of the eaſtern parts of Barbary; and that Tut, the grandſon of Cham, ſettled firſt in Tingitania, giving name to the Tuteii, a people of that region. The African Tut, we apprehend, muſt either be Phut, one of Ham's younger ſons, or Lud his grandſon. Nothing abſurd is implied in the laſt ſuppoſition; for it appears, from the Jeruſalem Targum, in conjunction with the ſacred hiſtorian, that Lud, the ſon of Miſraim, may be conſidered as one of the firſt planters of Mauritania [d].

[d] Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. xvii. c. 1. ſect. 2. 3. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Appian. de bell. civil. l. 4. Dio, l. xlviii. J. Leo African. l. i. Marmol, l. i. c. 1, &c. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 132, 133. edit. Rhodomon. Eſt. c. i. ver. 3. Dan. c. vi. ver. 9. & ver. 29. Targ. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Aldret, l. iii. c. 24.

(K) It may not be improper, in order to ſtrengthen what is here obſerved, to take notice, that פרסי Pharſi, a Perſian, approaches very near the word Pharuſii; eſpecially if we give it a plural of Chaldee, or Syriac termination. From the parts of Scripture

Govern-ment.

It is generally imagined, that abſolute monarchy prevailed in Mauritania from the earlieſt ages, as well as in Egypt and Numidia. Bocchar, Bocchus, and Bogud, from what we find related of them by the Roman hiſtorians, ſeem to have governed here with an uncontroulable ſway; which is a ſufficient intimation, that their predeceſſors likewiſe were deſpotic. However, we muſt obſerve from Appian, that ſeveral tribes of Moors, whom he calls αὐτόνομοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at leaſt, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in oppoſition to that form of government, which was eſtabliſhed in the greateſt part of the country we are now upon. The independent Arabs, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, who are ſeated in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, and ſometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, may probably be the poſterity of theſe free-born Moors. Be that as it will, moſt of the provinces of Mauritania, if not the whole region, were ſubject to one prince in the reign of the elder Dionyſius. This we learn from Juſtin, who ſays, that Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, in order to attain the ſovereignty of Carthage, to which he then aſpired, had recourſe to the king of the Mauri for aſſiſtance. Appian inſinuates, that not only in Numidia, whilſt regal government flouriſhed there, but likewiſe in other neighbouring parts of Africa, and therefore probably Mauritania, ſeveral reguli, or heads of the Kabyles, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they muſt have exerciſed a ſovereign power. Notwithſtanding which, the great figure the Mauri or Mauruſii made in Africa, that name extending even to the borders of Africa Propria, before the Romans grew formidable there, as appears from Juſtin, is a ſufficient indication, that moſt of them were united under one common head. The names Mauritania Propria or Tingitania received from thoſe of its kings, viz. Bogudiana, &c. clearly demoſtrate the vaſt extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in uſe, from the remoteſt antiquity, amongſt thoſe nations that firſt ſent colonies hither, evinces the ſame thing; as does that of

the

ture in which the word is uſed, it appears pretty plain, that it was a Perſian proper name; and from others, that the Hebrews called Perſia Elam, and the Perſians Elamites (10).

(10) Nehem. c. xii. v. 22.

the antient Numidians, who agreed with their neighbours the Mauruſii in almoſt all points whatſoever [e].

THAT ſome of the Mauritanians had laws, or at leaſt certain political maxims and inſtitutions, which ſerved as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from Appian; but none of theſe have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the Mauritanian monarchs themſelves, however abſolute, might have had ſome immutable laws, to ſteer their political courſe by, as we find the Medes and Perſians had. Appian's αὐτόνομοι, juſt mentioned, ſeemed to ſuggeſt ſuch a thing, or, at leaſt, that laws were not entirely unknown in Mauritania [f]. Laws.

NEPTUNE ſeems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country, which is a ſufficient proof, that the Naphthuhim, or Nephthuhim, of Moſes, extended themſelves into it; though the firſt ſeat of that people might probably, as Bochart and Arius Montanus imagine, have been in Marmorica and Cyrene. This deity and his wife Neptys might receive their names from hence, Neptune, Neptys, and Naphthuhim, ſignifying the king, queen, and people, of the ſea coaſts. 'Tis certain, that the Egyptians called the exterior parts of the earth, promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea, and was waſhed by it, Neptys. The ſun and moon likewiſe, in common with the other Libyan nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human ſacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the Phœnicians and Carthaginian or ſome other antient nations, from whom their anceſtors came, is aſſerted by Seneca. From what Nonnus and others have advanced, it ſeems probable, that Bacchus was worſhiped by the Mauritanians, eſpecially as the Indians and Arabs adored him in a moſt particular manner. In ſhort, we are to form a notion of the Mauritanian religion from that of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Perſians, and Carthaginians, already deſcribed, as well as from that of the old Arabs, which we hope ſoon to give our readers a ſuccinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the Maurita- Religion.

nians

[e] Liv. l. xxix, c. 29. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Hirt. de bell. Alex. Strab. l. xvii. Dio, l, xli. & alib. Appian. in Libyc, lxvii. Plut. in Cæſ. in pomp, in Anton. & alib. Juſtin, l. xxi, c. 4. Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. Juſtin, ubi ſup. & l. xix. c. 20. Plin. ubi ſup. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. & c. 7. Aldret. ubi ſup. & l. iv, c. 20. Dr. Shaw in pref. p. 8. & alib. [f] Appian in Libyc. lxvii. Eſt. c. i. ver. 19. & c. viii. ver. 8. Dan. c. vi. ver. 8, 12, 15,

nians had, as doubtleſs they had ſome, have many ages ſince been buried in oblivion. However, it ſeems probable from Mela, that they either worſhipped Antæus, or paid divine honours to his ſhield [g].

Language. THE Mauritanian language undoubtedly differed from the Numidian in ſuch a manner only as one dialect of the ſame tongue does from another; ſo that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the Mauritanian character, that ſeems to have been the ſame with the Numidian, thoſe letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. What has been juſt obſerved of the religion of the people we are now upon, viz. that it bore a near reſemblance and affinity to thoſe of the nations from whom the Mauritanians deduced their origin, will hold equally ſtrong with regard to their language. The tongue of the preſent Kabyles Dr. Shaw has given us a ſpecimen of, and poſſibly ſome traces of that of the antient Moors are ſtill remaining in it; but of this we are far from being certain. However, ſeveral words of the African vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the oriental languages, whatever he may inſinuate to the contrary (L). The Arabeſca,

[g] Herodot. l. ii. Apollodor. paſſ. Pind. in Pyth. od. iv. Apollon. Argonaut. l. iv. Plutarch. de Iſid. Non. Dioniſiac, l. iii. v. 28. Gen. c. xi ver. 13. D. Hieronym, quæſt. Hebr. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Plat. in Timæo, & in Crit. Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 233. Pamphus apud Pauſan. l. vii. c. 21. Plut. de Iſid. Dionyſ. Halicarn. ant. Rom. l. i. &c. Senec. in Octav. Non. in Dionyſiac. ubi ſup. & alib. Dionyſ. in perieg. v. 623. Herodot. l. i. Mel. l. c. 5. Vid. Aldret. & Newt. in chronol. paſſ.

(L) The very learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw poſitively aſſerts, that there is no affinity at all betwixt what may be ſuppoſed to be the primitive words in the Showiah, as the preſent African Kabyles call their language, and the words which convey the ſame meaning in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues. From whence he ſeems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of thoſe that are now called the Oriental languages; and that 'tis difficult, if not impoſſible, even to form any conjectures about it. But that that there is a poſſibility at leaſt, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the Eaſtern tongues, will beſt appear from the following Showiahan words:

1. Akel,

beſca, at preſent ſpoken in Fez and Morocco, as well as over all other parts of Barbary, was not ſo much derived from the Saracens, who over-ran this vaſt tract, as the antient inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. The Punic tongue, not very remote from the Arabic, prevailed through that part of Africa, extending from the Triton to the Atlantic ocean, even to the time of St. Auſtin [h].

Customs. 1. THE Mauritanians, as well as the other Africans, from what Hyginus inſinuates, ſeem to have fought only with clubs, till one Belus, the ſon of Neptune, as that author calls him, taught them the uſe of the ſword. Sir Iſaac Newton makes this Belus to have been the ſame perſon with Seſoſtris king of Egypt, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All perſons of diſtinction in Mauritania went richly attired, wearing much gold and ſilver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleanſing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely cloſe. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of diſconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The Mauritanian infantry, in time of action, uſed ſhields made of elephants skins, being clad in thoſe of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad ſhort lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewiſe of the skins of wild beaſts.

They

[h] Hendreich, Bochart. Aldret. paſſ. Shaw's phyſical and miſcellaneous obſervat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

1. Akel, "to ſee," may naturally be deduced from חבל "hhacal," red, coloured, &c. or עקל "Achal, he understood, perceived, &c. 2. Athrair, a mountain," from אתר "Athar, a place, and הר har, a hill. 3. Allen, the eye," from the Arabic article "al, the," and עין "cin, or en, eye. 4. Aman, "water," from מין "main," or "man, waters," and ה ha, "the, i. e. המק Hamain, or Haman, the waters. 5. Elkaa, "the earth," from the Arabic article "al, the," and קוא kaa, "barren ſoil. 6. Aſſa, to-day," from עשא "aſa, or aſſa, "the time from noon to the next day-break." As all the other Showiahan words we have examined are equally deducible from the Oriental languages, we doubt not but Dr. Shaw's whole Showiahan vocabulary may be deemed of Oriental extraction (11).

(11) Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.

They uſed no ſaddles, nor any accoutrements. Their horſes were ſmall and ſwift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were ſo much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of theſe horſemen was not much different from that of the foot above-mentioned, they conſtantly wearing a large tunic of the ſkins of wild beaſts. The Phutæi, of whom the Mauritanians were a branch, were eminent for their ſhields, and the excellent uſe they made of them, as we learn from Homer, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Scripture. Nay, Herodotus ſeems to intimate, that the ſhield and helmet came from them to the Greeks. 5. Notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, the poorer ſort of the Mauritanians never took care to manure the ground, being ſtrangers to the art of husbandry, but roved about the country in a wild ſavage manner, like the antient Scythians or Arabes Scenitæ. They had tents, or mapalia, ſo extremely ſmall, that they could ſcarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, &c. which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being deſtitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies, as well as many neceſſaries, of life. Their habit was the ſame both in ſummer and winter, conſiſting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a coarſe rough tunic; which anſwered probably to that of their neighbours the Numidians, already deſcribed. Moſt of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though ſome of them ſtrewed their garments thereon, not unlike the preſent African Kabyles and Arabs, who, according to Dr. Shaw, uſe their hykes for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the moſt approved reading of a paſſage in Horace may be admitted, the Mauritanians ſhot poiſoned arrows, which clearly intimates, that they had ſome ſkill in the art of preparing poiſons, and were excellent dartmen. This laſt obſervation is countenanced by Herodian and Ælian, who entirely come into it, affirming them to have been in ſuch continual danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, that they durſt not ſtir out of their tents or mapalia without their darts. Such perpetual exerciſe muſt render them exceedingly ſkilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The Mauritanians ſacrificed human victims to their deities, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authorities produced in the Carthaginian hiſtory, but from the expreſs teſtimony of Seneca and Euſebius. 8. As the other cuſtoms of the nation we are now upon coincide with thoſe of the Numidians already related, for their farther ſatisfaction in this particular, we muſt

beg

beg leave to refer our readers to the Numidian hiſtory [i].

Arts. WITH regard to the arts and ſciences of the Mauritanians, we have not much to ſay. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been juſt laid down. Thoſe inhabiting cities muſt undoubtedly have had, at leaſt, ſome ſmattering of the literature of the ſeveral nations they deduced their origin from. That the Mauritanians had ſome knowledge in naval affairs, ſeems probable, not only from the intercourſe they had with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, as well as the ſituation of their country, but likewiſe from Orpheus, or Onomacritus, who aſſerts them to have made a ſettlement at the entrance into Colchis, to which place they came by ſea. Magic, ſorcery, divination, &c. from what has been obſerved in the laſt ſection, they appear to have applied themſelves to in very early times. Cicero and Pliny ſay, that Atlas was the inventor of aſtrology, and the doctrine of the ſphere, i. e. he firſt introduced them into Mauritania. This, according to Diodorus Siculus, gave riſe to the fable of Atlas's bearing the heavens upon his ſhoulders. The ſame author relates, that Atlas inſtructed Hercules in the doctrine of the ſphere and aſtrology, or rather aſtronomy, who afterwards brought thoſe ſciences into Greece. Some ſay that Neptune, and others that Atlas, firſt fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ſhips with ſails. Be that as it will, 'tis generally acknowledged, that both Neptune, and Atlas his ſon, reigned in this country; for which reaſon it cannot be denied probable, that aſtronomy, aſtrology, geography, geometry, navigation, &c. were known to ſome of the Mauritanians in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almoſt neceſſarily follow, that a competent knowledge in hiſtory, chronology, &c. could not have been wanting amongſt them. That ſome of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illuſtrious figure the younger Juba made in the learned world, an account of which will be given towards the cloſe of the Mauritanian hiſtory [k].

NOT-

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Hom. paſſ. Herodot. in Melpom. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vi. Jer. c. xlv. ver. 9. Ezech. c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Hygin. fab. cclxxv. Horat. l. i. od. 22. Herodian. paſſ. Ælian. l. xiv. c. 5. Senec. ubi ſup. Euſeb. in orat. in laud Conſtant Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. Theophan. in vit. Juſtinian. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 289, 290. Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. xvii. c. i. ſect. 2, 3. [k] Orpheus, vel Onomacritus, in Argon. ver. 741. Cic. in quæſt. Tuſcul. l. v. & de natur. deor. Statius in Theb. l. viii. Manil. l. iii. Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 4. Plin. l. ii. c. 8. & l. viii. c. 56. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Tzetz. hiſt. l. i. chil. 5. Plat. Pamph. Herodot. Pauſan. Plut. ubi ſup. Aldret. l. iv. c. 14, & alib.

Power.

NOTWITHSTANDING Mela repreſents Tingitania as a poor deſpicable country, ſcarce deſerving any notice, yet Strabo aſſures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The antients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the Heſperides here, ſeem to concur with him in that opinion. Salluſt, in particular, diſcovers himſelf to have entertained the ſame ſentiment, when he tells us how formidable Jugurtha's army was rendered by its junction with the Mauritanian forces; and Dio, when he intimates, that Bogud, king of Mauritania, cauſed victory to declare in favour of Cæſar, at the battle of Munda. We cannot well conceive it to have been otherwiſe, if we conſider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other inſtances of its power mentioned by writers of the beſt authority. The Carthaginians had generally ſome bodies of Mauritanians in their ſervice, which is a proof, that they were highly eſteemed by that famous republic. The name of Mauri, or Mauruſii, ſeems to have extended itſelf from the Atlantic ocean to the borders of Africa Propria, or, at leaſt, to the Ampſaga, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors: nay, it ſurvived thoſe of the Maſſyli and Maſſæſyli, which muſt have been occaſioned by the ſuperior eminence of the Mauritanian nation, and conſequently is an aditional argument in favour of what has been juſt advanced [1].

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of the Mauritanians, to the entire reduction of their country by the Romans.

Accounts of the earlieſt tranſactions in Mauritania little to be depended on.

THE accounts tranſmitted down to us by the antients of the moſt early tranſactions in Mauritania are ſo inveloped with fable, that 'tis impoſſible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though theſe accounts are ſo prolix, that they would fill a conſiderable volume. It will therefore be ſufficient, for the information of our readers,

[1] Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Salluſt. in Jugurth Appian. de bell. civil. & in Hiſpan. Dio, l, xliii. Plin. ubi ſup; & alib. Vide etiam plut. in Syl. & in Mar. Cellar. l. iv. c. 5. Aldret, Bochart. Univ. hiſt Vol. xvii. paſſ. & c. 2 §. 1.

ers, to give a conciſe relation of the principal of them, ſtripped as much as poſſible of fable, and as conſiſtent with itſelf as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, will permit it to be [m].

Neptune and Antæus two of the firſt kings of Mauritania.

THE two earlieſt princes of this country, except Neptune, mentioned by antiquity, were Atlas and Antæus. From ſeveral circumſtances, with which we are ſupplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that theſe were the ſame perſon. They were both of them the ſons of Neptune, who reigned over Mauritania, Numidia, and a great part of Libya; as may be naturally inferred from his having ſuch particular marks of diſtinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of thoſe regions. They both ruled with an abſolute ſway over a great part of Africa, particularly Tingitania. Hercules defeated and ſlew Antæus in the ſame war wherein he took the Libyan world from Atlas. Both Atlas and Antæus invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. Antæus, as well as Atlas, ſeems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celeſtial ſciences. From whence, as well as from other conſiderations that might be offered, we may fairly conclude them to have been the ſame king of Mauritania [n] (M).

ANTÆUS

[m] Heſiod. Pind. Sophocl. Euripid. Mel. Strab. Plin. Apollodor. Cic. Hygin. Philoſtrat. Lucan. Apollon. Lucret. Senec. Stat. Mart. Ovid. Juven. Propert Sil. Ital. Plut. Virg. Solin. Serv. Dion.Sic. Tacit. Euſeb. Procop. Salluſt. Flor. Oroſ. Ptol. Dio, Palæphat. Claudian. Alberic. Athen. Cæſ. Germanic. in Art. phænom. Juba apud Athen. omneſq; fere ſcript. antiq. paſſ.
[n] Pind. Pyth. od. ix. Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. Appollon. Argon. l. iv. Plat. in Timœo, & in Crit. Dion. Sic. l. i. & l. iii. Pamphus apud Pauſan. l. vii. c. 21. Plut. de iſid. Agatharc. apud Phot. Hygin. fab. cl. Lucian. de ſaltat. Aldret. l. iv. c. 9.

(M) The oblique caſes of the word Atlas, viz. Atlantis, Atlante, &c. are apparently compounded of the names Atlas, or Atal, i. e. tall, lofty, &c. and Ante, or Antæus. This is a preſumptive proof, that they both belonged to the ſame perſon, and conſequently, that Atlas and Antæus were the ſame king of Mauritania. The old nominative caſe in the Greek language, of all ſuch words, bore a near relation to the oblique caſes, though altered in proceſs of time. The word Atal anſwers

Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.

ANTÆUS, in his wars with Hercules, who seems to have commanded an army of Egyptians and Ethiopians, behaved with great bravery and resolution. Receiving several large reinforcements of Libyan troops, he cut off vast numbers of Hercules's men. But that celebrated commander, having at last intercepted a strong body of Mauritanian or Libyan forces, sent to the relief of Antæus, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he, and the best part of his forces, were put to the sword. This decisive action put Hercules in possession of Libya and Mauritania, and consequently of all the riches in those kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that Hercules, finding Antæus, a giant of an enormous size, with whom he was engaged in single combat, to receive fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death; as likewise, that he took Atlas's globe upon his own shoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the Hesperides, and made himself master of all the golden fruit there. Bochart thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein Hercules, for the most part, was victorious, though Antæus, from time to time, received succours by sea; till at last Hercules, coming up with one of his squadrons having a strong reinforcement on board, made himself master of it; which rendered Antæus, for the future, incapable of making head against him. The same author likewise insinuates, that the notion of Antæus's gigantic stature, prevailing for so many centuries amongst the Tingitanians, pointed out the size of the vessels of which his fleets or squadrons did consist; and that the golden apples, so frequently mentioned by the old mythologists, were the treasures that fell into Hercules's hands upon Antæus's defeat, the Greeks giving the original word מאל, riches, the signification affixed to their own term μῆλα, apples. Bishop Cumberland seems, with Sanchoniatho, and the Atlantian theology in Diodorus, to allow Atlas to have been the son of Ouranos, i. e. according to him, Noah; and likewise to take for granted, with Eusebius, that Antæus was his son. But should this be admitted, we must allow Hercules, and consequently Antæus, to have been

swers very well to the stature of Antæus, according to Pliny and Plutarch (12).

(12) Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Plut. in Sertor.

been cotemporary with Miſraim; that the remoteſt weſtern parts of Africa, even thoſe bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for ſome time, then formed a powerful kingdom; i. e. the north-weſtern part of Libya made a conſiderable figure before Egypt and Phœnicia, from whence its firſt colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all; nay, that thoſe countries, particularly Egypt, could ſend colonies into, and attempt the conqueſt of almoſt the remoteſt regions, immediately after the firſt planters had ſettled there; abſurdities ſo glaring, that even none in Cteſias can exceed them! Beſides, if Euſebius eſpouſed this opinion, as he ſeems to have done, by his citation from Diodorus, provided we fall in with biſhop Cumberland's explanation of Sanchoniatho, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf: for he aſſerts Hercules to have vanquiſhed Antæus about three hundred and ninety-three years before the deſtruction of Troy, as we find by conſulting his Chronicon. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the chriſtian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of Cteſias and Eratoſthenes, both Hercules and Antæus muſt have lived between ſeven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, muſt bring them down ſeveral hundred years lower than the age of Miſraim. The Greek mythic writers, particularly Apollodorus, will have Atlas to be the ſon of Iapetus, and grandſon of Noah, according to biſhop Cumberland; but this hypotheſis likewiſe, from what has been juſt advanced, muſt be acknowledged void of the leaſt ſhadow of probability. In fine, after the moſt diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheſes of hiſtorians and chronologers, relating to Atlas and Antæus, we find none ſo little clogged with difficulties as that of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton. That illuſtrious author ſuppoſes Ammon, the father of Seſac, to have been the firſt king of Libya, or that vaſt tract extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean; that the conqueſt of this country was effected by Seſac in his father's life-time; that the Libyans, headed by Neptune, afterwards rebelled againſt Seſac, ſlew him, and then invaded Egypt under the command of Atlas or Antæus, the ſon of Neptune, Seſac's brother and admiral; that Hercules, the general of Thebais and Ethiopia for the gods or great men of Egypt, after the death of Seſac, reduced a ſecond time the whole continent of Libya, having overthrown and ſlain Antæus near a town in Thebais, from that event called Antæa or Antæopolis; and laſtly, that the

first reduction of Libya, by Sesac, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of Christ, as the last, by Hercules, did a few years under that period. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumstance of Sir Isaac Newton's hypothesis, yet we cannot forbear observing, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the western extremity of Libya, nor even the other parts of that region, could possibly have been so well peopled before the time of David or Solomon, as to have sent a numerous army to invade Egypt; since Egypt and Phœnicia, from whence the greatest part of the ancestors of the Lybians came, and which were much nearer the place from whence the first dispersion of mankind was made, could not themselves have been greatly over-stocked with inhabitants any considerable time before the reign of Saul. And that such an invasion happened in the reign of Neptune, or at least of his son Antæus, has been fully evinced by that most excellent chronologer°.

A farther argument in support of Sir Isaac Newton.

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the Lybians are not taken notice of by scripture, as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam king of Judah, who was then invaded by Sesac. A body of Libyan troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore Libya must be considered as then newly become subject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewise something of a figure; since in the fifteenth year of Asa, Zerah the Ethiopian advanced to Mareshah with an army of a million of men, of which the Libyans formed a considerable part. As this was but a short time after the death of Sesac, and as Zerah must then have been master of Egypt, since otherwise he would not have marched his Libyan forces through that country to attack Asa's dominions, it seems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been just observed, that Libya was annexed to the Egyptian monarchy by Sesac, and not before; as likewise, that Sesostris, and Sesonchosis, must have been the same Egyptian prince with Sesac, since those names denoted that conqueror who first reduced Libya, and formed the great Egyptian monarchy, according

° Idem ibid. & quamplurim. ex auctor. supra laudat. Boch. Chan. l. ii. c. 24. & præfat. in Chan. Euseb. in chron. ad num. 498, 835, &c. Cumberl. in Sanchoniath. p. 327, & seq. & in orig. p. 265, 277, &c. Newton's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. and of the Greeks, p. 99. Gen. c. xiv. & alib. Exod. c. i. Jud. c. i. Newton's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191.

cording to prophane authors. No mention is made of the Egyptians on this occasion, since soon after the death of Sesac, i. e. a little before the Trojan war, the Ethiopians, for a short time, were masters of Egypt, as appears from Pliny and Herodotus. If therefore all that vast tract, known by the name of Libya, was so inconsiderable, that it deserved little or no attention, till the days of Rehoboam and Asa, how obscure must the country, called by the Phœnicians Mauritania, a small part of it, have been in every age preceding Sesac? We may therefore infer from hence, that Antæus, or Atlas, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir Isaac has assigned him; however early some particular colonies of Canaanites, or Phœnicians, a sea-faring people always intent upon discovering unknown countries, might have settled in the western parts of Africa. However, we are far from insisting upon what is here advanced as true, but only beg leave to submit it, with all possible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers [P].

Virgil and Trogus countenance his opinion.

The sentiment we would here recommend to the consideration of the learned is also countenanced by Virgil and Trogus Pompeius, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the christian æra, Libya was independent on Egypt, since the eastern, if not the western part of it, was governed by a king of its own, named Iarbas. This tallies extremely well with what Sir Isaac has observed of the fall of the Egyptian empire, founded by Ammon and Sesac; for, according to him, that empire was broke to pieces about the year before Christ 940, by the civil wars in the reign of Amenophis, which, in a great measure, occasioned the revolt of the nations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas. 2. The Libyans much nearer Egypt, a polite and civilized kingdom, than those bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, had only a few villages, consisting of small huts, probably the same as the modern Dashkras, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, when Dido arrived in Africa; though possibly Utica, built and inhabited by Phœnicians, might then have made a better figure. Tingis likewise, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than Antæus, being on the sea-coast, was perhaps a town of some note before the time we are now upon. Nay,

[P] 2 Chron. c. xii. ver. 3. c. xiv. ver, 9. & c. xvi. ver 8. Manetho apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Herodot. l. ii. c. 110. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Newton's chronol. p. 235—239, & alib.

as we have obſerved from Procopius, ſome parties of Canaanites might erect a caſtle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only have been an incoſiderable Daſhkra, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The Libyans, even in and near the territory of Carthage, were a ſort of barbarians at Dido's arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beaſts, and ſtanding in need of Dido's Phœnician followers to poliſh and civilize them. Theſe, and ſome other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no ſmall weight to what Sir Iſaac has advanced with regard to Atlas or Antæus, as well as the riſe and fall of the Egyptian empire; but this we muſt ſuperſede, as not ſo properly belonging to that branch of antient hiſtory, to which we are obliged at preſent to confine our ſelves[q].

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman times.

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the Mauritanians from the defeat of Antæus to the Roman times. Livy only tells us that Syphax's kingdom bordered upon the Mauri, which is nothing more than an implication, that ſuch a nation did then exiſt. Juſtin indeed from Trogus, intimates, that, in ſome of the earlieſt ages of Carthage, the Mauri were neighbours to the Carthaginians, and had ſome diſputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. Diodorus Siculus likewiſe ſays, that, in the interval between the overthrow the Carthaginians received from Gelon, and the firſt Punic war, they had frequently Mauritanian mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, ſince we are informed by Salluſt, that nothing of the Mauri, beſides their name, was known to the Romans, ſo late as the Jugurthine war; and the moſt antient Greek writers ſcarce ever conſidered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the Libyans. How Bocchar, king of Mauritania, lent Maſiniſſa a body of troops to eſcort him to his dominions, and what was conſequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the Numidian hiſtory[r].

Plutarch inſinuates, that the elder Juba pretended to be lineally deſcended from Hercules; but that biographer ſeems not to give overmuch credit to ſuch a pretenſion. However, 'tis

[q] Virg. Æneid. i. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 6. Univ. hiſt. Vol. xvii. p. 9. Newton, ubi ſup. paſſ. [r] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 42. l. xxix. c. 30. & alib. Juſtin. l. xix. c. 2. & l. xxi. c. 4. Diod Sic. paſſ. Salluſt. de bell. Jugurth. Univer. hiſt. Vol. xvii. Chap. the 1ſt.

'tis natural enough to ſuppoſe, that the perſon who obtained this country, upon the diſſolution of the Egyptian empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Poſſibly Bocchar, and Bocchus father-in-law to Jugurtha, were of his family; ſince the affinity of names, and the country they governed, ſufficiently intimate them to have been of the ſame family, and of the blood royal of Mauritania. Be that as it will, Bocchus, from the account Salluſt gives us of him, ſeems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats; the Romans menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, i. e. to deliver (N) his ſon-in-law Jugurtha into their hands, after the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport him, and even a promiſe made to put Sylla into his power. Jugurtha indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the moſt enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (O) Bocchus. What is here hinted at

(N) Oroſius intimates that Bocchus did not enter into an alliance with Jugurtha till after Marius had taken Capſa; which contradicts Salluſt and Plutarch. He alſo deſcribes the firſt general action betwixt the two African princes and Marius, which he affirms to have happened near Cirta, as the moſt bloody and dubious one the Romans were ever concerned in. The Romans, ſays he, after having been extremely haraſſed by the enemies parties, were attacked by their whole army, wherein was a body of ſixty thouſand Mauritanian and Numidian cavalry, whoſe horſes raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, that the heavens were thereby obſcured; which, together with the ſhower of darts thrown on this occaſion, turned the day into night. The battle was fought with ſuch obſtinacy, that it continued three days; neither had the Romans at laſt won it, being reduced to the laſt extremity by thirſt, occaſioned by the intolerable heat of the climate and ſeaſon, had there not fallen a moſt ſeaſonable ſhower of rain, which greatly refreſhed them, rendered the handles of the Africans darts ſo ſlippery, that they could not throw them, and made their ſhields, covered with dried elephants ſkins, that imbibed all the water, ſo ponderous, that they could not uſe them; which of courſe determined victory to declare againſt Bocchus and Jugurtha. But, as this relation, in many particulars, runs counter to Salluſt and Plutarch, or rather ſeems to be a confuſed account of ſeveral actions mentioned by them, we ſhall leave our readers to give what credit to it they pleaſe (13).

(O) Either this prince, or another of the ſame name, undertook an expedition againſt the weſtern or Heſperian Ethiopians, as we learn from Strabo. According to that author, Bocchus found,

(13) Oroſ. l. v. c. 15. Vid. & Flor. l. iii. c. 1.

may be found related at large in ſome former parts of this work [s].

What happened to Bogud.

HISTORY is ſilent as to any farther particulars of the Mauritanian affairs, till the time of Bogud (P), who was cotemporary with Julius Cæſar, and his adopted ſon Octavius. Bogud, in conjunction with Publius Sittius, not a little contributed to Cæſar's great ſucceſs in Africa, as has been already obſerved. In Spain likewiſe he enabled Cæſar to gain the ever-memorable victory at Munda, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the Roman republic. After that emperor's death he ſided with Antony againſt Octavius; and endeavoured to make a diverſion in favour of the former, in Spain. But whilſt he was employed in this expedition, the Tingitanians revolted from him, and, being ſupported by a body of Spaniards in the intereſt of Octavius, and ſome of Bocchus's troops, defeated him upon his return into Africa; which put Bocchus in poſſeſſion of Tingitania. Octavius, or Auguſtus, afterwards confirmed this acquiſition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. Bogud was at laſt killed by Agrippa at Methona, as our readers will elſewhere find; and after Bocchus's (Q) death

[s] Plut in Sertor. Liv. & Salluſt. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. Vol. xii. p. 469, 470, &c.

in the country of theſe Ethiopians, ſome reeds of ſuch an enormous ſize, that the largeſt joint of them would contain eight chænixes of corn; which, together with ſome aſparagus equally large, he ſent as curioſities to his wife. What ſucceſs attended this expedition, we neither find in Strabo, nor any other author (14).

(P) Suetonius informs us, that Julius Cæſar fell in love with Bogud's queen Eune, or Eunoe, a Mauritanian lady. As he made both her and her huſband preſents of an immenſe value on this account 'tis not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her huſband's conſent (15).

(Q) Pliny relates, that one king Bocchus, having faſtened thirty men to ſtakes, in order to their being deſtroyed by the ſame number of elephants, ordered certain perſons to iritate thoſe animals; but that, notwithſtanding all their efforts, they found it impoſſible to make them ſubſervient to that prince's cruelty. The ſame author likewiſe mentions an African hiſtorian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (16).

(14) Strab. l. xvii. p. 569. (15) Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 53. (16) Plin. l. viii. c. 5. & l. xvi. c. 40.

death Tingitania was reduced to the form of a Roman province [t].

Auguſtus gives the younger Juba the Mauritaniæ, and part of Gætulia.

Augustus gave the younger Juba, a prince extremely in his favour, the two Mauritaniæ, together with part of Gætulia, ſome time after his marriage with the younger Cleopatra, inſtead of his father's kingdom, i. e. Numidia, which ſtill remained a Roman province. 'Tis true, Strabo, as has been obſerved by Mr. Bayle, affirms, that Auguſtus reſtored Juba to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him the Mauritaniæ; but this geographer limits the Roman province, and the kingdom of Juba, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that Numidia belonged to the Romans. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the tranſlator of Dio has committed an egregious blunder, in his Latin verſion, which ſeems to have proceeded purely from inattention: "Cæſar, ſays he, gave Ju-
" ba, &c. IT, (i. e. Egypt) and his father's kingdom;" whereas Dio there affirms, " that Cæſar gave (R) Juba HER, (i. e.

[t] Strab. l. xvii. Dio, l. xli. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Appian. de bell. civil. Cæſ. de bell. civil. l. ii. Plut. in Pomp. & in Cæſ. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Dio, l. xliii, xlviii, xlix. Strab. l. viii. Univ. hiſt. Vol. xiii. p. 356.

(R) Juba had a noble education beſtowed upon him at Rome, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned Græcians. He did not leave that city, till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he ſo won the hearts of all his ſubjects, who ever retained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to Pauſanias, erected a ſtatue in his honour. He was extremely well verſed in the Aſſyrian, Arabic, Greek, Punic, African, and Latin hiſtories, as well as thoſe of other nations. He wrote the hiſtory of Arabia; the antiquities of the Aſſyrians and Romans; the hiſtory of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatiſe upon the herb Euphorbia, which he ſo called from his phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the many excellences of it, in which he greatly celebrates it's ſingular virtues; a piece concerning the ſource of the Nile; beſides many other works aſcribed to him by Suidas, Ammianus Marcellinus, Pliny, Athenæus, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. Pliny intimates, that his learning rendered him more illuſtrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as aſſerting or confirming the moſt curious particulars. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Juba, from ſome Punic authors, affirmed the Nile to

" Cleopatra) and his father's kingdom." That this obſervation, made firſt by Mr. Bayle, is indiſputably true, appears ſufficiently from hence, that this Juba was never king of Egypt. Suidas relates, that the younger Juba was whipped publicly when led in triumph; but this ſeems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to ſupport it. Ptolemy (S), his ſon by Cleopatra, daughter to Antony and Cleopatra, ſurnamed Selene, ſucceeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by Caius, either thro' a principle of avarice or jealouſy, we may learn from Suetonius and Dio, as well as a former part of this hiſtory [u].

TAC-

[u] Strab. l. xvii. Dio, l. liii. ad an. urb. cond. 729. Suid. in voc. Ἰόβας. Tacit. an. iv. Sueton. in Caio, c. 26, 35. Dio, l. lix. Plut. in Anton. Senec. de tranquil. vit. P. Nor. cenotaph. Piſan. p. 235. Univ. hiſt. Vol. XIV. p. 82.

have had its ſource in a high mountain of Mauritania. The abbé Sevin has favoured the world with a ſhort diſſertation on the life and writings of the younger Juba, wherein he has inſerted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of Rome 776, or 777, may be inferred from Strabo and Tacitus (17).

(S) Ptolemy's pedigree has been diſcovered by the following Roman inſcription, communicated to Dr. Shaw by father Ximenes, which exhibits that of his father Juba:

REGI IVBAE REGIS
IVBAE FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAVD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI

II VIR QUINQ. PATRONO
COLONI.

This inſciption differs ſomething from the authors who have ſupplied us with an account of Maſiniſſa's family in the Numidian hiſtory (18).

(17) Plin. l. v. c. 1. & alib. paſſ. Plut. in Cæſ. Suid. in voc. Ἰόβας Athen. deipnoſoph. l. i. Juba rex de Nili origine apud Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Strab. l. vi. & xvii. Tacit. l. iv. c. 5. Vid. M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'Abbé de Sevin, en tom. iv. des mem. de l'acad. de belles lettres. (18) Athen. deipnoſph. l. vi. Dr. Shaw in excerpt. p. 59. vid. & R. Reineccium in hiſt. Jul. de famil. Lat. xliii. p. 329. & Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. XVII. Book iv. Chap. 1. note (Z).

TACFARINAS, a native of Numidia, who had ſerved among the Roman auxiliaries, a little before the third conſulate of Tiberius, occaſioned freſh troubles in Africa. At firſt he aſſembled a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a conſiderable army, and diſciplined it after the Roman manner. The groſs of the army conſiſted of Muſulanians, a powerful nation bordering upon the Sahara, ſtill wild, and without towns, of whom Tacfarinas declared himſelf general. Theſe were joined by a large body of Mauritanians, commanded by their general Mazippa, whom Tacfarinas had found means to draw into the war. The Cinithians likewiſe, a nation by no means deſpicable, he forced to come into his meaſures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached Mazippa to make excurſions, and haraſs the Romans by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. Furius Camillus, the Roman commander, advanced againſt the Africans with only a ſingle legion, and what troops the allies could ſpare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, ſince they ſeemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their intereſt to protract the war. Though Camillus's troops were but an handful, in compariſon of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, poſting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horſe, on the right and left. He had no ſooner made this diſpoſition than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed with great ſlaughter. However, the next year Tacfarinas renewed the war, making dreadful incurſions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He poſted from place to place with ſuch celerity, that none of the Roman detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devaſtations, he ſurrounded a Roman cohort, commanded by one Decrius, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, in a fort near the banks of the Pagida. The Romans behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themſelves to flight. Lucius Apronius, Camillus's ſucceſſor, cauſed this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient cuſtom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had ſuch an effect, that Tacfarinas's army was routed, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of Thala, by a ſquadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined Tacfarinas to reſolve never for the future to attempt a ſiege, but to carry on the war in a deſultory manner,

Tacfarinas raiſes troubles in Africa; but receives ſeveral defeats, and is at laſt killed.

manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the African obſerved this method, he eluded all the efforts of the Romans; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the proſpect of an immenſe booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by Apronius Cæſianus with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The diſpute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were ſoon overthrown, many of them ſlain, and the reſt obliged to diſperſe themſelves in the Sahara. However, Tacfarinas, though often repulſed, ſtill repaired his forces, and arrived at ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to ſend embaſſadors to Tiberius, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper ſettlement aſſigned them. Tiberius incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch unparallelled impudence, ordered Blæſus who commanded the Roman forces in Africa, to offer a general indemnity to the Africans, and to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to get Tacfarinas into his hands. Blæſus, in order to put an end to this war, made the following diſpoſition of his forces: he detached Scipio, his lieutenant, to a poſt from whence Tacfarinas committed his depredations upon the citizens of Leptis, and then retreated amonſt the Garamantes; his ſon he ſent to protect the territory of the Cirteſii; and between both he marched himſelf with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. Theſe meaſures, with ſome others equally good, had the deſired effect; for Tacfarinas's forces were diſperſed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himſelf in the deſert. Notwithſtanding which, a great body of Mauritanians, through Ptolemy's indolence, having joined him, as likewiſe a ſtrong reinforcement from the king of the Garamantes (T), he once more made head againſt the Romans. But Dolabella, having fortified the proper poſts, and executed the chiefs of the

(T) Tacitus intimates, that Tacfarinas drew together at this time a powerful army of Africans, by giving out, that the Romans were ſo embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon Africa; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might ſoon cut off all that remained there. The ſame hiſtorian alſo informs us, that before the general action here mentioned, Dolabella forced Tacfarinas to raiſe the ſiege of Thubuſcum, which he abandoned at his approach (19).

(19) Tacit. an. l. iv. c. 24.

the Muſulani, who were meditating a revolt, advanced againſt the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken poſt near the caſtle of Auzea. After a forced march he came up with them, and entirely defeated them, putting to the ſword Tacfarinas himſelf, with a vaſt number of his followers. A body of Mauritanians, king Ptolemy ſent to aſſiſt Dolabella, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for ſome time, ſettled peace in the Roman provinces, Mauritania, and Gætulia [w].

Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.

PTOLEMY having been cut off by Caius, as related above, Ædemon, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, aſſembled a body of forces in Mauritania. Caius being ſoon after aſſaſſinated, his ſucceſſor Claudius, in order to diſperſe this corps, ſent thither a Roman army, which was the firſt that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the firſt campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the ſenate perſuaded Claudius, to accept of triumphal honours for the ſucceſs of his arms in Mauritania. The following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia. Sidius Geta, who ſucceeded Paulinus in the command of the Roman army in Africa, gave Salabus, the Mauritanian general, two overthrows, and purſued him into the Sahara. Having been ſupplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing, Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms. 'Tis probable, that, by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered up entirely into the hands of the Romans; ſince we find it ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæſarienſis, from Cæſar, a ſurname Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperors. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preſide over theſe provinces. Soon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians that infeſted ſome parts of Numidia, and thereby reſtored tranquillity to all their African dominions. 'Tis obſervable, that Auguſtus ſettled nine colonies, and Claudius three only, here; which, in a region of ſo vaſt an extent, could neither have ſufficient power thoroughly to ſubjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the Romans [x].

CHAP.

[w] Tacit. an. l. ii, iii, iv. l. lx. Aldret. l. iv. c. 20.

[x] Plin. l. v. c. 1. & alib. Dio,

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of the Gætulians.

Limits of Gætulia.

AS the limits of Gætulia have not been ſettled, either by Ptolemy, or any of the other antient geographers, 'tis impoſſible for us to define them. From ſeveral authors it may however be inferred, that they were not always the ſame. In Pliny's time the Gætulians poſſeſſed a conſiderable part, at leaſt, of Tingitania; the Mauruſii having been ſo extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head againſt them. Virgil affirms this people to have extended themſelves from the Regio Syrtica to the Atlantic ocean; and Feſtus Avienus ſeems to have fixed their eaſtern boundary not far from the weſtern confines of Marmarica. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and ſituation of their country can be drawn either from thoſe authors or Strabo, who only intimates the Gætulians to have been a large nation, taking up a conſiderable part of Libya Interior, and poſſeſſing ſome territories in the neighbourhood of the Syrtes. Pliny ſays, that Gætulia was terminated on the ſouth by the river Nigris, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Nigir, which, according to him, ſeparated it from Ethiopia. But notwithſtanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their ſeveral accounts and deſcriptions, we ſhall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the ſouthern parts of Numidia and the Mauritaniæ; and, by conſulting the beſt obſervations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great diſtance in the Sahara. Dr. Shaw (A), in one place, ſeems to inſinuate, that the proper Gætulia did not extend farther to the eaſt than the meridian of Siga, i. e. about 0′ 10 E of London, provided Tackumbreet be the antient Siga, as he imagines; ſince he there tells us, that the Melanogætuli and Garamantes occupied the tract behind

(A) Dr. Shaw alſo tells us, that Gætulia extended into the deſert or Sahara; which ſuppoſes, that nothing but deſert muſt be left to the direct ſouthward of it. Therefore Melanogætulia, and the country of the Garamantes, in conformity to the ſituation aſſigned them by the antients, muſt have lain E. S. E. of Gætulia, and conſequently have begun in an eaſtern direction from it (1).

(1) Shaw ubi ſup. p. 136.

behind Numidia, Africa Propria, and the Regio Syrtica, from that meridian to Cyrenaica: whereas in another place he fixes ſome Gætulian tribes in the remoteſt part of the diſtrict of Zaab, and meridian of Conſtantina, above ſix degrees more to the eaſtward than Siga. Whether or no either of theſe ſeemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, that Guzula, or Gezula, a province of the kingdom of Morocco, at the foot of mount Atlas, ſeems to have preſerved ſome traces of the antient Gætulia. Could we lay any great ſtreſs upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of Gætulia; in which caſe Dr. Shaw's firſt notion would have probability on its ſide. But, as the concurrent teſtimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to ſay. However, the aſcertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of ſuch importance, as to deſerve any great regard. We ſhall therefore leave our geographical readers to chuſe which of theſe notions they pleaſe, or to reject both of them, if they think proper [a].

It's towns, rivers, mountains, &c.

As the Gætulians, before the time of Jugurtha, led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living, for the moſt part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some however Virgil inſinuates there to have been, though his commentator Servius appears to be of a different opinion. Philoſtratus makes the Gætulians to have inhabited the interior part of mount Abinna, or Abyla, and conſequently, by intermixing them with the Mauruſii, allows ſome of them to have dwelt in towns. Pliny alſo intimates, that the Gætulians in his time were maſters of a good part of Maſæſylia; and Apuleius aſſigns them ſome diſtricts, at leaſt, of Numidia Propria; which teſtimonies, if admitted, evince the ſame thing. But Pliny and Ptolemy render it indiſputable, when they mention the cities Autolala, Talubath, &c. as appertaining to the Gætulians. The principal tribes of proper Gætulia were the Baniuræ, Darræ, and Autololes (B), according to the laſt-mentioned

[a] Plin. l. v. c. 2. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 40. & Serv. in loc. Philoſtrat. l. v. Strab. l. xvii. Feſtus Avien. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Agathem. geogr. l. ii. c. 5. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 132. & 136. Leo African. part ii. Marm. l. iii. c. 51.

(B) Pliny ſays, that the Veſuni, or, according to ſome MSS. the

mentioned geographers. 'Tis probable, that the Baniuræ bordered upon Tingitania, as the Darræ did upon the Ethiopians called Perorsi and the Pharusii. The Autololes seem to have been by much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of Tingitania bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. Their capital city Autolala, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the Subus and the Salathus, the only two rivers of note, except the Gir and the Nigir, that watered Gætulia. Of Talubath nothing has been transmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the Sahara began not far from the southern foot of mount Atlas, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however, it was interspersed with several fruitful spots. Mount Sagapola, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of Gætulia on the side of the Melanogætuli, and containing the sources of the Subus and Salathus above-mentioned, seems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we are now upon. As for the promontories, &c. we meet with none meriting any attention; though from Pliny it may be inferred, that the Promontorium Solis, and some ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the proper Gætulia. The only curiosity here, deserving a place in history, was the vast quantity of the purple-fish produced in that part of the Atlantic ocean washing the Gætulian shore, with which the rocks on this coast were frequently covered. The Teladusii, Soræ, Dryitæ, Elulii, Mazices, Nacmusii, and other obscure nations, inhabiting either Numidia, or the confines of that country and Gætulia, in the time of Ptolemy, deserve so little regard, that our readers will scarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we must not omit observing, that as Ptolemy places the Pharusii to the north of mount Sagapola, they may be considered as a clan or canton of the Gætulians; especially since Pliny affirms their district to have stretched itself out as far as the Atlantic ocean, and Mela makes them to have attended Hercules in his expedition against the Hesperides. 'Tis not therefore probable, that mount Phruræsius,

the Nesuni, were a branch of the Autololes, who separating from their brethren, settled upon the borders of Ethiopia, and afterwards formed a distinct nation. Orosius informs us, that the Autololes, or, as the MSS. falsly have it, Auloles, were called, in his time, Galaules (z).

(z) Plin. in loc. citat. Oros. l. i. c. 2.

ræſius, near four degrees eaſt of the Mulucha, ſhould have been ſo denominated from the Pharuſii; except we will ſuppoſe this ridge of mountains to have been the eaſtern limit of that nation, and that they were ſo numerous and powerful as to have ſpread themſelves over a tract extending from thence to the Atlantic ocean. In ſuch a caſe we might, with Dr. Shaw, allow, that the inhabitants of mount Phruræſius were part of the Pharuſii. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by Mela and Pliny, when they intimate the Pharuſii to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the Nigritæ, in the neighbourhood of the river Niger, which, with Ptolemy, they make one of the boundaries of the Gætulians. The vicinity of the Nigritæ and Pharuſii is likewiſe taken notice of by Dionyſius Afer and Strabo [b].

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

ACCORDING to Joſephus and St. Jerom, Chavilah, or Havilah, the ſon of Cuſh, was the father of the Gætulians; for which reaſon we find them called Evilæi, or Havilæi. As it is well known, that Havilah, or Chavilah, ſettled in Arabia Felix, and that from him his deſcendents there aſſumed the name of Chaulotæi and Chaulaſii, the ſame words with Evilæi, it cannot well be doubted, but that Gætulia was firſt peopled from Arabia Felix, as has been already hinted. This likewiſe renders probable the authority of the antients, who aſſert, that the Gætulians intermixed themſelves with the Perſians, and that the Pharuſii, in particular, were of Perſic extraction; ſince Perſia and Arabia being in a manner contiguous regions, many Perſians probably attended ſome of the Arabian colonies paſſing into Africa, or at leaſt followed Seſac and Hercules in their Libyan expeditions. We find no obſcure traces of the Darræ, a Gætulian tribe above-mentioned, in Leo and Marmol, who deſcribe a province, bounded on the weſt by thoſe of Gezula and Sus, called Dara, correſponding nearly with the tract aſſigned that people by Pliny; and 'tis well known, that the Darrhæ are a nation of Arabia Felix, taken notice of by Stephanus, Ptolemy, and Pliny; which may ſerve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of Arabians into Gætulia. To which we may farther add, in ſupport of that migration, that, conſidering how remote Gætulia

[b] Saluſt, in Jugurth. Virg. & Serv. ubi ſup. Apul. in apol. Plin. & Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. Mel. l. iii. c. 10. Ptol. ubi ſup. Dionyſ. Af. v. 215. Priſcian. v. 200. Strab. ubi ſup. p. 135.

Gætulia was from Arabia Felix, what a ſeries of ages had paſſed from the firſt plantations of colonies there to the moſt early occurrences of that country tranſmitted down to poſterity by the Greeks and Romans, what other nations were intermixed with the firſt migrating Arabs, viz. the Perſians, Indians, &c. the word Gætulia, or Chetulia, is no very ſtrange corruption of Chavilah, Chevilah, Chavilath, Chevilath, Chavilat, or Chevilat. Both Pliny and Ptolemy have remembered the river, Daras, or Darat, which they ſay produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers ſhould be diſpoſed to allow the modern Darodus, or Darodt, to be that river, as 'tis not improbable ſome of them may, they would be convinced, that Ptolemy had not only placed his Darat, or Daradus, vaſtly too much to the ſouthward, but likewiſe made his Mauritania Tingitania to comprehend a great part of Gætulia, if not the whole country. 'Tis certain, that the names and ſituation of the provinces of Gezula and Dara render this not a little probable. The word Dara ſeems to ſignify a generation or habitation of ſheperds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of Gætulians, who, as well as the modern Darans and Gezulians, had ſcarce any other poſſeſſions than their flocks. Both the name therefore and manner of life of this people plainly pointed out the nation from whence they deduced their origin. Some antient authors related, that the Tyrians had, in very early ages, many cities here, and in the neighbouring parts of Libya Interior, which were deſtroyed by the Nigrites and Pharuſii; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by Strabo [c].

Their government &c.

THE firſt Gætulians, according to the Punic hiſtorians, were ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of Africa, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, eſpecially ſuch as ever prevailed in a civilized ſtate. They lived upon the fleſh of wild beaſts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night ſurpriſed them. Some of the Pharuſii, or Phauruſii, at firſt, if any credit may be given to Strabo, lived in caves like the Troglodytes. But this ſtate of

[c] Joſeph. & D. Hieronym. apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 9. Mel. Plin. Strab. ubi. ſup. Dionyſ. Af. ver. 953. Feſtus Avien. ver. 1136. Aldret. ubi ſup. c. 10. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Leo African. lib. vi. Marm. l. vii. c. 9. Aldrét. ubi ſup. c. 14.

of barbarity, Salluſt tells us, continued only till Hercules came amongſt them; which is a farther proof of what Sir Iſaac Newton has advanced with regard to the age of that hero; ſince, as we have lately obſerved, the Gætulians were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of Jugurtha, and therefore Hercules did not probably precede that age ſo long as the generality of the antient chronologers ſuppoſed. It is believed by ſome good authors, to whoſe ſentiments we pay great deference, that the Gætulians, however rude and barbarous, at leaſt towards the Roman times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of Kabyles, as their ſucceſſors at this day are. However, if they had then any fixed or ſtated laws, we are now entirely ignorant of them. If they had any (D) cuſtoms likewiſe, different from thoſe of their neighbours the Numidians and Mauritanians, the knowledge of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly ſilent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient Arabs, which will hereafter be briefly deſcribed. Leo relates, that many of the antient Africans erected magnificent temples in honour of the Sun and Fire, which they worſhipped, wherein they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the Gætulians were ſome of the former, as being partly deſcended from the Perſians, who profeſſed

(C) Strabo calls theſe phylarchs kings and tells us, that they ſo delighted in horſes, that amongſt them they brought up yearly an hundred thouſand colts. He likewiſe informs us, that theſe horſes, as well as the Gætulian larger cattle, had hoofs longer than thoſe of any other nation (3).

(D) One cuſtom, however, we muſt not paſs over here. Lucan ſeems to obſerve, that the Gætulians were mixed with their cattle in their mapalia, as Dr. Shaw relates of the Bedoweens in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis at this day. The former author alſo inſinuates, that many of the Gætulians were carried about the country, with their Penates, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient Scythians (4).

(3) Strab. l. xvii. (4) Lucan. l. iv. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 288.

profeſſed the Magian religion. Their language muſt undoubtedly have borne a near reſemblance to the antient Arabic, and the other Oriental tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewiſe from the Showiahan vocabulary given us by Dr. Shaw, moſt, if not all, of whoſe words are eaſily deducible from the Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in ſuch a country as Gætulia, and therefore will not ſuppoſe, that we have any thing to offer on that head here [d].

A brief account of the Gætulians till the time of Veſpaſian.

WITH regard to the tranſactions of this nation, we have not much to ſay. Herodotus and Scylax take no notice of the Gætulians, which renders it probable, that, when thoſe writers lived, they were very obſcure. The firſt authors that mentioned them were probably ſome of thoſe old hiſtorians from whom Livy extracted the materials for his work; ſince he gives us to underſtand, that a corps of them ſerved under Hannibal in the ſecond Punic war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed Acerræ, formed a deſign upon Caſilinum, and ſent a body of Gætulians, under the command of their general Iſalca, to attack it. Iſalca ſoon took poſt before the town, when, finding every-where a profound ſilence, and not obſerving a creature to appear, he imagined, that the garriſon kept themſelves ſtill within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates: but he was repulſed by two Præneſtine cohorts; who, ſallying out upon him, cut many of the Gætulians to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire, with great precipitation, to the Carthaginian army, which was advancing to ſupport them. Whether or no Maſiniſſa, who ſo greatly extended his conqueſts in Africa, ever ſubdued them, hiſtory informs us not; but we are aſſured by Salluſt, that his grandſon Jugurtha taught them to keep their ranks, and inſtructed them in military diſcipline. However, they ſerved that prince more by plundering the allies of the Romans, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raiſed and diſciplined in Gætulia was eaſily routed by Marius near Cirta. That part of Gætulia under the dominion of Juba, for it does not appear that the whole country was ever ſubject to him, revolted to Julius Cæſar; but, that with

[d] Strab. & Salluſt. ubi ſup. Newton's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. Aldret. ubi ſup. c. 31. p. 445. I. Leo African. ubi ſup. Shaw in excerpt. p. 52.

with Numidia it was reduced into a Roman province, we cannot poſitively affirm; eſpecially, ſince Auguſtus gave a part of Gætulia, probably this, with the Mauritaniæ, to the younger Juba, as an equivalent for Numidia, his father's kingdom, which, ſays Dio, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by Sittius, as has been already obſerved, when Juba had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the Pompeians; which might poſſibly occaſion the aforeſaid revolt. About the year of Rome 759, the Gætulians rebelled againſt king Juba, maſſacring all the Romans ſettled in his dominions, and committing moſt dreadful ravages in all the provinces ſubject to him. Dio aſcribes this defection to the reſentment of the Gætulians, who were extremely incenſed againſt the Romans for impoſing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under their government. But however this may be, Cornelius Coſſus gave them ſo complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to ſubmit upon the terms he thought fit to preſcribe. This was looked upon at Rome as ſo conſiderable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to aſſume the cognomen Gætulicus. Notwithſtanding which, this people ſo recovered themſelves, that in the elder Pliny's time they had ſettlements in Numidia and Tingitania, as may be inferred from that author and Philoſtratus [e].

[e] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 18. Salluſt. ubi ſup. Dio, l. xliii. ſub init. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio, l. lv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 759. Plin. & Philoſtrat. ubi ſup.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, and Garamantes.

PTOLEMY places the Melanogætuli, or black Gætulians, between the mountains Sagapola and Uſargala, in a diſtrict ſouth-eaſt of Gætulia Propria, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river Niger. They were a nation undoubtedly different from the Gætulians, and conſider- The Melanogætuli, or Nigritæ.

ed in that view by Ptolemy, though Cellarius inſinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewiſe, that their progenitors were different from thoſe of the Gætulians. Of courſe therefore the Daræ ought not, as Cellarius imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the Melanogætuli; nor does the ſituation of Leo's Dara above-mentioned quadrate with ſuch a ſuppoſition. Mount Uſargala is called by Leo Guargala, and by Dr. Shaw Huergla. The former of thoſe authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, ſome caſtles, and a great number of villages, whoſe inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the Agades, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. Ptolemy ſays, that the Bagrada derives its ſtreams from ſome fountains on mount Uſargala; but the lateſt obſervations demonſtrate this to be a miſtake. The modern diſtrict of Wad-reag in the province of Conſtantina, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, ſeems to correſpond with a part of the country of the Melanogætuli, according to Dr. Shaw. Ma-jyre, the neareſt of theſe villages to Zaab, a territoy anſwering, as ſhould ſeem to the ſouth-eaſtern part of Gætulia, is ten leagues to the S. of El-Fythe, the laſt village of Zaab. Tum-marnah, the next place of note, is ſix leagues to the weſtward of Ma-jyre, and twelve to the N. E. of Tuggurt, the capital of Wad-reag, and the Tegort of Leo. Tuggurt ſtands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the other villages of Wad-reag, being ſupplied with water by wells, dug an hundred, and ſometimes two hundred, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourſe to, their territory being in a manner deſtitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come to a fleaky kind of ſtone like unto ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyſs, called by them "The ſea below-ground." This ſtone is no ſooner broken through, than a flux of water aſcends ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance, that the perſon let down to perform the operation has ſometimes been overtaken and ſuffocated by it, though raiſed up with the greateſt dexterity. The country likewiſe of the Beni Mezzab, ſituated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the Ammer, ſuppoſed to be a part of the Mons Phruræſus of Ptolemy, the large village of En-gouſah, thirty leagues

leagues to the S. W. by W. of Tuggurt, and the populous city of Wurglah, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the Nigir, our learned and ingenious traveller believes might have been included in Melanogætulia. As Ptolemy places the Melanogætuli next to the Pharuſii in a ſouthern direction, fixing his Nigritian Ethiopians in a tract lying to the N. of the Nigir; and as Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, ſeem to give the Nigritæ exactly the ſame ſituation with regard to the Pharuſii and the Nigir, but are quite ſilent as to the Melanogætuli; we cannot help thinking the Melanogætuli and Nigritæ one and the ſame people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the Nigir, and that they had ſome places of note in thoſe parts; ſince, according to Ptolemy, many towns ſtood not far from that river, of which the principal were Peſſide, Saluce, Nigira, Thige, Cuphe, Thamondicana, and Vellegia. The moſt noted rivers of this country were the Gir and the Nigir. The Gir, or, as it is now called in our beſt maps, Ghir, had its fountains on mount Phruræſus, or according to Dr. Shaw, the mountains of the Ammer. It took its courſe through part of the Sahara, in a S. E. direction, ſome degrees to the ſouthward of the tropic of Cancer. The ingenious traveller juſt mentioned believes the modern Wed Adge-dee to be the Gir of Ptolemy, Agathemerus, and Claudian. But the principal river of Nigritia, and one of the moſt famous in the world, is that called by Ptolemy the Nigir, by the Nigritians Wed, or Huid Nijar, i. e. The black river, and by the Europeans the Nigir. This river, according to the beſt modern geographers, has its ſource near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of Gorhan, not far from the confines of Abyſſia, or upper Ethiopia. It croſſes the whole region of Nigritia in a weſtern direction, and, after being ſwelled by the acceſſion of ſeveral rivers in its march, at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the Atlantic ocean. The Negroes likewiſe call it the river of Senegal, and the Arabs the Nile of the Nigritians; this laſt nation conſidering it as a branch of the Nile or rather the Nile and the Niger as two branches of the ſame river. According to Pliny and Leo, it overflows the adjacent territories in the ſame manner as the Nile; which, if true, may be another reaſon for the Arabic appellation. If any credit may be given to Leo, and the African hiſtorians, Sabtecha, the ſon of Cuſh, firſt peopled the Sahara betwixt the mountains of Atlas and Nigritia,

and therefore probaly Nigritia itſelf, or at leaſt part of it. From the ſame author it appears, that the various Nigritian dialects bear an affinity to the Chaldee, Arabic, and Egyptian tongues; to which we may add, and conſequently to the Ethiopic, which does not differ widely from them. As for the cuſtoms, &c. of the people we are now upon, they muſt be reſerved for that branch of the modern hiſtory to which they moſt properly belong. Our readers may likewiſe there expect to find an accurate geographical deſcription, and natural hiſtory, of this country from the beſt obſervations that have been made; ſince it would be abſurd to inſert them here, as the antients were ſo little acquainted with it. The Carthaginians, however, had undoubtedly ſome knowledge of the Nigritæ, ſince it appears probable from Frontinus (A), that one part of their armies conſiſted of Nigritian troops. They uſed ſcythed chariots in their wars, and

(A) From the paſſage of Frontinus here referred to it is evident, that the Carthaginians had Melanogætulian or Nigritian troops in their ſervice before the time of Gelon, and conſequently that they had ſome knowledge of the Blacks above five hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. This will enable us to account for a ſtrange phænomenon in antiquity, i. e. ſeveral antique coins with a Negro's or Nigritian's head upon them. One of theſe coins is to be found in the earl of Pembroke's invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. Wiſe, cuſtos archivorum, and fellow of Trinity-college, in the univerſity of Oxford. That of my lord Pembroke, being well preſerved, is a moſt noble curioſity. Mr. Wiſe received his from one of the authors of this hiſtory, who had it from Mr. Beſwick, whoſe brother was for ſome time the Britiſh conſul at Tripoly, near which city it was found. As the Carthaginians had a communication with Nigritia, 'tis probable, that they ſent ſome of their artificers upon certain occaſions thither; and ſince they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above obſerved, we may conclude, that upon ſome extraordinary event, either in Nigritia, or their own dominions, they ſtruck thoſe pieces. This will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the country wherein Mr. Wiſe's was dug up, which was ſubject to the Carthaginians; that nation being in poſſeſſion of all the maritime territories extending from their capital city to the borders of Cyrenaica (1).

(1) Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11, ex. 18. Univ. hiſt. Vol. xvii. p. 4, 5. &c. note. (C).

and were armed after the manner of the weſtern Ethiopians, i. e. with bows and arrows of the ſame make, as we learn from Strabo. According to the ſame author, the Pharuſii, and therefore, probably, the Nigritæ, adjacent to them, travelled in caravans through the deſerts to Cirta, and kept open a communication with the Mauruſii, carrying with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horſes bellies, leſt they ſhould die of thirſt in the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe. From this paſſage it is undeniably clear, that theſe Pharuſian and Nigritian merchants muſt have lived at a vaſt diſtance from Cirta, and thoſe places of Mauritania to which they reſorted; a point that evinces the Negroes, or Blacks, to have held an early correſpondence with the antient Mauritanians, Numidians, and Carthaginians [a].

The Garamantes were ſituated to the S. E. of Gætulia, and E. of the Nigritæ. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to aſcertain (B); though, from what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may preſume, that it extended to the borders of the (C) proper Ethiopia. That it conſiſted of many large territories, may likewiſe The Garamantes.

[a] Ptol. l. iv. c. 6. Cellar. geogr. antiq. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lipſ. 1732. Strab. l. ii. & l. xvii. Pompon. Mel. l. i. c. 4. Plin. l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. Claudian. l. i. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 10. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. I. Leo African. & Marm. paſſ. Gen. c. x. v. 7. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. ut & ipſe Alfragan. p. 36. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. i. Shaw, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

(B) That the Miſulani, Miſulami, or Muſulani, were ſeated near the country of the Garamantes, or at leaſt not at a very great diſtance from it, appears from Tacitus. But we can neither preciſely determine the ſituation of this Numidian tribe, tho' at the foot of Mount Andus, nor that of many others, viz. the Naſabutes, Mucuni, Tulenſii, Machuſii, Taladuſii, &c (2).

(C) Virgil joins the Garamantes with the Indians, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations, and that the Roman empire was to extend, or rather did extend, to the fartheſt parts; for they were not contiguous to each other, Ethiopia, Arabia. Perſia, &c. lying between them. So Horace, when

(2) Tacit. annal. ii. iii. iv. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup.

likewiſe be inferred (D) from Herodotus, Virgil, Feſtus Avienus, and others. However, it was not of any very conſiderable breadth, according to Strabo. Dr. Shaw believes, that part of the antient Garamantes ſpread themſelves over that tract comprehending the diſtricts of Gad-demz, Fezzan, and ſome of the more diſtant cities and villages of the kingdom of Tripoli. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beaſts, and its moſt antient inhabitants were ſo ſavage, that they fled at the ſight of a perſon belonging to any other nation. They were at the ſame time entirely deſtitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themſelves, if attacked; from which circumſtances 'tis apparent, that they induſtriouſly avoided all kind of correſpondence with other nations. However, in proceſs of time they built towns, or rather daſhkras, the principal of which were Garama, the metropolis, near mount Girgiris, and the ſource of the Cinyphus, Debris, and Matelgæ. They likewiſe aſſociated with the Marmaridæ, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the Carthaginians, Arabs, Perſians, and Ethiopians. This could ſcarce be avoided, if one branch of the Carthaginian commerce extended to thoſe remote countries by means of Caravans, paſſing to Carthage from thence through the ſandy deſerts of the Garamantes; which we cannot think improbable.

when he would intimate, that the merchant traverſed the remoteſt regions for gain, ſays,

" Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos :"

where he is not to be underſtood as intending preciſely the Indians, but any nation at a vaſt diſtance from Rome. Servius and others confirm what we here ſuggeſt (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, ſaid to have appertained to the Garamantes by Pliny and Ptolemy; but as the ſituation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their names has been tranſmitted down to us by thoſe authors, we think an inſertion of it entirely ſuperfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the Garamantes, except the Cinyps, or Cinipus, and the Gir, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it except thoſe called by Ptolemy Girgiris and Vallis Garamantica (4).

(3) Virg. ecl. viii. & Æn. vi. Serv. in loc. Hor. l. i. ep. i.
(4) Herodot, l. iv. Plin, & Ptol. ubi ſup.

improbable. Though ſeveral arguments might be offered in ſupport of this opinion, we ſhall content ourſelves here with obſerving, as a ſtrong preſumption of its truth, that, according to ſeveral authors, the Garamantes, Perſians, and Ethiopians, ſupplied the Carthaginians with vaſt numbers of gems, which were almoſt invaluable. Notwithſtanding the cowardice of the moſt antient Garamantes mentioned by Herodotus, yet, in after-ages, their poſterity ſeem to have been of another diſpoſition, as may be collected from Pliny, Tacitus, and Feſtus Avienus. Some of them roved about the deſerts of Libya in the ſame manner as their ſucceſſors the modern Bedoweens do at this day; whilſt others inhabited the (E) daſhkras ſcattered up and down theſe parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their Mapalia, and ſupported themſelves by hunting, which ſometimes they continued to the winter ſolſtice; the wild beaſts being refreſhed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diverſion. Nay, according to Herodotus, they hunted the Troglodytes themſelves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles drawn by two pair of horſes, made for that purpoſe. Nigritia, and the country of the Garamantes, ſeem, for the moſt part, to have been peopled at firſt from Egypt and Ethiopia, and conſequently to have been the deſcendents of Miſraim and Cuſh, though we doubt not but ſome colonies of Arabs likewiſe ſettled here. It appears from ſome of the moſt perfect Egyptian mummies now remaining, that the features of the antient Egyptians much reſembled thoſe of the preſent Negroes; which is a proof, that the latter muſt have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore ſpoken in theſe regions, bore a great affinity at firſt to the Egyptian, Arabic, and Ethiopic; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment

(E) Herodotus informs us, that in the country of the Garamantes there was a pillar, or rather mountain of ſalt, with a fountain iſſuing from the ſummit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives firſt laid freſh earth upon the ſalt, and then ſowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the Lotophagi, whom we ſhall preſently have occaſion to mention (5).

(5) Herodot. l. iv

ment relating to the religion of the Garamantes, than that they, in common with the Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians (F), worſhipped Jupiter Ammon (G), repreſenting him, for the moſt part, with a ram's head, or, at leaſt, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple ſacred to him. Pliny mentions a ſurpriſing fountain near Debris, whoſe waters, from noon to midnight, grow extremely warm, but from thence to the ſun's next approach to the meridian were ſo cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongſt the Garamantes, the men making uſe of the women juſt as they fell in their way. At firſt they were governed by heads of tribes, or phylarchs, as the Gætulians, Arabs, &c. but afterwards monarchy ſeems to have taken place amongſt them, as we learn from Tacitus. Pliny mentions a king of the Garamantes, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that reſiſted all who oppoſed them. Though Ptolemy aſſerts them to have been a large and powerful nation,

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had Jupiter Ammon, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of Lucan:

" Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
" Inculti Garamantes habent: ſtat corniger illic
" Jupiter, ut memorant, ſed non aut fulmina vibrans,
" Aut ſimilis noſtro, ſed tortis cornibus, Ammon.
" Non illic Libycæ põſuerunt ditia gentes
" Templa, nec Eois ſplendent donaria gemmis,
" Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
" Gentibus, atq; Indis unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

Herodotus ſays, that Ammon was repreſented by an image with a ram's head, becauſe Hercules ſaw his ſtatue covered with the ſkin of a ram; and Diodorus, becauſe Jupiter, in all his wars, wore a helmet reſembling the head of that animal. But this repreſentation ſeems to have been rather an alluſion to the great numbers of ſheep produced in Libya (6).

(G) 'Tis intimated by Virgil and Silius, that Iarbas, cotemporary with Dido, was a deſcendent of Ammon, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now loſt (7).

(6) Herodot. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Lucan. l. ix. (7) Virg. Æn. iv. Sil. Ital. l. i.

tion, extending themſelves from mount Uſargala to the lake or moraſs Nuba, yet we find ſcarce any of their affairs recorded in hiſtory. Maſiniſſa took refuge amongſt them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by Syphax. As the roads to their country from Mauritania were rendered impracticable by robbers, the Romans knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. Lucius Cornelius Balba entirely ſubdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by Auguſtus. However, by ſome means or other, they afterwards ſhook off the Roman yoke; ſince we are informed by Florus, that, ſome years after, Coſſus detached Curinius with a body of troops againſt them and the Marmaridæ; and by Tacitus, that the king of the Garamantes joined Tacfarinas, in the reign of Tiberius, againſt the Romans. After the laſt defeat and death of Tacfarinas, they ſent embaſſadors to Rome to appeaſe the reſentment of Tiberius; which we ſuppoſe was done by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to him, ſince it appears probable, that the Roman empire extended on that ſide almoſt, if not entirely, to the northern bank of the Nigir [b].

As for the Nubæ, Perorſi, Tarualtæ, Mimaci, Aſtacuſi, Aroncæ, Dermones, Matites, Gongalæ, Nabathræ, and many other obſcure nations inhabiting that part of Lybia Interior called by the antients the weſtern Ethiopia, and extending from the Nigir to the Line, we have nothing to ſay of them; the old geographers having handed down to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to obſerve, that the vaſt tract occupied by them comprehended the upper or proper Guinea, together with the kingdoms of Gago, Guber, Bito, Temian, Ouangara, Dauma, Biafara, Mujac, Medra, and ſome diſtricts of that of Gorhan. Hence it appears, that the antient Nigritia was but a part of the modern Negroland; and that in early times the Nigritæ, or Negroes, went by the general name of Ethiopians. As we find likewiſe the promontory Soloës,

[b] Herodot. l. iv. Virg. l. vi. & Serv. in loc. Lucan. l. iv. Feſtus Avienus, v. 320. Mel. l. i. c. 8. Tacit. annal. i. ii., iii. iv. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & Dalechamp. in loc. Petron. Arb. in Satyric. Vid. & Chr. Hendr. de Carthag. repub. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 8. Sil. Ital. l. ii. & alib. Ptol. ubi ſup. Plin. l. viii. c. 4. Flor l. iv. c. ult. Leo African. & Marm. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. Vol. xiii, p. 396, 461. & alib. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 136. Gordon's eſſay towards explaining the hieroglyp. fig. on the copy of an ant. mum. belong. to capt. Lethieullier, p. 2. Lond. 1737.

Soloës, or Soloentia, ſituated in the country we are now upon, and ſeveral places to the ſouth of it, taken notice of by Hanno in his periplus, we may conclude from hence, that the Carthaginians had a knowledge of the Blacks ſome hundred years before the deſtruction of their ſtate by the Romans. That the Greeks alſo were not ignorant of them in the age of Scylax, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and Hanno ſtuffed their journals with fables, ſcarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have given us faint deſcriptions of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of ſome few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. Pliny and Ptolemy were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the weſtern Ethiopians; and Strabo only intimates, that, as ſcarce any intercourſe had ever been kept up between them and the Roman empire, the accounts publiſhed of them in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To inſert therefore a collection of ſuch idle tales, would be unbecoming an hiſtorian; ſince it could neither afford inſtruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers [c].

[c] Hanno Carthag. in peripl. Scylax Caryand, in peripl. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Strabo, Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Leo African. Moll, Senex, Maxw. aliique recent. geogr.

CHAP. V.

The hiſtory of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the tract between the borders of Egypt and the river Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Libyans of Marmarica.

The Libyans of Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to Scylax, Pliny, and Agathemerus, with whom Strabo and Ptolemy agree in the main, was bounded on the eaſt and weſt by Egypt and Cyrenaica; on the ſouth by the Sahara, or deſerts of Libya Interior;

Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. After paſſing the Glaucum Promontorium, cape Deris, the port Leucaſpis, and other inconſiderable promontories and harbours, juſt mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to Parætonium, called Ammonia by Strabo, a city of conſiderable note. Florus ſtyles this city and Peluſium the two horns of Egypt; from whence it appears, that he looked upon Marmarica as part of Egypt, and Parætonium as a fortreſs of great ſtrength. The laſt article is confirmed by Hirtius, who ſeems to intimate, that he received ſome annoyance from it, though the garriſon could not hinder him from ſupplying himſelf with water. We learn from Procopius, that it remained for a long time diſmantled, but at laſt had its fortifications repaired by the emperor Juſtinian. At ſome diſtance from Parætonium towards the frontiers of Cyrenaica, ſtood Apis, a town ſo denominated from the Egyptian Deity of that name. Pliny relates, that it was famous on account of certain ſacred myſteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, inſinuates vaſt numbers of the Egyptians and Marmaridæ to have reſorted hither, in order to pay their devotions to Apis. Triſarchis, Zagylis, and other places on the ſea-coaſts, enumerated by Ptolemy, are ſo obſcure, that they merit no regard. The principal Libyan nations inhabiting this region were the Adyrmachidæ and Ammonii, as appears from Scylax and Herodotus. As for the Zygriæ, ſeated near the Greater Catabathmus, and the Buzes, lying more to the ſouth, they are rarely mentioned by the antients. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the chief towns of the former were Azicis, Tuccitora, and Tachorſa; and the capital of the latter Thanuthis. Pliny mentions the Mareotæ as a people ſeated near the Adyrmachidæ. Some authors ſeem to make the Marmaridæ a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the greater Catabathmus; but we are inclined to believe, that Marmaridæ was a name common to all the Libyans of Marmarica. If ſo, all theſe Libyans drank chiefly beer brewed at Alexandria; tho' ſometimes they uſed Libyan wine. The Adyrmachidæ, according to Silius, fought with an enſis falcatus, or ſcymetar; and, if Scylax may be credited, were ſeated not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. Ptolemy, on the contrary, places them, in his nome of Libya, more remote from the ſea. It was a common cuſtom with their wives to wear a chain of braſs on each leg; to take great pains in dreſſing their hair, and if they happened to find a louſe, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they received, and then to ſpit it out again.

again. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's preſence, that if any one of them pleaſed him above the reſt, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the Libyan habit, from whence probably they derived their name, Addermuch in Arabic denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almoſt in all points with the Egyptians, which tallies with what has been already obſerved. The (A) Ammonii, ſo called from Jupiter Ammon, or Ammun, their chief deity, lay nearer Cyrenaica, and about ten days journey from Thebes in the upper Egypt. Ptolemy mentions a place named Alexander's camp, and the city of Ammon, as appertaining to this nation. Arrian, on the other hand, will not allow Ammon to have been a city; but ſays, that it was only the ſpot of ground on which the temple of Ammon ſtood. It ſeems probable from Herodotus, that the Ammonii were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be conſidered only as a barren ſandy deſert. Pliny makes the temple of Ammon fifteen days journey from Memphis, and mentions the Ammoniac nome of Egypt. Diodorus Siculus relates, that though the aforeſaid (B) temple was ſurrounded by a ſandy deſert, yet

(A) Herodotus affirms the Ammonii to have been originally a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians; and that they ſpoke a language compoſed of words taken from both thoſe nations (1).

(B) Diodorus Siculus tells us, that this diſtrict was fifty ſtadia ſquare, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual ſpring. He likewiſe intimates, that within the firſt wall of the caſtle ſtood the palace of the antient kings of Ammonia; within the ſecond the Gynæceum, containing the apartments of the royal family; and within the third, places for the houſhold troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that at a ſmall diſtance from the walls, there was another temple of Ammon, ſhaded with fruit-trees, and having a fountain cloſe by it, called Fons Solis, from the ſurpriſing effects of the Sun upon its water. The image of Ammon, according to him, was adorned with emeralds and other precious ſtones of great value, and gave reſponſes to thoſe who came to conſult the oracle in a ſingular and unuſual way; being carried about in a golden ſhip by eighty prieſts, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the ſame time celebrating his praiſes in ſongs compoſed after the manner of their country.

Diodorus

(1) Herodot. l. ii.

yet its proper diſtrict abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains; that it had ſeveral ſtreets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a caſtle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the fountain of the Sun, ſince the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. Pedonia, Pnigeus, Climax, and other inconſiderable mediterranean towns, deſerve not the leaſt attention; nor are the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, Pedonia, Phocuſæ, Æneſipaſta, Ædonis, or Ædonia, important enough to be deſcribed. We learn from Herodotus, that Cambyſes, having advanced to Thebes, in his way to Ethiopia, detached from thence a body of fifty thouſand men, to lay waſte the country of the Ammonii, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. But after ſeveral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and brought in ſuch a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and periſhed. Alexander the Great, near two hundred years after, met with better ſucceſs in his journey to the temple aforeſaid. Authors are not entirely agreed whether the Marmaridæ are to be looked upon as Libyans or Egyptians;

Diodorus alſo gives us to underſtand, that when Alexander the Great was introduced into the temple of Ammon, the ſenior vates addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: "God ſave "thee, MY SON, and aſſume to thyſelf this title which AMMON "confers upon thee." To whom, according to the ſame author, that prince replied: "I accept it, father; and, provided you'll "enable me to conquer the world, I ſhall ever eſteem it as the "greateſt honour to be called your ſon." Upon which the prieſt approached the altar; and when the perſons lifting up the image, according to cuſtom, upon a ſignal given, moved forwards, the prieſt anſwered, "That the god had granted his requeſt. He then enquired "whether any of his father's murderers had "eſcaped juſtice? To which the oracle cried out: "Expreſs "thy ſelf better, ſince no mortal can kill thy father; but all "the murderers of PHILIP have been brought to condign puniſhment." The pretended deity afterwards told him, "That "the uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs he had met with, was a full "proof of his divine origin; and that he ſhould, for the fu-"ture, ever continue to be victorious." In this manner did the artful prieſts of Ammon ſooth Alexander's vanity, and draw from him many valuable preſents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of Egypt(2).

(2) Diod. Sic. l. xvii.

Egyptians; but the greateſt part rank them amongſt the former. Father Calmet, in particular, thinks, that Marmarica was firſt peopled by the deſcendents of Lehabim, the ſon of Miſraim, mentioned by Moſes. However, he believes, that the limits of the Lehabim, or Lubim, are not known, and conſequently, that they might have reached much farther than the borders of Cyrenaica; eſpecially, ſince almoſt the whole continent of Africa is ſometimes called Libya. If then the Marmaridæ were Libyans, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, cuſtoms, &c. of the Numidian and Libyan Nomades, &c. will, in a great meaſure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, Herodotus aſſures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Egyptians, in moſt points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached Marmarica from Egypt, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was ſubject to the kings of Egypt, and conſequently ought to be conſidered as appertaining to that monarchy, for an account of the tranſactions of which it was the theatre, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the hiſtory of Egypt, as well as thoſe of the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans, who ſucceſſively ſubdued this kingdom [a].

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Cyrenaica.

Limits of Cyrenaica.

CYRENAICA was bounded on the eaſt by Marmarica, on the weſt by the Regio Syrtica, on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the ſouth by the Sahara. In the geography of Cyrenaica, we find none of the antients inconſiſtent with themſelves but Strabo, who, almoſt in the ſame breath, aſſerts it to have extended as far as Egypt, and maintains that Marmarica lay betwixt thoſe two regions. The maritime towns Darnis, Cherſis, Phycus, Aptungis, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we ſhall paſs them by; as likewiſe

[a] Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Polyb. in excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. ſub fin. Plin. l. v. c. 5 & c. 6. Cæſar apud Hirt. in bell Alex. Mel. l. i. c. 9. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Procop. l. vi. c. 2. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 278. Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. & l. iv. c. 181. & alib. Arrian. l. iii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Calmet in voc. Libya.

likewiſe the promontories Phycus and Zephyrium, the ports Parætonius, Nauſtathmus, &c. with ſeveral other places of leſs note. The principal towns in this tract were Cyrene the metropolis, Arſinoe or Teuchira, Berenice, Ptolemais or Barce, and Apollonia, from whence the beſt part of it was named Pentapolis. Adriane or Hadrianopolis, ſo denominated from the emperor Adrian, could not vye with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no deſpicable place. The caſtle Diacherſis, Tower of Hercules, port Diarrhœa, promontory Boreum, near the Greater Syrtis, deſerve little attention; nor is any thing further to be ſaid of Automala, or Automalax, than that it was a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength upon the frontiers of the Regio Syrtica [b].

City of Cyrene.

THE city of Cyrene, now called Cairoan, or Corene, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſea, upon a ſpot of ground in figure reſembling a table, according to Strabo. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life. Its territory produced vaſt numbers of excellent horſes, which probably made the Cyreneans, whether Libyans or Greeks, apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of every thing relating to thoſe animals more than moſt other nations. Berenice, Teuchira, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Adriane, ſtood along the coaſt of the Mediterranean; and their inhabitants carried on a conſiderable trade. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain (C) Cyre, near which it was ſituated. Bochart deduces Cyre from the Phœnician קור kur, the radix of מקור makur, fons; which, conſidering that the Carthaginians aſſiſted the Greeks in ſettling themſelves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We ſhall paſs by here the religion, language, cuſtoms, &c. of the proper Cyreneans; ſince whatever has been ſaid of their Greek anceſtors, on each

[b] Herodot. Scylax, Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 38. p. 996. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii, c. 40. Suid. Steph. Byzant. Auct. fab. Auguſt. &c.

(C) Juſtin ſays, that this Cyre, or Cyra, was a mountain, but at the ſame time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances Bochart's etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(3) Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 7.

each of these heads, is equally applicable to them [c] (D).

Nature of the soil, &c. of Cyrenaica.

THOUGH a great part of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica was a perfect desert, yet there were some fruitful plains in both those countries. The inhabitants were very subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubriety of the air. Except the Lathon, we find no considerable river of Cyrenaica taken notice of by the antients, and some of them have even fixed this in Mauritania. The Montes Velpi and Anagombri are the only mountains that seem to claim any relation to the country we are now upon; as the Palus Paliuri is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the Hesperides here, but others in Mauritania. The latter opinion appears to us the most probable, since it better corresponds with the word Hesperides, which imports a western situation; and therefore we have already taken notice of those gardens in the history of Mauritania. Some parts of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica were famous for the production of the silphium, a plant or shrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The Libyans looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as most precious; and consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. Strabo intimates, that the Libyan barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the silphium, in their excursions before his time, which is confirmed by Scribonius Largus. Pliny relates it to have been so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to Nero as a singular curiosity; and yet, that the laser, a gum proceeding from the silphium, or laserpitium, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of Severus, may be inferred from Galen. Aristotle, Aristophanes's scholiast, Tzetzes,

[c] Strab. ubi sup. Pind. in od. ad Arcesilaum Cyren. Herodot. l. iv. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vi. Lucian. in encom. Demosth. Pausan. l. vi. p. 366. & alib. Alexis apud Athen. in deipnosoph. ut et ipse Athen. pass. Vid. etiam Casaub. animadvers. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. Max. Tyr. serm. vii. Marmol, l. viii. c. 10. Callimach. hymn. in Apoll. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one particular custom of the Cyreneans, which seems to have been peculiar to them. When any person of distinction amongst them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, &c. with him (4).

(4) Athen. deipnosoph. l. xii. sub init.

Tzetzes, Heſychius, and Suidas, inſinuate the figure of the ſilphium to have been ſtruck on the Cyrenean coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are ſtill to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The Carthaginians carried vaſt quantities of the laſer and ſilphium from Charax, a city near the confines of Cyrenaica, into their dominions, for which they ſupplied the Cyreneans with wine. This vegetable the Cyreneans offered to their firſt king Battus, whom they deifi-ed, looking upon it as the moſt valuable produce of their country; for which reaſon we find it on the reverſes of ſeve-ral of that prince's coins. That Cyrenaica likewiſe abounded with a moſt rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by Theo-phraſtus. Athenæus relates, that the roſes, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the ſaffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that in the time of Berenice a moſt charming ointment was made of the Cyrenean roſes. As for the ſilphium, great quantities of it were imported into Greece, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and phyſic, as appears from Athenæus and Hippocrates, to omit many o-ther authors [d].

THE principal nations of this tract, or at leaſt contiguous to it, were the Barcæi, the Pſylli, and the Naſamones; the Aſbyſtæ, Macatutæ, &c. being too obſcure to merit any re-gard. Barce or Barca, the capital of the Barcæi, we find mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Scylax, and Ptolemy; the two former of which make it to have occupied the ſame ſpot that Ptolemais afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It ſeems to have ſtood to the weſt of Cyrene, and had a port near the Greater Syrtis. As Ptolemais was a maritime city, it is moſt probable, that it ſtood by the port of the Barcæi, and not where Barce did; eſpecially, ſince that capital was an hundred ſtadia from the ſea, according to Scylax. Herodotus affirms Barca to have been built by the brothers of Arceſilaus III. king of Cyrene, above a genera-

Principal nations of this tract.

[d] Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Virg. Æn. iv. v. 480. & ſeq. Ariſtot. de Cyren. repub. Scribon. Larg. c. 16. Plin. l. xix. c. 3. & l. xxii. c. 23. Ariſtoph. ſchol. ad Plut. p. 92. Suid. Tzetzes, & Heſych in Βάττε Σίλφιον. Galen. de temperant. l. iii. c. 3. ſimpl. medic. fac. l. viii. & de antidot. l. ii. p. 440. ed. Baſil. Catul. ep. 7. Dioſcorid. l. iii. c. 97. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. xv. & alib. Theophraſt. plant. l. iv. c. 3. Vid. etiam Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. l. iii. c. 21. & Ezech. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſtant. num. ant. diſſert. vi.

tion before the beginning of Cyrus's reign; but we rather think, that it was of Phœnician, if not Egyptian, or Libyan extraction; for Barcha was a Phœnician name, well known in theſe parts of Africa, as appears from Silius Italicus and others. Servius intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from Carthage, which would tempt one to believe, that Barca, Dido's brother, who attended her into Africa, with ſome of his countrymen, ſettled here. It is evident from Virgil and Silius, that the Barcæi ſpread themſelves over ſeveral conſiderable parts of Libya; and from Servius, that their metropolis made the greateſt figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except Cyrene. St. Jerom confirms the laſt authorities, when he aſſerts this town to have been ſituated in a deſert, and its inhabitants, or at leaſt their deſcendents, to have diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral diſtricts lying as far to the weſtward as Mauritania, and the eaſtward as India. The Barcæi learned, ſays Stephanus, the art of managing horſes from Neptune, and of driving chariots from Minerva; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in moſt particulars, with the other Libyan Nomades already mentioned. The modern kingdom and deſert of Barca, extending from Egypt to the confines of the kingdom of Tripoli, correſpond with the antient Marmarica and Cyrenaica; though they undoubtedly received their name from the Barcæi. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held amongſt the various nations of Libya [e].

The Pſylli and Naſamones, according to Pliny, Silius, and Lucan, muſt have been ſeated near the Greater Syrtis; or behind the Regio Syrtica and Cyrenaica, if we chuſe to follow Strabo. The Pſylli, as Herodotus informs us, having once had all their reſervoirs of water dried up by the ſouth wind, advanced into the Sahara, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of ſand, and all periſhed. After which tragical event, their neighbours the Naſamones annexed the territories they poſſeſſed to their own dominions. Herodotus repreſents the Naſamones as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for ſome ſingular cuſtoms then prevailing

[e] Herodot. Scylax, Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. i. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 41. & Serv. in loc. D. Hieron. ep. 129. ad Dard. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Sophocl. in Electr. & alib. D. Bern. Aldret. de Africa, l. iii. c. 20. Reinec. hiſt Jul. tom. ii de repub. Carthag.

ing amongſt them. During the ſummer-ſeaſon, they left their cattle on the coaſt, and diſperſed themſelves over the plains of Ægila, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewiſe they found an immenſe quantity of graſhoppers, which, having dried in the ſun, they pulverized, and infuſed them in milk. The liquor compoſed of theſe two ingredients was highly eſteemed by them, as a moſt pleaſant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they uſed in public, like the Maſſagetæ, after having erected a ſtaff for a mark. The bride, amongſt them, lay the firſt night with all the gueſts invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a preſent, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the ſepulchres of thoſe who were generally eſteemed to have been the moſt juſt and excellent perſons amongſt them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their anceſtors; where, after certain prayers, they fell aſleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually preſented a cup of liquor; and if they had none, the parties took up ſome duſt from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From ſome authors it appears, that the Naſamones were looked upon by the antients as little better than a great gang of robbers; ſince they made frequent incurſions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from Philoſtratus, that a people of the ſame name was ſeated in Ethiopia. The Libyan nations here mentioned poſſeſſed the countries they inhabited long before the Greeks built Cyrene [f].

Tranſactions of Cyrenaica till ſubject to the Romans.

BATTUS the Theræan, according to Herodotus, with a colony of his countrymen, ſettled firſt in Platæa, an iſland on the coaſt of Libya. From thence they removed to that part of the continent oppoſite to this iſland, and ſeated themſelves in a delightful province, ſurrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on each ſide, called Aziriſtus. After ſix years reſidence here, the Libyans conducted them to Iraſa, a moſt charming country to the weſt of Aziriſtus. In this region, near a fountain ſacred to Apollo, they fixed their habitations, and built Cyrene, about the third year of the thirty-ſeventh olympiad, according to Euſebius. We find nothing farther remarkable related of Battus the firſt, except that he loſt the ſtammering in his ſpeech by the following

[f] Herodot. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Lucan. l. ix. v. 439. & ſeq. Sil. Ital. l. i v. 408. Philoſtrat. l. vi. c. 12.

accident. Being one day wandering alone in a deſert place, he was ſurpriſed by a lion, which, unexpectedly ruſhing upon him, ſtruck him with ſuch terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to ſome authors, ſo frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the ſame time delivered Battus from the impediment he before laboured under. His ſon Arceſilaus the firſt probably made no great figure, ſince hiſtory is entirely ſilent as to any particulars of his reign. Battus II. ſon to Arceſilaus, built the city of Zoa, and reigned forty years, and his ſon Arceſilaus II. ſixteen; which is all that we know of them. Battus III. ſon to Arceſilaus II. ſurnamed The happy, being ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a vaſt number of Greeks, who came to live under his government, defeated Aprics, king of Egypt, in a great battle, near the fountain Theſtis in Iraſa. The victory was ſo complete that ſcarce any of the Egyptian troops returned home; ſo that Adicran, a neighbouring Libyan prince, who had drawn Aprics upon Battus, could not afterwards make head againſt the Cyreneans, nor conſequently give them any obſtruction in the poſſeſſion of thoſe territories they had before wreſted from him. Arceſilaus III. the ſon of Battus III. ſucceeded him; whoſe brothers, on account of ſome diſputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as Herodotus will have it, built Barca. Before that city was finiſhed, they found means to excite Arceſilaus's Libyan ſubjects to a revolt. However, he marched againſt them with an army, and purſued them into the eaſtern parts of Libya. But having there aſſembled a powerful body of forces, they came to a reſolution to give him battle; which ſoon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting ſeven thouſand of his men in pieces. Arceſilaus, in a ſhort time after this diſaſter, was diſpatched by his brother Aliarchus, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's wife Eryxo. Battus IV. Arceſilaus's ſon, ſurnamed The lame, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign Demonax, a Mantinean legiſlator, arrived at Cyrene; and, at the king's deſire, introduced ſeveral alterations into the preceding form of government. Arceſilaus IV. ſon to the former prince, endeavouring to put the Cyrenean conſtitution upon its former footing, was driven by his ſubjects to Samos; his mother Pheretima at the ſame time eſcaping to Salamis in the iſland of Cyprus. Euelthon, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent preſents, but found means to evade ſending an army to reinſtate

ſtate her ſon in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. Arceſilaus afterwards retired to Barca, having married the daughter of Alazar, king of the Barcæi; but was aſſaſſinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time Pheretima eſtabliſhed her authority at Cyrene; and, after her ſon's death, applied to Aryandes, the Perſian governor of Egypt, for aſſiſtance, to revenge Arceſilaus's death, who, ſhe pretended, was murdered for his cloſe attachment to the Medes. She had ſome grounds for ſuch an application, ſince her ſon had put himſelf under the protection of Cambyſes, and acknowledged himſelf a tributary to him. Aryandes firſt ſent a herald to Barca, to demand whether the Barcæi had been guilty of the aſſaſſination of Arceſilaus; and, upon their acknowledging it, he ſent a land-army, commanded by Amaſis, and a fleet, under the conduct of Badres, to take vengeance of the aſſaſſins. The Perſians ſoon inveſted the city of Barca, and carried on the ſiege ineffectually for the ſpace of nine months. However, (E) at laſt they

(E) Herodotus relates, that when the Perſians endeavoured to ſap the foundations of Barca, an artificer in braſs diſcovered their ſubterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen ſhield round the city within the walls, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noiſe where the earth was ſolid; but when he came to the parts which were undermined, the ſhield rung. Upon which diſcovery, the beſieged fell to countermining, killed all the Perſians they found in the mines, and diſmounted all the enemies engines of battery. Amaſis therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with ſlight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the beſieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the ſpot that was undermined, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the agreement ſhould continue in force as long as the "earth on which they ſtood ſhould remain in the preſent con-"dition; that the Barcæi ſhould pay a competent tribute to the "king of Perſia; and that the Perſians ſhould introduce no in-"novations into Barca." The Barcæi then opened their gates to Amaſis, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himſelf maſter of the town, in order to free himſelf from the oath he had juſt taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

(5) Herodot. l. iv. ſub fin.

made themselves masters of it by treachery. Amasis, after the reduction of Barca, put the city into the hands of Pheretima; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of Arcesilaus to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the Persian general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of Arcesilaus, and permitted Pheretima to put Barca into their hands. Badres, the Persian admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to Egypt, to plunder Cyrene; but was prevented by Amasis: The Libyans extremely harrassed the Persians in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of Egypt. All the prisoners were sent to Darius Hystaspis, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of Bactria, which was from them denominated Barca. Pheretima is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the Cyreneans, and Libyans with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the Persian empire, are not very remarkable in history. Aristotle gives us to understand, that in his time Cyrene was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of Battus's line, Demonax's form of government took place; tho' the Cyreneans might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the Persians. It appears from Sallust, that the people of Cyrene were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the Carthaginians about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the Macedonians subdued Egypt, we find asserted by Strabo. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one Ariston seized upon Cyrene, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility buried in oblivion. Alexander had not been long dead, when Thimbro invaded Cyrenaica, overthrew the Cyreneans, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thousand talents of silver, and half of their armed chariots. However, Mnasiclus a Cretan, one of his officers, afterwards spirited them up against him, forced him to abandon the port of Cyrene, and obtained several consider-

rable advantages over him. Notwithſtanding which, Thimbro, bringing them to another general action, entirely defeated them, though he was ſoon after overthrown by Ophellas, and taken priſoner. This victory rendered that general maſter of Cyrenaica, and he delivered it into the hands of Ptolemy. However, it ſeems probable, from what we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, that Ophellas by ſome means or other, obtained the ſovereignty of this country. Magas, the brother of Ptolemy Lagus, whoſe daughter Ptolemy Philadelphus married, reigned at Cyrene fifty years, as we learn from Agatharchides. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from Polyænus, who has tranſmitted to us an account of one of his ſtratagems. Plutarch intimates, that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, being in love with Aretaphila, the wife of one Phædimus, or, as Polyænus will have it, Melanippus the prieſt of Apollo killed her huſband in order to enjoy her; and that ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found an opportunity of deſtroying him; which ſhe at laſt did, and thereby delivered her country from ſervitude. But whether this laſt event happened before the time of Magas, or afterwards, we are not given to underſtand. Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of Egypt, till Ptolemy Phyſcon made it over to his baſtard ſon ſurnamed Apion, who, in the year of Rome 658, left it by will to the Romans. The ſenate, inſtead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, thoſe who were moſt potent in every diſtrict endeavouring to make themſelves ſovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of Cyrenaica into great confuſion; but Lucullus in a good meaſure reſtored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the firſt Mithridatic war. The deſcendents of the (E) Jews, ſettled here by the firſt Ptolemy, are ſaid to have greatly contributed to the diſturbances juſt hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a Roman province, which happened about twenty years after the death of Apion, and ſeventy-ſix before

(E) Amongſt the deſcendents of theſe Cyrenean Jews may be ranked Jaſon, who wrote the hiſtory of the Maccabees in five books, of which the ſecond book of Maccabees, ſtill extant, is an abridgment; Simon, who carried our ſaviour's croſs; and others mentioned in the acts of the apoſtles (5).

(5) Act. c. ii. v. 1. & c. vi. v. 9.

before the birth of Chriſt. Strabo tells us, that in his time Crete and Cyrenaica formed one Roman province. Upon a revolt Cyrene was ruined by the Romans; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In proceſs of time it fell to the Arabs, and at laſt to the Turks, who are the preſent poſſeſſors of it [g]. For ſome of the principal learned men it produced, we ſhall refer our readers to the following note (F).

SECT.

[g] Herodot. l. iv. Pind. Pyth. od. iv. & v. Pauſan. in Phocic. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Polyæn. l. ii. c. 28. ex. 1, 2. & l. viii. c. 38, 41. Pauſan. in Attic. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l. xii. Plutarch. de virtut. mulier. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 7. Callimach. in hymn. Solin. c. 30. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Strab. l. xvii. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Euſeb. in chron. ad an. 3. olymp. 37. p. 122. Plut. in Lucul. Appian de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. 70. Juſtin. l. 29. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 11. Univ. hiſt. vol. x. p. 69, 315, 621, & vol. xvii. p. 183, 184, &c.

(F) This country produced ſeveral perſons who made an illuſtrious figure in the republic of letters, amongſt the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. Ariſtippus, a diſciple of Socrates, and the chief of the Cyrenaic ſect. He lived about the ninety-ſixth olympiad, and the year of Rome 360. He was the firſt that took money of his ſcholars for teaching them philoſophy. He once ſent his maſter Socrates twenty minas; but that philoſopher refuſed it, ſaying, "God would not permit him to receive it." Xenophon was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatiſe againſt pleaſure, in order to expoſe him. Theodorus and Plato likewiſe were very ſevere upon him. He could adapt himſelf to all perſons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part: which rendered him agreeable to Dionyſius. He went frequently to court, kept ſeveral miſtreſſes, and, amongſt the reſt, the famous Lais, and fared deliciouſly, in conformity to the principles of his philoſophy. When he was cenſured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriouſly, he ſaid, "That if it were not a "good thing to feaſt and eat well, people would not practice it "on their holy feſtivals." He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from Diogenes Laertius. He aſked a certain perſon, who reproached him for having had a ſumptuous entertainment, "Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he "could have done it for three oboli?" To which the other replied, he would. "Then," ſaid he, "I find you are fond of mo-"ney, and not I of pleaſure." One time a fellow purſuing him with opprobious and ſcurrilous language, and aſking him, "Why "he made ſuch haſte away?" "Becauſe" ſaid he "thou art ac-"cuſtomed to give foul language, and I am not accuſtomed to hear "it."

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Regio Syrtica.

THE Regio Syrtica, ſo called becauſe the two Syrtes were the northern extremities of its eaſtern and weſtern limits, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the ſouth by the country of the Naſamones and the Sahara; Deſcription of the regio Syrtica.

" it." Dionyſius had once three harlots to wait upon Ariſtippus, out of whom he ordered that philſopher to chuſe one; but he carried them all three off, ſaying, " That Paris had greatly ſuffered by " preferring one goddeſs to another." One deſired to know of him what he would have for educating his ſon; to whom he anſwered, " Five hundred drachmas. I can buy a ſlave, an- " ſwered the other, for that ſum. Do ſo, replied Ariſtippus, and " then you will have two." He wrote three books of the hiſtory of Libya, which he dedicated to Dionyſius; and a volume conſiſting of twenty-five dialogues, compoſed partly in the Attic, and partly in the Doric, dialect. The principles of his philoſophy were theſe: The ſoul has two particular motions, or ſenſations, viz. pain and pleaſure; all pleaſures are alike; virtue is only ſo far to be eſteemed, as it conduces to ſenſuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we muſt refer our readers to Diogenes Laertius. His name ſeems to confirm what ſeveral authors have ſuggeſted of the Cyreneans, viz. that they were famous for being good horſemen.

2. Areta, daughter to Ariſtippus, who preſided over the Cyrenaic ſchool after the death of her father.

3. Ariſtippus the younger, ſon to Areta, by whoſe inſtructions he became a famous philoſopher, and from thence was ſtyled Metrodidactos.

4. Anniceris, who reformed the Cyrenaic ſect, or rather founded another that was called the Annicerian.

5. Callimachus, a celebrated poet and hiſtorian, the ſon of Battus and Meſatma, and diſciple of Hermocrates the grammarian. He married the daughter of Euphrates Syracuſanus, and lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find aſcribed to him, tho' he was no voluminous author, it being a trite obſervation with him, " That a great book was a great evil." The principal of theſe were: 1. A ſatirical poem upon his adverſary, whom he called Ibis. 2. Thoſe hymns which are ſtill extant. 3. Αἰτία, or a treatiſe upon the origin and cauſes of ſacred things, taken notice of by Martial. 4. A poem intituled de coma Berenices. Suidas mentions another Callimachus, nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but 'tis generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

hara; on the east by Cyrenaica; and on the west by Africa Propria. The tower of Euphrantas, and the town of Charax

6. Eratosthenes, the son of one Aglaus, or, according to others, Ambrosius, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the Egyptian court. He was the scholar of Aristo the Chian, Lysanias the grammarian, and the poet Callimachus. He flourished in the hundred twenty-sixth olympiad, being about that time librarian to the king of Egypt. He first asserted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia; on which account we find him styled the measurer of the earth. Besides his philosophical pieces, he wrote some poems, several historical and astronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and some observations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age.

7. Carneades, the son of Epicomus, or Philocomus, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by Arcesilaus. He pretended to discover an uncertainty in the most evident notions, and was a grand stickler against the Stoics, attempting vigorously to confute Chrysippus one of their principal pillars. Carneades did not much apply himself to physic and natural philosophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His surprising eloquence made him feared by the Roman senate, during his residence at Rome with two other embassadors. Whilst he was there, he is said to have disputed admirably well for justice one day, and the next against it. He gave himself up so entirely to study, that he neglected frequently all other things; insomuch that he sometimes sat at table, and forgot to eat, till roused from his thoughtfulness by his maid Maliſſa. According to Diogenes Laertius, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxiid olympiad, though Cicero stretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine precisely the time of his death. The former author says, that when Carneades understood, that Antipater had poisoned himself, he did the like; he likewise makes an eclipse of the moon to have then happened. He is said to have written many letters to Ariarathes king of Armenia. For a fuller account of him we must beg leave to refer our readers to Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, and others.

8. Cronus Apollonius, the master of Diodorus the logician, whose name was assumed by his scholar (6).

(6) Strab. l. xvii. p. 576. Diog. Laert. in Aristip. in Carnead. & alib. Posidon. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. vii. Suid. in Ἐρατοσθένης, in Καλλίμαχος, & alib. Schol. in Aristoph. ran. act. iv. sc. 2. Plut. de placit. philos. adverss. Stoic. & alib. Martial.

rax above-mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaica, as Auxiqua, Leptis Magna, Garapha, Abrotonum, Sabrata, and Tacape, were on the ſea-coaſt betwixt the rivers Cinyps and Triton. As for Geriſa, Iſcina, Amuncla, Sicapha, Muſta, Butta, and ſeveral other obſcure mediterranean towns mentioned by Ptolemy and the Itinerary, we ſcarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient hiſtorian. The Cinyps of Scylax, however, ſeems to have been a city of ſome repute. Pliny and Herodotus intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful diſtrict called Cinyphe, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been ſo denominated from the river of the ſame name. To paſs by the Samamycii, Damenſii, Nigbeni, Nycpii, Nigintimi, Muchthuſii, and many other inconſiderable tribes recited by Pliny and Ptolemy, the only nations of this country deſerving any regard were the Cinethii, Gindanes, Macæ, and Lotophagi. The Cinethii, or Cinithii, mentioned by Ptolemy, ſituated behind the Machyni, about the Leſſer Syrtis, were a reſpectable nation, as we learn from Tacitus. The Gindanes, according to Herodotus, were ſeated not far from the Cinyps; their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and ſhe who had the greateſt number was the moſt eſteemed. The Macæ bordered upon the Garamantes, and were a pretty potent nation. They ſhaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the ſkins of oſtriches inſtead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the ſea-ſide and in ſummer to the inland places near ſome fountain or river, for the ſake of water, according to Scylax. They are called likewiſe by the antients Macæ Cinyphii, and Macæ Syritæ, from their vicinity to the Cinyps and the Greater Syrtis. But the Lotophagi were the moſt famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe Scylax, they extended themſelves almoſt from the Greater to the Leſſer Syrtis. That author calls them Libyes Lotophagi, and tells us, that the lotus ſerved them both for meat and drink; from which

Martial. l. x. Aul. Gell. l. vii. c. 14. & l. xvii. c. 15. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 8. Cic. in Academ. quæſt. l. i. in Tuſcul. quæſt. l. v. de orat. l. ii. & alib. Ouzelius in Aul. Gell. ubi ſup. Galen. in lib. de opt. docend. gen. ab Henric. Stephan. edit. an. 1562. aliiq; ſcript. mult.

which circumstance they derived their name. Pliny says, that some authors called them Alachroæ, and that many of them were found about the Philænorum Aræ. Strabo likewise affirms the country of the Lotophagi to have extended from the Lesser Syrtis, which he calls Lotophagitis Syrtis, to the confines of Cyrenaica; and that this people were not sensible of the want of water in the burning sandy region they inhabited, since the root, stalks, &c. of the lotus supplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. Homer relates, that in his time the island Meninx, on the coast of Byzacium, abounded with the lotus, and was the chief seat of the Lotophagi; as also, that Ulysses touched here in his return to Ithaca. A good part of the Regio Syrtica was a perfect desert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the lotus. Herodotus tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the same size with that of the lentiscus, but exceedingly sweet like the date; as also that the Lotophagi made wine of it. Pliny says, that the lotus was transplanted to Italy, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that transplantation. He likewise asserts its fruit to have been of the size of a bean, and of the colour of saffron, when ripe; tho' he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In Africa it resembled that of a myrtle. The best species of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a stone. The wine expressed from it tasted like mead, being extremely sweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itself, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, the Libyans laid up in large vessels, which served them for food. Theophrastus and Dioscorides make the plant lotus to have resembled a lily, and represent it both as physic and food. Some of the moderns think one species of it to have been the same as the colocasia, or faba Ægyptia, and the other as the nymphæa Nilotica. But though it might agree with these plants in many particulars, yet that it differed considerably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverses of many antient Egyptian coins. Several of these coins, struck in the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, exhibit the leaves, stalk, and fruit of the plant lotus, and consequently give us a tolerable idea of it; however, the moderns can come to no certain conclusions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this

this tract was the Cinyps, which derived its ſtream from a fountain, or a hill, called Zuchabari, in the country of the Macæ, and emptied itſelf into the Sinus Syrticus. The word Zuchabari in Punic, Phænician, or Libyan, ſignified the hill of the Graces as we find it called by Herodotus. The river Cinyps, according to Bochart, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the Regio Syrtica were Gigius and Thizibi, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories Hippus and Cephalæ ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned. Of the iſlands appertaining to this country the moſt noted were Meninx and Cercina; Ptolemy's Gaia, Pontia, and Miſynus, being quite obſcure. The iſland Myrmex more properly belonged to Cyrenaica, as it was not far diſtant from the port of the Barcæi. Pliny makes Meninx (F), near the Leſſer Syrtis, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further obſerves, that it had two towns, viz. Meninx facing the coaſt of Africa, and Thoar oppoſite to the Leſſer Syrtis. We find it named Lotophagitis, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewiſe by Polybius and Eratoſthenes. As for Cercina, it lay N. E. of Meninx, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the ſame name, and two moſt commodious harbours. Thus ſtands the geography of the Regio Syrtica, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of Tripoli ſeems at preſent to correſpond [h].

As

[h] Herodot. Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Virg. Æn. i. v. 110. & Æn. iv. v. 41. Lucan. l. i. v. 367. & l. viii. v. 184. Senec. de beat. vit. c. 14. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Antonin. itinerar. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Cæſ. in civ. l. i. c. 38. Dionyſius Characenus, ver. 480. Diod. Sic. l. iii. l. v. & alib. Plin. l. xiii. c. 17. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 310. Heliodor. l. x. p. 457. Herodot. ubi ſup. Theophraſt. hiſt. pl. l. 4. c. 10. Plut. de Iſid. p. 355, 378, & alib. Herodot. l. ii. c. 92. Theophraſt. hiſt. pl. l. iv. c. 5. p. 87. Dioſcorid. l. iv. c. 114. Solin. exercit. p. 683. Plutarch. & Iamblic. apud Triſtan. tom. i. p. 605. Seguin. num. ſelect. p 121. Ezech. Spanhem. de præſt. & uſ num. ant. diſſert. vi. p. 301--308. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 52. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 48. Polyb. l. i c. 39. Eratoſthenes apud Plin. l. v. c. 7. Homer. Il. I. v. 84. & alib.

(F) This iſland was called Girba about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name Zerbi or Zarbi (6).

(6). Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.

Its inhabitants subject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyrenæans, Numidians, and Romans.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other Libyan Nomades, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religions, language, &c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to Carthage, could not, we apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the Egyptian empire, whom Josephus and Sir Isaac Newton take to be the same prince with Sesac. How long they remained subject to the Egyptians, history informs us not; but 'tis probable a corps of them formed part of Zerah's numerous army, for the reasons already offered. Part of the Regio Syrtica seems to have been under the dominion of the Cyreneans till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the Carthaginians mentioned by Sallust; but when this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the Carthaginians till it was wrested out of them by Masiniſſa; for that it was wrested out of them by that prince, appears clearly from Appian. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the history of the Numidians [i].

Some particulars relating to Libya hitherto omitted.

Thus have we gone through the history of all the principal Libyan nations, which, we may venture to assure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however relating to them, hitherto omitted, we must not pass over in silence. Herodotus observes, that the Libyans in general went by the name of Atlantes or Atlantides, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he

[i] Sallust. in Jugurth. Appian in Libyc. c. 63. ed. Tol. Amst. 1670. Newt. in chronol. p. 70. Vid. etiam Univers. hist. vol. xvii. l. 4. c. 1. sect. 3.

(G) From Egypt to the lake Tritonis the Libyans were breders of cattle; ate flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the Egyptians. The women of Cyrene accounted it a crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion of the Libyans inhabiting the country to the west of the Triton, we must refer our readers to Herodotus (7).

(7) Herodot. l. iv.

he tells us, curſed the Sun every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, purſuing him with the bittereſt invectives, becauſe he conſumed both them, and their country, with his burning rays. From that author and Diodorus it likewiſe appears, that the Atlantides were ſeated upon, and in the neighbourhood of, mount Atlas, which from its height, the Libyans ſtyled the pillar of heaven, i. e. the high or lofty pillar; which evinces the Libyan language or languages to have been related to the oriental tongues. Herodotus alſo intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat fleſh, or was ever diſturbed in his ſleep by dreams; the laſt of which properties was probably the conſequence of the firſt. In the territories of the Atlantides, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped conſiderable advantages from ſeveral mines of ſalt, which was of two colours, viz. white and purple. Herodotus farther ſays, that many of the Libyans built houſes of this ſalt, which, as no rain ever fell in thoſe parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the Nigritæ, we muſt beg leave to add, that they were known to the Egyptians, Ammonii, and Cyreneans, before the time of Herodotus. For that author, when in Egypt, learned from ſome Cyreneans, who had the relation from Etearchus king of the Ammonii, that five bold Naſamonian youths, ſent to make new diſcoveries thro' the deſerts of Libya, at laſt came to a city inhabited by men of a low ſtature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that Etearchus judged to be the Nile. This relation tallies extremely well with Marmol, who aſſures us, that the people ſeated on the northern bank of the Nigir are perfect dwarfs (H); and alſo ſeems to add ſome weight to the authority of the Arabian geographers, who make the Nile and the Nigir different branches of the ſame river, and aſſert the ſource of this river to be in Ethiopia. From hence we may deduce the probability of the Negroes being deſcended from the Ethiopians,

(H) From the ſituation of the Naſamones, it is evident, that theſe youths muſt have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are ſaid to have inhabited. Now Marmol aſſures us, that on the ſouthern bank of the Senegal the inhabitants are large and luſty, but on the oppoſite ſide ſmall and puny; which laſt article, agreeing ſo well with Herodotus, almoſt demonſtrates the river here hinted at to have been the Nigir (8).

(8) Marm.

Ethiopians, and likewiſe the region of Nigritia's being peopled very early, as Leo ſuggeſts. For the Ethiopians on the banks, or near the ſource, of the great river above-mentioned, obſerving how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they encreaſed, might follow it weſtward, every one ſtriving to be the firſt poſſeſſor of a great quantity of ſuch excellent ſoil, and therefore advance forward till the Atlantic ocean put a ſtop to any farther progreſs. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the Blacks are not ſo different from all the reſt of mankind as ſome are willing to ſuppoſe; that their deſcent from Adam is eaſy and natural, in oppoſition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental conſideration. But theſe points will be fully diſcuſſed in that branch of the modern hiſtory which they will naturally fall under. The word Libya may be deduced either from the proper names Lehabim, Lubim, &c. above-mentioned, or from the Hebrew laab, with which the Arabic lub correſponds, ſignifying dry, parched, &c. or rather a dry parched country, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of Libya, and particularly the tract betwixt Tripolis and Pentapolis, which went by the names of Xerolibya and Libya Propria. Dr. Hyde, however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from labi, a lion, or rather a yellow, flame-coloured lion, with which ſpecies of animals Libya was known to abound; or elſe from lahab, a flame, ſince the burning ſands of Libya, by the continual reflexion of a vaſt quantity of the ſolar rays, appeared, at ſome diſtance, to travellers like a flame. As theſe ſands were frequently ſo heated as to be almoſt in a ſtate of inflammation, we muſt own ſome regard due to ſuch an etymon. As for the word Africa, or, as the Arabs pronounce it, Afrikia, which ſeems to have been unknown to Herodotus, Ariſtotle, Strabo, and the other moſt antient Greek authors, Dr. Hyde takes it to be the ſame with the Phœnician or Punic הברקה Habarca, Havarca, Havreca, &c. or אברקה Avreca, i. e. "The BARCA, or the "country of BARCA." This, our readers will allow extremely probable, eſpecially ſince Barca was a moſt remarkable part of Africa, as above obſerved; and the Romans, who firſt brought the name of Africa into Europe, might not pronounce it exactly in the ſame manner as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vaniſh, when we conſider, that the orientals for the moſt part pronounced the ſecond letter

letter of their alphabet like a V, and that nothing was more uſual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the firſt diviſion of the world was into two parts only, viz. Aſia and Europe, or the eaſtern and weſtern part, Europe comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and Africa; which diviſion ſtill prevails amongſt many of the orientals. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewiſe from the words Europe and Aſia themſelves, the former importing occidental or weſtern, and the latter half. When that vaſt region now called Africa was firſt conſidered as a diſtinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether Europe and Africa were ever joined together by an iſthmus uniting Spain and Mauritania, as ſome authors ſuggeſt; nor laſtly, if this ſhould be admitted, when, or by what means, ſuch an iſthmus came to be deſtroyed, the Nubian geographer declaring this to have been effected by labour and art, and Averroes by an earthquake. The iſland Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of Libya Interior; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be diſcovered from the antients, who differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation; which probably induced Strabo to deny the very being of it. We muſt own ourſelves likewiſe as much in the dark in relation to Plato's iſland Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Aſia and Africa together. Some of the moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was that vaſt continent called now America; others, that it lay nearer the pillars of Hercules; and laſtly, others, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as a downright fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears to us the moſt probable. For Ammianus Marcellinus affirms Plato on this occaſion not to have written fable, but a true hiſtory; and Proclus cites Marcellus an Ethiopic hiſtorian in defence of what that philoſopher has advanced concerning this iſland. Crantor alſo, Plato's firſt interpreter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory. That the iſland here under conſideration was not ſo near the Streights as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the Phœnicians in early times ſailed beyond Hercules's Pillars, along the African coaſt, and, there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were car-

ried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vaſt iſland at a great diſtance from Libya, and lying very far weſt. This place continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians came to the knowlege of it. And in the ſame place he ſays, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation to ſettle in this new region, but reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they ſhould be driven from their native ſoil, they might have a place to retire to. Ælian brings Silenus expreſly aſſerting to Midas, that there was a vaſt continent beyond Europe, Aſia, and Africa, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned Perizonius to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowledge of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them[k].

[k] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. I. Leo African. Avicen. paſſ. Ælian. de animal. paſſ. RR. Kimchi, Aben-Ezra, & Jonas in Oſe. c. xiii. ver. v. Virg. Æn. l. iv. Lucan. l. i. Serv. in Virg. ubi ſup. Averroes apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terræmotus. Agathæmer. l. ii. c. 2. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. 1. Hyde in Peritſol, p. 13, 14, 15, 16. Plat. in Timæ. & in Crit. Strab. l. ii. p. 33. Polyb. & Corn. Nep. apud Plin. l. vi. c. 31. Hanno & Scylax in peripl. Diotim. apud Strab. ubi ſup. Ptol. l. iv. Ephorus apud Plin. ubi ſud. Lycophron. ſcholiaſt. adverſ. xviii. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. verſ. 219. Diod. Sic. l. v. Crantor in Plat. ubi ſup. Marcell. apud Procl. Ammian. Marcellin. & Ælian. var. hiſt. l. iii. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Jac. Perizon. in Ælian. ubi ſup.

CHAP. VI.

The hiſtory of the Ethiopians.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Ethiopia.

The proper Ethiopia where ſituated.

SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of Ethiopians to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The Arabs therefore, and other Aſiatics,

atics, as well as a great number of Africans, came under this denomination. The Africans we find divided into the weſtern or Heſperian Ethiopians, and the Ethiopians above Egypt, ſituated to the E. of the former. The Heſperian Ethiopians inhabited that vaſt tract called Libya Interior, the hiſtory of whoſe principal nations we have already gone through. The eaſtern African Ethiopians, for ſo thoſe above Egypt may be properly ſtyled, were much better known to the antients than the others, by reaſon of their commerce with the Egyptians, and looked upon by them as the proper Ethiopians. Theſe are the people, whoſe tranſactions, from the earlieſt accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in ſuch a manner as will prove ſatisfactory to all, at leaſt the moſt candid part of, our readers [a].

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

ETHIOPIA then, or rather Ethiopia Propia, was limited on the north by Egypt, on which ſide it extended to the Leſſer Cataract, and the iſland Elephantine; on the weſt by Libya Interior; on the eaſt by the Red Sea; and on the ſouth by a part of Africa unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of Gingiro, Alaba, Machida, and part of Adel or Zeila. However, as the proper Ethiopia might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the ſides of Libya Interior and Libya incognita, we cannot pretend to fix, with any preciſion, its frontiers. Nevertheleſs it ſeems, for many ages at leaſt, to have been the ſame tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abaſſia, with part of Adel or Zeila; and conſequently to have taken up ſeventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of Cancer to within ſix degrees of the Line. Ludolphus intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of Paulus Jovius, have extended the ſouthern limits of Abaſſia much farther; but at the ſame time that author rightly obſerves them to be guilty of a miſtake. It is of no great conſequence to our readers how this point ſtands, and therefore we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it [b].

Different names of Ethiopia.

THE proper Ethiopia had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it India, and its inhabitants Indians;

[a] Herodot. l. iii. & l. vii. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. Homer. apud Strabon. l. ii. ut & ipſe Strab. l. i. & l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. iv. Dio, l. liv. p. 524. Ptol. l. iv. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Vid. & Homer. Il. iv. v. 23. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 3. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Ptol. ubi ſup. Job. Ludolph, in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88. &c. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4.

Indians; which appellation they applied to many of the remoteſt nations, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the Garamantes (A). This country was likewiſe denominated Atlantia and Æetheria, according to Pliny and Strabo, or, as

(A) Bochart thinks, that the Garamantes were a colony of the Amantes or Hammanientes of Pliny and Solinus, ſeated to the W. of the greater Syrtis. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring ſituation of thoſe nations, but likewiſe upon the affinity of their names. For as גר gar ſignifies in Hebrew to inhabit, Gar-Amante might originally have denoted The habitation or dwelling of the Amantes; or rather גר ger, from the aforeſaid verb, may be naturally ſuppoſed to have ſignified colonus, advena, &c. and then Gar-Amante will be equivalent to One belonging to a colony of the Amantes. The laſt nation that ingenious author likewiſe believes to have been the ſame with the Ammonii or Amonii, whoſe name, by an eaſy tranſpoſition of letters, entirely agrees with that of Moſes's Anamim or Anamæi. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The Anamim in all likelihood deduced their name from the word ענם Anam, which might have denoted a ſheep in the Egyptian language, as a word compoſed of the ſame letters did in Arabic. 2. According to ſome authors, the idol of Jupiter, in the territory of the Ammonii, was called Ammon from the ram that pointed out the ſpot of ground his temple was erected upon; and it is well known, that the Ammonii, in the opinion of the antients, were ſo denominated from Ammon or Ammûn, a name the Egyptians gave Jupiter. 3. That part of Libya, where Moſes ſeems to place the Anamim, abounded with ſheep, which ſupplied the natives not only with food but cloaths, and agreed very well in ſituation with the country of the Ammonii. 4. The idol of Jupiter Ammon had either ram's horns, or a ram's head upon it; which ſeemed to point at the origin of the word Anamim. If we admit what Bochart has advanced on this occaſion, the etymon of the name Naſamones, or Naſamon, applied to a neighbouring people, may eaſily be diſcovered. For Naſamon, on this ſuppoſition, muſt be apparently the ſame as נשׁי אמון Naſe-Amon, i. e. Homines Ammon or Ammonii; and conſequently the Naſamones as well as the Garamantes, were a branch of the Anamim. That the Garamantes in their own tongue, were ſtyled Gar-Amane, Ger-Amane, or, by contraction, Gar-Ame, Ger-Ame, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis Garama, or, as the Nubian geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, Germa. This obſervation will go a good way towards confirming thoſe ingenious conjectures which we have here inſerted from

the

as Heſychius will have it, Aeria. It alſo went, in very early ages, under the name of Cephenia. But we apprehend it to have been moſt uſually called Abaſene, a word approaching very near, both in ſound and ſignification, to the modern Hobaſh, Habeſh, or Abaſſia; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the hiſtory of Arabia [c].

On the other hand, we find Chaldæa, Aſſyria, Perſia, &c. ſtyled Ethiopia by ſome very good authors; nay, it muſt be allowed, that the antients called all thoſe countries, extending themſelves beyond each ſide of the Red Sea, indifferently India or Ethiopia. The eaſtern people at this day ſometimes name that kingdom India, which the Europeans call Abaſſia, particularly the Perſians, who for the moſt part give the appellation of Siah Hindou or Hindi, to an Abaſſine or modern Ethiopian. It appears from ſeveral authors, that the Red Sea itſelf went formerly under the name of the Indian Sea; and Ludolphus obſerves, that the antients denominated all thoſe nations under the Torrid Zone, whoſe names they were ſignorant of, Indians [d].

Called in ſcripture Cuſh.

According to the Jews, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other verſions (B), Cuſh, when taken for a country in ſcripture,

[c] Plin. l. vi. c. 30. Herodot. Strab. ubi ſup. Heſych. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. l. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bibliothec. p. 1323. Philoſtorgius apud Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4. aliique mult. Vid. etiam Le Grand. diſſert. ii. [d] Procop. Gaz. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. Joſ. Scalig. in comp. eccleſ. Æthiop. Theodoret. in hiſt eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 22. Le Grand ubi ſup. & I. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1.

the learned Bochart; eſpecially, ſince Herodotus affirms that part of Libya adjacent to the country of the Ammonii to have been famous for the ſheep it abounded with. Theſe nations were nearly related to the Ethiopians, as we learn from the ſame Herodotus (1).

(B) The eaſtern people affirm Cuſh the ſon of Canaan, and grandſon of Ham, to have had a ſon whoſe name was Habaſchi or Haboſchi, the father of the Abyſſinians, or Egyptians, whom the Perſians call Black Indians. The Hebrew grammarians

(1) Herodot. l. iv. Hygin. Germanic. in Arat. Athenag. in quint. Amor. Mel. l. i. c. 8. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. v. c. 5. Solin. c. 28. Gen. c. x. v. 13. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 1. Boch. Phal. l. iv. c. 30. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90.

ſcripture, is always to be underſtood of the proper Ethiopia. This notion is ſupported by Philo, Joſephus, Eupolemus in Euſebius, Euſtathius, the author of the Alexandrian chronicon, and the concurrent teſtimony of the Greek and Latin fathers. Notwithſtanding which, Bochart, depending upon the authority of Jonathan's Targum, and ſeveral plauſible arguments, affirms the land of Cuſh to have been ſituated in Arabia;

rians derive the word Habaſchah, which ſignifies Ethiopia, from Habouſcha, which denotes a people raiſed from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to D' Herbelot and others, the Abyſſinians, Nubians, and Fungi, are all comprehended under the word Habaſch. The inſpired writers are ſilent as to Cuſh the ſon of Canaan, and his ſon Habaſchi. We find mention made there only of Cuſh the ſon of Ham, and his ſons Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Sabtecha, and Nimrod. It is ſaid, that Arabia Felix went formerly under the name of Ethiopia, becauſe the Abyſſinians, who conquered it, poſſeſſed it for a long time. Dhou-Iren king of Yaman drove them from thence with the aſſiſtance of the Perſians. Some authors believe, that by Cuſh upon the river Gihon is meant only the antient country of the Scythians upon the Araxes. Herodotus intimates, that the firſt habitation this people had was upon the Araxes; and that, being forced from thence by the Maſſagetæ, they paſſed this river, and retired into the country of the Cimmerians. Juſtin makes the Phaſis and Araxes to be, as it were, the limits of the Scythians on the ſouth ſide. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Scythians who were near Media abode at firſt upon the Araxes, and that the Sacæ and Maſſagetæ are different branches of the Scythians. The words Cuthæi and Cutha, whence ſome have deduced Scythæ or Scuthæ, are the ſame as Cuſh. The Chaldees generally put the Tau where the Hebrews uſe Schin, and therefore ſay Cut or Cuth inſtead of Cuſh. The Cuthæans, who came to and inhabited the country of Samaria, did originally belong to that part of Media which bordered upon the Caſpian ſea, and therefore muſt have appertained to the Cuſh we are ſpeaking of. There are very ſenſible footſteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the diſtrict of Cotacene; the cities of Citamum, Cotomana, Cyta, Cotaca, Cotamba, Cotæa; the Cotyi, Coſſæi; river of Ciſſa, &c. (2).

(2) D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 409. Gen. c. x. v. 7, 8. Herodot. l. 1. c. 201. & l. iv. c. 11. Juſtin. l. i. & l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. xi. p. 355. Ptol. paſſ. Valer. Flac. l. vi. v. 693. Steph. Byzant. Propert. ex emend. Scalig. l. i. el. 1.

Arabia; and conſequently maintains, that Cuſh never in ſcripture denotes the proper Ethiopia. But neither of theſe opinions ought to be looked upon as ſtrictly true: for Cuſh is ſometimes in ſcripture undoubtedly to be taken for the proper Ethiopia, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but ſeveral circumſtances likewiſe which evidently point at that country; and, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that ſome of the ſacred writers give the name of Cuſh to the whole peninſula of Arabia, or a part of it bordering upon the Red Sea, or both. When the prophet Jeremiah aſks his countrymen, *Whether the Cuſhite can change his ſkin?* he muſt be conſidered as having in his eye a proper Ethiopian. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the Jews; the prophet's queſtion being proverbial, of the ſame import with that common adage of prophane writers, "to waſh the E-"thiopian or Blackmoor white." Now this cannot be underſtood of the Arabs, who were of much the ſame complexion with the Jews, as Bochart himſelf not only allows, but proves; but the Abaſſines or proper Ethiopians, might eaſily and naturally have given occaſion to ſuch a proverb. In the book of Iſaiah we find Egypt, Pathros, and Cuſh, joined together, and conſequently Cuſh taken for Ethiopia. For it appears from various authors, and even Bochart himſelf, that the land of Pathros was either the upper Egypt, or a part of that country near the confines of Ethiopia; and therefore Cuſh, in this paſſage, muſt naturally refer to Ethiopia, ſince the region here denoted by that word was S. of the upper Egypt, and contiguous to it. In defence of our ſecond aſſertion, ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture may likewiſe be produced. When the LORD threatened Egypt with utter deſolation, he declared, *That* HE *would lay it waſte from the tower of* Syene *to the border of* Cuſh (C). Now that the "border of CUSH and the tower of SYENE" are intended here

(C) Our readers will obſerve, that, out of complaiſance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the moſt received interpretation; though we muſt own ourſelves by no means inclinable to come into it. The words in the original are, ממגדל סונה ועד גבול כוש i. e. From MIGDOL to SYENE and the border of CUSH; or From MIGDOL and SYENE, and to the border of CUSH. If we admit the firſt of theſe tranſlations, we muſt ſuppoſe an ellipſis of the prepoſition עד betwixt ממגדל and סונה, than which nothing

here to represent two opposite limits of Egypt, cannot be denied; and that Syene was the Egyptian frontier on the side of Ethiopia, appears from Pliny and Strabo: therefore Cush evidently denotes Arabia, or at least that part of it adjacent to Egypt, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of Syene, and not Ethiopia, whose border extended to that tower. Moses's wife Zippora was a native of Cush, and at the same time a Midianite; the prophet Habakkuk makes the territories

nothing is more frequent in the Hebrew Scripture; as may be inferred from Deut. c. xxxiii. ver. 17. Mich. c. vii. ver. 12. and many other passages enumerated by Noldius. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the copulative ו before סְוֵנֵה, which is likewise extremely common in the original of the Old Testament, as appears from Gen. c. xxvii. ver. 33. Cant. c. viii. ver. 6. Jud. c. ix. ver. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the same Noldius. Now Migdol is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from Pelusium on the Nile near the coast of the Mediterranean, and diametrically opposite to Syene; and of course, in conjunction with Syene, denotes the whole breadth of the land of Egypt, agreeably to the prophet's intention. This city we find mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, c. xliv. ver. 1. and c. xlvi. ver. 14. who joins it with Tahpanhes, or as the Greeks called it, Daphne, and Daphnæ Pelusiæ, another city in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. This circumstance, in conjunction with the Septuagint, which has there ἐν Μαγδώλῳ, at Migdol, and εἰς Μαγδωλὸν in Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would propose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at Cellarius, who has with so much boldness insinuated, or rather affirmed, that the Greek interpreters have, in agreement with the Vulgate, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πύργου Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων. Whereas both the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the Septuagint have it ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων. Which, together with the Arabic version expressing it From MIGDOL and ASUAN to the borders of ETHIOPIA, seems to render indisputable what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving Cush to point out Arabia, that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the proper Ethiopia (3).

(3) Herodot. l. ii. c. 30. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Cellar. geogra. ant. l. iv. c. 8. Vid. etiam Val. Schind pentaglot p. 281. & Christiani Noldii concord. particular. Ebræo-Chaldaicum annotat. Joh. Gottfr. Tympii, Jenæ, 1734.

tories of Cuſhan or Cuſh, and Midian or Madian, to have been the ſame; Joſephus, Ptolemy, and St. Jerom, mention a city of Arabia on the coaſt of the Red Sea, called Madian; from all which we may infer, that part of Arabia at leaſt goes ſometimes in ſcripture under the name of Cuſh. Job intimates, that Cuſh was famous for the excellent topazes it produced: now none of the antients have taken notice of the Ethiopian topaz; whereas Pliny relates, that the beſt topazes came from the Arabic iſland Chitis or Chutis, whoſe name ſeems to have been the ſame with Cuſh or Cuth; and Agatharchides Cnidius, Diodorus, and Strabo, have likewiſe mentioned this iſland; therefore ſome of the ſacred writers denominated at leaſt part of Arabia Cuſh. *In that day, ſays the* LORD, *ſhall meſſengers go from me in ſhips, to make the careleſs Cuſhites afraid*, &c. which menace may be ſuppoſed more properly to point at the Arabs, whom the Egyptians and others viſited in ſhips on the Red Sea, than the Ethiopians, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other paſſages that occur, both the Arabs and Ethiopians might have very properly been ſtyled Cuſhites, ſince the deſcendents of Cuſh formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the Arabs themſelves had the appellation of Ethiopians, and Aſiatic Ethiopians, clearly follows from what has been advanced by Xenophon and Herodotus. However we cannot help thinking, that the antient Hebrews rightly looked upon the Ethiopians as the proper Cuſhites. For Zerah's moſt formidable army conſiſted chiefly of Cuſhites, neighbours to the Libyans, i. e. the Ethiopians, of which people only he is called king by the ſacred hiſtorian; though from Sir Iſaac Newton, and what we have already obſerved, it may be proved, that he was in poſſeſſion of all the dominions of Seſac, i. e. Egypt, Libya, Troglodytica, Arabia, &c. The extremely numerous hoſt he commanded adds great weight to this notion. Pliny intimates, that theEthiopians, whom he diſtinguiſhes from the Arabians, were maſters of Egypt not long before the deſtruction of Troy; which, conſidering that this period falls in with the time of Zerah, brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what is here advanced [e],

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[e] Philo Judæus, Hieronym. Euſeb. Euſtath, Auct. Chron. Alexandr. aliiq; apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. Eupolem. apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. ix. Jonath. Targ. in Gen. c. x. ver. 6. & alib. Exod. ii. 16, 21. Num. xii. 1. Iſai. c. xi. ver 11. Jer, c. xiii. ver. 23. Ezek. c. xxix. ver. 10. Habak. c. iii.

We cannot therefore allow, that Ludim is the only name given in ſcripture to the Ethiopians, as M. Bochart undertakes to prove. Moſt of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any conſiderable force. But, ſuppoſing them to prove, that the word Ludim, in all places of ſcripture he cites on this occaſion, is to be underſtood of the Ethiopians, which is the utmoſt that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that Ethiopia is never called Cuſh by any of the ſacred writers. Such an aſſertion cannot be maintained, though it ſhould be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the Ludim took up their habitations in Ethiopia. And yet ſeveral learned men have come into Bochart's opinion [f].

Different nations of Ethiopia.

The antients believed the blackneſs of the Abaſſines or Abyſſinians to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of the climate, and therefore called them Ethiopians. We find them likewiſe called Æthereii and Aerii by Heſychius, Pliny, and Strabo. Pliny relates, that the Blemmyes, an Ethiopian nation ſeated near the borders of Egypt, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breaſts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might probably proceed from their having very ſhort necks; however, that ſome Blemmyan captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at Rome, we learn from Vopiſcus. The Nobatæ inhabited one of the banks of the Nile, near the iſland Elephantine, having been removed thither from Oaſis, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repreſs the courſes, of the Blemmyes. Some authors refer the Troglodytes to Egypt, and others to Ethiopia; be that as it will, they were a very ſavage nation, living in caves, according to Strabo, feeding upon ſerpents, lizards, &c. and having a language conſiſting of no articulate ſounds, but reſembling the ſhrieking of bats, according to Herodotus. The Nubians we find juſt mentioned by the antients as a people of

c. iii. v. 7. Job. c. xxviii. v. 19. Ezek. c, xxx. ver. 9. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. Joſeph. antiq. l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 9. ex emend. P. Harduini. Strab. l. xvii. Joſeph. apud Bochart. ubi ſup. Hieronym. apud Cellar. l. iii. c. xiv. Ptol. in Arab. Plin, l. xxxi. c. 8. Agatharchides Cnidius, Diod. Sic. & Strab. apud Bochart. phal. l. iv. c. ii. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. & ſeq. & l. vii. c. 69. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. vi. c. 1. Newton's chronol. p. 236. Herodot. l. ii. c. 110. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. P. Harduin. in chronol. vet. teſt. p. 57. [f] Bo-chart, phal, l. iv. c. 2. 6,

of Ethiopia, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors assert the Pygmies to have been a canton of the Troglodytes, and others one of the Nubians; but 'tis generally agreed, that they had their situation not far from the Ethiopic shore of the Red Sea. Nonnosus in Photius tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over. Most of these nations are represented by Strabo as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. Bochart thinks, that the Troglodytes, including the Pygmies or Pygmæi, were styled by the Hebrews סֻכִּיִּים, i. e. Succhæi, from סֻכָּה succhah, a den; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to suppose the Troglodytic town Succha, on the coast of the Red Sea, mentioned by Pliny, the modern Suaquem, the seat of a Turkish Bashaw, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the Septuagint and Vulgate versions render סֻכִּיִּים Τρωγλοδύται, Troglodytæ, a word derived apparently from τρώγλη, i. e. a cave den, passage, &c. and rank this people among the Cushites, Libyans, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of Sesac. The Aualitæ or Abalitæ were seated near the Abalitic gulf, which is all that we have to say of them. Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Agathemerus, inform us, that the Struthophagi, who lived upon ostriches as big as stags, were seated immediately to the south of the Memnones. The Acridophagi, Chelonophagi, Ichthyophagi, Cynamolgi, Elephantophagi, Rhizophagi, Spermatophagi, Hylophagi, Ophiophagi, &c. derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fish, bitches milk, elephants, &c. they fed upon. The Acridophagi were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. As for the Chelonophagi, they covered their houses with the shells of tortoises, and lived upon their flesh. The Ichthyophagi occupied a maritime part of Ethiopia, bordering on the Red Sea, and not far from the frontiers of Egypt. As they lived upon all kinds of fish, large as well as small, Aben-Ezra takes them to be the צִיִּים Tziim of the Psalmist, to whom God gave the heads of Leviathan, under which name, according to that author, Moses comprehends all fish of a vast size, for meat. This notion seems to receive some accession of strength from several circumstances hinted at in the passage referred to. For the Troglodytes made their very bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun; the Psalmist is there speaking

ing of Pharaoh, and the Egyptians, who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards thrown upon the Troglodytic ſhore; Tziim properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, ſuch as was that of the Troglodytes; and other texts of ſcripture, compared with this, not a little favour ſuch an opinion. They built their houſes of whalebones, and ſhells of fiſhes. The ribs ſerved for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fiſh. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vaſt quantities of ſea-weed from time to time thrown on ſhore, and conſolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a freſh acceſſion of matter to it, together with the heat of the ſun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by ſeveral authors, it appears, that the Red Sea was exceeding ſhallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immenſe quantity of this ſea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the Hebrews denominated it יַם סוּף yam ſuph, i. e. "The ſea of the "weed." The Cynamolgi kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beaſts, and ſometimes fed upon bitches milk. Pliny fabulouſly relates, that they had dogs deads. The Elephantophagi ſeem to have had their ſituation in the ſouthern parts of Ethiopia, and deſtroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elſewhere. The Rhizophagi were ſeated not far from the conflux of the Aſtaboras, Aſtapus, and the Nile. Their territory abounded with moraſſes that produced a great number of canes, whoſe roots ſerved them for food. The Spermatophagi and Hylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons; the firſt of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in ſummer, but the reſt of the year upon a ſweet plant with a ſtalk ſomething reſembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender ſhoots of trees. The Hylogones, neighbours to the Elephantophagi, lived for the moſt part in the woods, and generally ſlept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beaſts, we ſhall hereafter deſcribe. The Pamphagi uſed every thing indiſcriminately for food; and the Agriophagi fed upon the fleſh of wild beaſts. The Ophiophagi or Serpent-eaters inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from Pliny. The Ethiopian Anthrophagi or Man-eaters, mentioned by Marcianus and Ptolemy, ſeem to have been the Cafres, and not a people of proper Ethiopia. As for the Gapachi, Ptoemphanes, Catadupi, Pechini, Catadræ, and other obſcure Ethiopic tribes, we know nothing of them but the bare names. The number of

nations

nations inhabiting antient Ethiopia will not ſurpriſe us, when we have ſeen Ludolphus's deſcription of the kingdom of Abyſſinia [g] (D).

THIS region did not abound in cities and towns of any conſiderable note. Auxume, Auxumis, or Axome, the metropolis of Ethiopia, according to Arrian and Nonnoſus in Photius, undoubtedly was the ſame city as the modern Axuma, or, as the Abaſſines call it, Aſcum. The noble palace, beautiful ſtructures, &c. this city was formerly ſo famous for, ſufficiently appear from the preſent remains of it. It ſtands about forty-five Portugueſe leagues from the Red Sea, and in 14° 30′ N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almoſt totally ruined, and ſcarcely affording ſhelter to an hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be ſeen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have ſupported themſelves againſt the injuries of time. The Portugueſe, who firſt viſited this country, called Axuma corruptly Chaxumo or Caſſumo. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each ſide, and a double porch, with an aſcent of twelve ſteps, ſtand ſeveral obeliſks of different ſizes, and others have been thrown down by the Turks. Amongſt the rubbiſh is a great ſquare ſtone, on which appears ſome part of an antient inſcription, ſo effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing

Cities.

Auxume.

[g] Herodot. l. iv. Philoſtratus & Cteſias Cnidius apud Phot. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. l. iii. in excerptis Photii. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. & l. xvii. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 24, 29, 30, & alib. paſſ. Arrian. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. Joſeph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. Olympiodorus apud Photium, p. 112. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Flavius Vopiſcus in Prob. c. 17. Procop. de bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 19. Zoſim. l. i. c. 71. Antonin. itinerar. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ammian. Marcellin. l. x. c. 4. Dionyſ. Af. v. 220. Claudian. de Nil. v. 19. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Nonnus Dionyſ. 17. Marcian. Heracleot. in peripl.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the Hippophagi or Horſe-eaters of Agathemerus, who were bounded on the ſouth by the northern borders of Libya Incognita; the Macrobii, a powerful nation, ſome of whom attained to the age of an hundred-and-twenty years, according to Herodotus; the Sambri, not far from the Nubian city Tenupſis upon the Nile, all whoſe quadrupeds, even the elephants themſelves, were without ears; and the Aſachæ, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) Herodot. l. iii. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. l. vi. c. 30.

nothing can be distinguished except some Greek and Latin letters, and the word Basilius. When the Abassine monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. Pselchis or Pselca, and Premnis, through which Petronius marched in his Ethiopic expedition, stood upon the western bank of the Nile, but their true situation cannot be discovered. Napata, where Candace queen of Ethiopia resided, was on the opposite bank, but in what direction it is to be sought for, we cannot precisely inform our readers. Ptolemy mentions two towns called Premis or Primis, one of which might possibly have been the Premnis of Strabo. The emporia or marts of Malis, Mondus, Abalis, Mosylon, Cloe, and Opone, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. Petronius reduced Pselcha, Premnis, and Napata, in the above-mentioned expedition, razing Napata, and leaving a garrison of four hundred men in Premnis, with provisions for two years. Pliny mentions a city of the Nubians upon the Nile called Tenupsis, with which possibly either Couxa, Nuvâla, Galva, Duncâla, or Ielâc, all placed by the Nubian geographer near the conflux of the Nile and the Astaboras, may correspond. Duncâla, the Dumcâla of Jacutus, the Dungâla of Leo, and the present Dongola, the capital of the Nubians, all whose cities are seated upon the Nile, seems to bid the fairest for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deserve the least attention [h].

Mountains. ETHIOPIA, as appears from the best modern geographical descriptions of Abassia, as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients except the mounts Garbata, and Elephas or Phalangis. Whether or no the mountains of Tigre, the highest of which is Lamalmon, beginning about two days journey from the Red Sea, answer to either of these, we shall not presume to assert; though that they did, by the situation assigned them, seems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over Lamalmon, whose ascent is vastly steep and dangerous, is so narrow, that the person

[h] Strab. Mel. Plin. Arrian. Ptol. Marcian. Heracl. Steph. Byzant. ubi sup. Nonnosus apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. par. 4. Leo African. l. vii. c. ult. Franciscus Alvarez, c. xvii. & apud Golium, ubi sup. I. Ludolph. in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 251, 252, & seq. Vid. etiam Ludolph. l. ii. c. 11. & Le Grand, dissert. ii.

perſon who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyſs, and is irrecoverably loſt. Several provinces of Abaſſia, viz. Bagemdra or Bagemeder, Gojam, Waleka, Shewa, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are thoſe of Amhara and Samen. The Aorni, as the Abaſſines call them, are rugged rocks of ſuch an incredible height, that the Alps and Pyrenees are but low hills in compariſon of them. Curtius relates, that the Indians called a famous rock in their country Aornos, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author miſtakes the etymology, ſince the word, from what has been here obſerved, cannot be looked upon as of Greek extraction. Amongſt the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of Abaſſia, ariſe ſteep and craggy rocks of various forms, ſome reſembling towers, others pyramids, &c. ſo even on the ſides, that they ſeem to be the effect of labour and art; inſomuch that men, cattle, &c. are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of theſe rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fiſh-ponds, &c. which very copiouſly ſupply the animals ſeated thereon with all the conveniencies of life. The moſt remarkable of theſe rocks is Geſhen or Amba-Geſhen, on the confines of Amhara, towards Shewa, prodigiouſly ſteep, in the form of a caſtle built of free-ſtone, and almoſt impregnable. Its ſummit is about half a Portugueſe league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The aſcent at firſt is eaſy, but afterwards ſo ſteep and rugged, that the Abaſſine oxen, which will otherwiſe clamber like goats, muſt be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongſt ſhrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely ſufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to Kircher, in the province of Gojam, a rock ſo curiouſly hollowed by nature, that at a diſtance it reſembles a looking-glaſs; and oppoſite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be ſo ſoftly whiſpered but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of theſe rocks and mountains are vaſt profundities or abyſſes, which appear moſt dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned Amba, as Amba-Salam, Amba-Geſhen, Amba-Dorho, Amba-damo, Amba-Samet, &c.

The climate of Ethiopia.

In ſo mountainous a region as Ethiopia, the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where ſo many different ſeaſons may be found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. The Ethiopic, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of the Red Sea, together with thoſe low open places called by the

modern Abaſſines Kolla, and the iſlands of this ſea, are intolerably ſcorched by the ſolar rays in the ſummer-ſeaſon; inſomuch that Gregory the Abaſſine related the heat in the iſland of Suaquema or Suaquena to be ſo intenſe as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard Indian wax in a cabinet, and ſear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to Tellezius, the ſummer heats are milder in ſeveral diſtricts of Abaſſia than in Portugal; and even in Samen the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In ſome provinces of Ethiopia the winter is extremely ſevere, in others as warm as the ſummer in ſeveral parts of Europe. The Ethiopians have little or no ſnow, but only a ſmall ſort of hail that ſometimes covers the ground, and at a diſtance looks like ſnow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempeſts that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. [i] Ludolphus thinks, that Gregory's four ſeaſons, Matzau, Tzadai, Hagai, and Cramt, are in reality but three, i. e. the ſpring, which begins on the twenty-fifth day of September; the ſummer, conſiſting of two parts, the firſt called Tzadai, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of December, and the ſecond denominated Hagai in the Abaſſine tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of June; and laſtly, Cramt, or winter, which concludes the Ethiopic year. The climate here in general is ſo healthy, that tis no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age; however, towards the beginning of the ſpring, that is to ſay, in the months of September and October, an epidemic fever ſometimes makes great havock amongſt the inhabitants of Tigre [k].

The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying betwixt the tropic of Cancer and the line, are for the moſt part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are generally ſpeaking ſalubrious and pleaſant; but the atmoſphere over the plains, for want of them, ſtagnates, and becomes unwholeſome. The wind Sendo, however, is far from being beneficial to the Abaſſines. It is a whirlwind ſo impetuouſly violent, that it throws down all before it, and therefore in ſome

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Agathemer. geogr. l. ii. c. 15. Ludolph. l. i. c. 6. Curt. l. viii. P. Balthazar Tellez. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. paſſ. Le Grand, diſſert. ii. Athan. Kirch. in Muſurg. univerſ. t. iii. l ix. c. 6. [k] Nonnoſus apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. Gregor. Abaſſin. apud Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 5.

ſome reſpect may ſeem to anſwer its name, which in the Amharic dialect ſignifies a ſerpent or ſnake. Gregory told Ludolphus, that it might be ſeen, and repreſented an immenſe ſerpent, whoſe head moved on the ground, and the body erected itſelf in curls and windings up to the ſky. The ſoil in thoſe parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vaſt quantities of grain, pulſe, and fruit. Metals likewiſe, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a ſurpriſing variety of animals, it abounds with; but theſe our readers will expect a deſcription of in another place. We find it aſſerted by the beſt authors, that the Abaſſines have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three harveſts in a year. They neither ſow nor mow for the ſake of their cattle, the perpetual heat and continual diſtillation of moiſture from the mountains, producing graſs in great abundance, and covering the fields with a moſt beautiful verdure thro' all the different ſeaſons of the year. Though they have moſt delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongſt them, yet they almoſt entirely confine themſelves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in ſome parts of Europe [1] (D).

Rivers. The Nile.

Of all the rivers, that water Ethiopia, the moſt famous is the Nile, which has its ſource in that country. Many of the antient geographers, and in particular Ptolemy, placed the fountains of this river beyond the Line, on ſome mountains which they call the mountains of the moon. But the moderns, particularly the Portugueſe, have diſcovered this to be a miſtake. What they have advanced on this head has been in a great meaſure confirmed by Gregory the Abaſſine in a letter to M. Ludolphus. According to that curious perſon, the ſpring-head of the Nile firſt appears in a tract called Secut, upon the top of Dengla, near the frontiers of Gojam, to the W. of Bagemdra, Dara, the lake of Tzana, and Bada. From thence it takes its courſe towards Amhara, leaving Gojam on the right, and

[1] Strab. l. xvii. Greg. Abaſſ. ubi ſup. PP. Hieronym. Lup. Balthaz. Tellez. Alphonſ. Mendez. & Job. Ludolph. paſſ.

(D) This appears from what the young Abaſſian told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at Jeruſalem, and receives ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from Diodorus and Strabo. Thoſe authors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from Millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

(5) Diod. Sic. l. i. Strab. l. xvii.

Bagemdra on the left. Having paſſed the limits of Amhara, and in ſuch a manner ſurrounded the kingdom of Gojam as always to leave it on the right, it waſhes the confines of Waleka, and then approaches the fartheſt bounds of Mugara and Shewa. Then, running between Bizama and Gonga, it comes into the country of the Chankalas; from whence, winding to the right and gradually leaving the weſtern climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of Sennar. But before its arrival there, it is greatly encreaſed by the acceſſion of two large rivers from the eaſt, viz. the Tacaza falling out of Tigre, and the Guangua deſcending from Dambea. After taking a view of the kingdom of Sennar, it moves to the borders of Dongola, and ſo to the kingdom of Nubia (E); from hence, turning to the right, it reaches at laſt a region called Abrim, where its ſtream becomes unnavigable by reaſon of the cliffs and rocks, and ſoon afterwards enters Egypt. The travellers therefore from Sennar and Abaſſia, after having croſſed Nubia, leave the Nile to the E. and croſs upon camels a deſert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing elſe but ſand, is to be ſeen. From Abrim it continues its courſe to Rif or Upper Egypt, where the above-mentioned travellers again come up with it; and, after having traverſed the kingdom of Egypt in a northern direction, empties itſelf into the Mediterranean near Alexandria.

(E) 'Tis obſervable, that Gregory here diſtinguiſhes the kingdom of Sennar from that of Nubia, though at preſent they are looked upon to be the ſame. However, in our opinion Gregory's authority is ſuperior to that of Pomet and the miſſionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of Sennar in any of that numerous tribe of oriental and other authors cited by the excellent Golius in his incomparable notes upon Alfraganus, though they take notice both of Nuba or Nubia, and the country of the Fungi; therefore it ſhould ſeem probable, that Sennar is only a part of Nubia, or elſe a kingdom different from it. The Nubian geographer intimates, that in his time the city of Somnay probaby Sennar, was an inconſiderable place, and its diſtrict or territory diſtinct from the kingdom of Nuba or Nubia. Ludolphus makes the modern kingdom of Sennar to be the ſame with the country of the Fungi, and a part of the antient Nubia (5).

(5) Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 3. ſub. fin. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthio. l. i. c. 2.

andria. Father Payz, who viewed the fountains of the Nile himſelf, adds, that the ſource of this river conſiſts of two round ſpring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marſhy; that, however, the water does not iſſue out from thence, but from the foot of the hill, about a muſquet-ſhot from whence, towards the eaſt, the river begins to flow; that, winding then to the north about the fourth part of a Portugueſe league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the eaſt, ſoon after which it enlarges itſelf with the addition of ſeveral other ſtreams; and laſtly, that about a day's journey farther it ſwallows up the river Jema, and, after flowing twenty Portugueſe leagues in a weſtern direction, turns to the eaſt, and plunges itſelf into a vaſt lake (F). 'Tis remarkable, that all the rivers of Ethiopia, at any conſiderable diſtance from the ocean, except the Hanazo riſing in Hangota or Angote, and the Hawaſh or Aoaxe running through the kingdoms of Dawara and Fatagara or Fategur, flow into the Nile. The Eteſian winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the Nile, though ſome authors have falſly imagined the contrary, nor the ſnow melted from the Ethiopian mountains, according to others, as Seneca and Ludolphus have fully evinced. But the prodigious maſs of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate ſhowers with which the countries under the Torrid Zone are waſhed, when the ſun returns into the winter ſigns, undoubtedly occaſions them. Juba makes the Nile to have had its ſource in Mauritania, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus; which runs counter to fact, as well as moſt other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the

(F) This is probably the lake of Tzana, through which the Nile paſſes, ſtill preſerving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the ſouth, it waſhes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of Abaſſia, viz. Bagemdra, Amhara, Waleka, Shewa, Damota, &c. and takes along the rivers of thoſe countries, viz. the Baſhlo, Tzohha, Kecem, Jema, Roma, and Wonſit. Then on the right hand ſurrounding Gojam, and ſwelled with the Muga, Abaja, Aſwari, Temei, Gult, and Tzul, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the weſt, leaves Abaſſia upon the right, and runs in a northern direction through ſeveral thirſty nations, and ſandy deſerts, in order to fertilize Egypt with its inundations (6).

(6) Greg. Abaſ. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 122, 123, & ſeq.

ſouthern parts of Mauritania as far as the Niger, which agreed almoſt in all points with the Nile, as juſt obſerved; and therefore miſtake the latter for the former, which he might falſly imagine had its riſe in Mauritania, becauſe it ran by the borders of that region. Strabo countenances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the ſouthern parts of Mauritania abounded with animals and vegetables like thoſe produced in and about the Nile (G). The modern Abaſſines, tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the Nile deduces its ſource, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the courſe of that river after it leaves them. However, the conſtant and antient tradition amongſt them is, that near a certain mountain, at ſome diſtance from the city of Sennar, it divides itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which runs to the weſtward, and forms the river Niger, and the other in a northern direction takes its courſe through Egypt. This we learn from the Nubian geographer, who at the ſame time intimates, that the channel running to the eaſt of this mountain, watering Nubia and the land of Egypt, is divided in the Lower Egypt into four parts, three of which fall into the Syrian ſea, and the other diſcharges itſelf into a ſalt lake near Alexandria. 'Tis probable, that the ſeparation of theſe two ſtreams is cauſed by ſome rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and ſplitting it into two channels. Leo Africanus adds great weight to the authority of the Nubian geographer, when he aſſures us, that the Nile flows through the region of the Nigritæ. The Abaſſines, according to Gregory above-mentioned, ſay that the Niger ſeparates from the Nile in the country of Dongola; that the greateſt flow of water paſſes into Egypt; and that the other ſtream, deſcending towards the region of Elway, at laſt throws itſelf into the Atlantic ocean. All which ſeems to be confirmed by what we have lately obſerved from Herodotus, and by Pliny, when he aſſures us, that the Nile and the Niger agree in colour and taſte of water, produce the ſame ſort of reed, the ſame ſort of paper, the ſame ſort of animals, and encreaſe, as

(G) 'Tis not improbable, that the Segelmeſſa was one of theſe rivers mentioned by Strabo; ſince, according to the Nubian geographer, it nearly reſembled the Nile, in almoſt all particulars: nay, we are told, that the river Sus at preſent fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the Nile does Egypt; which adds no ſmall weight to the authority of Strabo (7).

(7) Geogr. Nubienſ. Moll, De la Croix, &c.

as well as overflow, at the ſame ſeaſons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it ſeems poſſible for the king of Abaſſia either ſo to ſtop up the fountains of the Nile, or ſo to divert the courſe of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that Egypt ſhould not be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from Elmacinus, who relates, that the khalif Muſtanſir ſent Michael the patriarch with magnificent preſents to the Abaſſine monarch, to prevail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to Egypt, which for ſome time had been ſtopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The conſequence of which was, that the Nile, which had before greatly failed, roſe three yards in one night, and rendered the land of Egypt as capable of cultivation as ever. This has induced ſome authors to aſſert, that the grand ſignior pays an annual tribute to the king of Abaſſia, that his Egyptian ſubjects may enjoy all the advantages of the Nile's inundations which their anceſtors have done. Gregory, cited above, intimated to Ludolphus, that he had heard from ſome Abaſſines of undoubted veracity, that near the Cataracts of the Nile the land to the eaſt was a perfect plain; and that, by only opening a paſſage through one mountain for that river, it would flow rather that way than into the Mediterranean through (H) Egypt. However, we muſt own ourſelves far from being certain as to this point; though a gentleman of moſt profound erudition, and unexceptionable authority, has informed us, that he met with a young Abaſſinian at Jeruſalem, who intimated to him, that ſuch a kind of notion ſtill prevailed amongſt his countrymen. The preſent

(H) It is obſervable, that the kings of Abaſſia are ſtill perſuaded, that the keys of the Nile are in their hands, and that they can, when they pleaſe, change its courſe, as the king Teklimanout threatened the baſhaw of Cairo towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incenſed at the aſſaſſination of the ſieur Du Roule a Frenchman at Sennar, threatened the baſhaw with his reſentment, in caſe an immediate ſtop was not put to ſuch flagrant violations of the law of nations; telling him, that he could make the Nile the inſtrument of his vengeance, ſince god, by placing in his hands the fountains, paſſage, and encreaſe, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(8) See the ſequel to father Lobo's voyage to Abaſſinia.

Ethiopians call their part of this river Abawi, though in the old Ethiopic language we find it ſtyled Gejon or Gewon, probably by an antient miſtake from the Greek word Γεὼν, Geon, or Hebrew Gihon, Gen. ii. 13. ſince ſome authors have imagined that river to be the Nile. The prophets Jeremiah and Iſaiah give the river we are now upon the name of Sihor or Sichor, i. e. The black river, from the colour of its water, as the Greeks did that of Melas, and the Latins Melo, for the ſame reaſon. And, agreeably to this notion, Virgil ſays:

" Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fœcundat arena,
" Et diverſa ruens ſeptem diſcurrit in ora
" Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis."

Virg. Georg. l. iv. v. 291---294.

Dionyſius Afer and Stephanus Byzantinus ſay, that the Ethiopians denominated that part of this river running through their territories Siris, which is evidently the ſame as Sihor; but that, as ſoon as it reached Syene, it received the name of (I) Nile. Beſides the Nile, the antient geographers mention

(I) To what has been ſaid of the Nile we ſhall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez. " The Nile," ſays he, " receives ſeveral ri-
" vers, the moſt remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo,
" which divides the kingdoms of Bagemeder or Bagemdra and
" Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the ſame kingdom of
" Amhara and Oleca; the Malec and Auguer, which, having
" joined their ſtreams, water the countries of Damot, Narea,
" Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called
" by the antients Aſtaboras, hath three different ſources near the
" mountains, which ſeparate the two kingdoms of Angote or
" Angota and Bagameder; it runs towards the weſt thro' the de-
" ſert of Oldeba; then, entering Dambar, falls into a large bed
" of ſands; and afterwards having croſſed part of the kingdom
" of Decan, diſcharges itſelf into the Nile. 'Tis ſaid, that be-
" ſides crocodiles and river-horſes, there are in this river abun-
" dance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb the arm of
" any man that touches them. The Mareb, riſing two leagues
" from Debaroa, falls, after a long courſe, from a rock thirty
" cubits in height, and ſinks under-ground; but in the winter it
" runs through many other provinces, and by the monaſtery of
" Alleluja, and then loſes itſelf. The army, when they invaded
" theſe regions, dug into the ſand, and found under-ground both
" good

tion two other rivers called Aſtaboras and Aſtapus, meeting near the iſland or peninſula Meroe, and joining the Nile ſoon after. As theſe rivers had their ſources to the eaſt of the Nile, the firſt deducing its ſtreams from the lake Coloe in the diſtrict of Amaza, and the other from ſome fountains betwixt the mounts Garbata and Elephas not far from the Aualitic gulph, we muſt ſubmit it to our readers, whether the modern Tacaza and Mareb, conſidering the ſituation and direction aſſigned them by the modern geographers, do not entirely correſpond with them. Pliny, Heliodorus, and Strabo, mention a third conſiderable river falling into the Nile, whoſe name they do not entirely agree in; but as it has been omitted

" good water and excellent fiſh." To which we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of the courſe of the Nile, as delivered to us by the beſt modern geographers ſince the time of Gregory and Ludolphus. It ariſes in the kingdom of Gojam, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of Dambea or Tzana; afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of Bagemeder, or, as Gregory calls it, Bagemdra; then, ſtill running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of Amhara; from whence continuing it's motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of Oleca, betwixt which and Amhara it receives a conſiderable river, as it did before the Bachilo on the confines of Amhara and Bagemdra. From the kingdom of Oleca it moves to that of Choa in the ſame direction, and from thence by Debra through Galla, and the kingdom of the Cafates, to that of Gonga. Afterwards it viſits the country of the Changalas, N. E. of Gonga. From thence in a northern direction it flows to the city and kingdom of Sennar; and then to Corte or Corti in Nubia, through the deſert of Bahiouda N. W. from Sennar. Betwixt Sennar and Corti it paſſes by Barbar, near which is a cataract N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches Corte. Kaniſe W. of Corte next receives a viſit from it; and then Dongola N. of Kaniſe. Continuing its courſe N. E. it arrives at the Greater Cataract; and afterwards takes its leave of Nubia near the Leſſer Cataract. Laſtly, having traverſed Egypt in a northern direction, it diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the Mediteranean. We could not diſpenſe with being thus particular, in relation to the ſource and courſe of a river the moſt celebrated of all others taken notice of by antiquity, on account of the vaſt advantages accruing from its inundations to the countries through which it paſſed; eſpecially ſince the antients ſought after the cauſes of theſe inundations, and the head of this river, in vain (9).

(9) Alphonſ. Mendez apud Le Grand, diſſert iii.

omitted by ſeveral of the antient geographers, and eſpecially by Ptolemy, who had the beſt means of informing himſelf as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we ſhall ſuperſede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to ſay of the rivers of Ethiopia [m] (K).

Lakes, promontories, ports, &c.

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in Ethiopia beſides the ſources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of Pſeboa above Meroe, that of Tzana being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, Baſium, Mnemium, Aſpis, Saturni promontorium, Moſylon, Dire, Zengiſa, Noti Cornu, Praſum, and Raptum, the laſt of which was inhabited by Cannibals or Anthropophagi. But the three laſt capes ſeem rather to have belonged to the Cafres or African barbarians than the proper Ethiopians. The chief ports and empories of Ethiopia, were thoſe of Adulis, Mondus, Opone, Moſylon, and the principal city of the Aulitæ, ſeated upon the Red Sea. From their country into theſe places the Arabs imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, &c. and exported from thence to Ocelis and

[m] Greg. Abaſſ. apud Ludolph. & ipſe Ludolph. in hiſt. Ethiop. l. i. c. 8. Mel. l. i. c. 9. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Joſeph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. Herodot. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. i. Plin. l. v. c. 9. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Plutarch. Incert. Auct. Theophilact. Diod. Sic. Ariſtid. Dio. Strab. Heliodor. Theodoret. de increment. Nil. Virg. georg. l. iii. Dionyſ. Af. v. 223. Steph Byzant. de urb. Iſai. c. xxiii. v. 3. Jer. c. ii. v. 18. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. x. Ptol. l. iv. Ennius apud Serv. in Æn. i. Senec. quæſt. natural. l. iv. c. 2, Solin. c. 27, 43. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Ammian Marcellin. l. xxii. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. Georg. Elmachin. in hiſt. Saracen. Leo African. l. i. c. 7. PP. Pays & Tellez. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. Alf. D'Albuquer. comment. in Tellez. par. 4. c. 7. Athan. Kirch. in ſupplement. prod. & lexic. Copt. p. 524. c. 2. Iſ. Voſſ. de orig. Nil, & flumin. Vid. & Le Grand diſſert. iii,

(K) We muſt not omit obſerving, that as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in Ethiopia, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in ſummer. Several of theſe rivers do not empty themſelves into the ſea, as in other regions, but are ſucked up in the ſand; ſo that it is more difficult to diſcover their mouths than the ſources of other ſtreams (10).

(10) Ludolph. in præfat. ad hiſt. Æthiop.

and Muſa, oppoſite harbours in Arabia, ſpices, caſſia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and ſeveral other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortreſs of Sabid, probably the Sabat of Ptolemy, now in a ruinous condition. The moſt noted iſlands appertaining to Ethiopia were Meroe, if that ſhould not rather be deemed a peninſula, the Sporades of Agatharchides, Aſtratæ, Ara Palladis, Gythitis, Myronis, Daphnine, Magi, Acanthine, Iſis, Mondus, and Menuthias (M). Meroe contained a large tract, together with a very conſiderable city, its metropolis, of the ſame name. Joſephus informs us, that its original name was Saba, but that Cambyſes, from his ſiſter, afterwards called it Meroe; which ſeems to be confirmed by Strabo, tho' it does not appear from Herodotus, that this prince penetrated ſo far into Ethiopia. Timoſthenes, Ptolemy Philadelphus's admiral, related, that the city of Meroe was ſixty days journey from Syene. Eratoſthenes made this diſtance ſix hundred and twenty-five miles; Hipparchus in Strabo five thouſand ſtadia, which agrees with Eratoſthenes; Artemidorus ſix hundred miles; and Seboſus computed ſixteen hundred miles from the fartheſt or moſt northern part of Egypt to this famous town. But, according to Pliny (N), the road

(L) 'Tis remarkable, that moſt of theſe commodities have for a long time failed in Ethiopia, as the lotus and ſilphium in Egypt and Cyrenaica; but Arabia and India ſufficiently ſupply the European merchants with them (11).

(M) To which we may add the iſland in the great lake of Pſeboa, ſometimes occupied by the Libyans, and at other times by the Ethiopians, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms, according to Strabo. From the ſituation that author aſſigns this lake, in conjunction with what we ſhall offer concerning Meroe in note (N), our readers may poſſibly be induced to believe, that the preſent lake of Txana or Dambea is the Pſeboa of the antients (12).

(N) The computation we find in Pliny is as follows: From Syene to Hiera fifty-four miles; from thence to Tama ſeventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the Ethiopians called Euonymites an hundred-and-twenty miles; from thence to Acina fifty-four miles; from thence to Pitara twenty-five miles; from thence to Tergedus an hundred and ſix miles; from thence to Napata eighty miles; and laſtly, from Napata to the city of Meroe three hundred and ſixty miles.

What part of Sennar or Abaſſia anſwers to Meroe, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. The Jeſuits have pitched upon the kingdom of Gojam, as being almoſt encompaſſed by the Nile, and

(11) Bochart ubi ſup. (12) Strab. l. xvii.

road between Meroe and Syene was diſcovered in the reign of Nero to be eight hundred and ſeventy-four Roman miles long. The Nubian geographer does not differ greatly from ſome of theſe computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traverſing Nubia, or that vaſt tract lying betwixt the confines of Egypt and Abaſſia. We find, that when Ethiopia was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the city of Meroe made a prodigious figure, inſomuch that, if ſome of the antients may be credited, it could ſend into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and contained four hundred thouſand artificers, though in Pliny's time it was but a ſmall town. Several queens of this part of Ethiopia,

and conſequently a peninſula, as Meroe was thought to have been by ſome of the antients. But M. Ludolphus has entirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongſt other things, that nothing related of Meroe by Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny, is applicable to Gojam; Meroe being nearer Egypt. Beſides, as that learned author obſerves, had Meroe been Gojam, and the antients had known that country, they muſt conſequently have known the ſource of the Nile; which we find they did not. Voſſius believes the city Baroo or Baroa, ſituated in 16°. 22'. N. lat. where the Bahrnagaſh generally reſides, to correſpond with the capital of Meroe. As this opinion depends upon the ſuppoſition, that the preſent Mareb or Moraba is the Aſtaboras of the antients, which muſt be admitted, it ſeems to have ſome appearance of truth. Mr. Senex's map of this country, which to us appears the moſt accurate of any that has been hitherto publiſhed, ſeems to point out the tract anſwering to the antient Meroe. We find there a ſort of peninſula with many of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of Meroe handed down to us by the antients. This peninſula is formed by the Rahd, the Nile, the Goze, the Mareb or Moraba, the Takezel or Tacaza, and a river compoſed of theſe three laſt, which unites its ſtream with that of the Nile in near 18°. N. lat. The chief places ſeated on the Nile in this peninſula are Chanedi, Ghenedetoul, Garri, Helfaia, Cotragne, Nogue, and Habkharas; upon the Rahd Enbulbul and Geſen; and upon the conflux of the Moraba and Tacaza the city of Derkin or Dequin: which we mention in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninſula of Meroe reſembled a ſhield, and was three thouſand ſtadia long, and one thouſand broad, according to Strabo; it was likewiſe ſurrounded on the weſt by the Nile, and on the eaſt by the rivers flowing into it. Solinus ſays, that Meroe was formed by the Nile, and ſix hundred miles from the ſea; and Mela, as corrected by Salmaſius, pretty nearly agrees with him. Pauſanias intimates, that

the

pia, called Candace, that having for a conſiderable number of years been a ſort of ſurname to them, held their reſidence here. Strabo makes it to have been ten thouſand ſtadia from Alexandria, and the capital of Ethiopia. As the other iſlands are in a manner obſcure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to obſerve, that Hardouin, Bochart, and Salmaſius, believe Madagaſcar to be the antient Menuthias, though Iſaac Voſſius takes it to have been the ſame with that iſland which the moderns call Zanzibar. How far either of theſe notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to ſay; neither is it of any conſequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them is ſo [n].

THE principal curioſities of this country are: 1. The rocks called Amba-Dorho, or the rock of the hen above-mentioned. Curioſities.

2. The

[n] Herodot. l. ii, c. 29. Strab, l. xvii. Plin. l. ii. c. 73. & l. vi. c. 29, 30. Joſeph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi ſup. Ptol. Arrian, Marcian. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Dioſcorid. l. i Ætius, tetrab. i. ſerm. 2. c. 156. Serapion ex emend. Cl. Bocharti. Plin. l. xii. c. 15. Simeon Sethus & Galen. apud Bochart. phal. l. ii. c. 23. Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 878. Bochart Chan. l. i. c. 37. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p. 89 Harduin. ad Plin. l. vi c. 31. Voſſ. ad Mel. p. 303. Athan. Kirch. in Oedip. Ægypt. ſynt. i. c. 7. p. 57. Ludolph. ubi ſup. c. 8.

the Nile entered a great lake beyond Meroe, which it paſſed through, and traverſed the whole country of Ethiopia. The rivers Aſtapus and Aſtaboras, i. e. the Tacaza and Moraba, joined the Nile above Meroe, i. e. the city of Meroe. All which particulars, as well as ſeveral others ſuggeſted by Pliny, Timoſthenes, Seboſus, Eratoſthenes, and the Nubian geogragher, in the paſſages here referred to, conſidering the many turnings and windings of the Nile, are more applicable to the peninſula at preſent under conſideration, than any other part of Sennar or Abaſſia that can be aſſigned for this purpoſe. From the ſame chart, and the authors it is deduced from, we muſt allow it probable, that Mr. Senex's river Rahd, ariſing out of Dambea eaſt of the Nile, is the Guangua of Gregory; as alſo that the Goze, Mareb or Moraba, and Takezel or Tacaza, may be reputed the Aſtoſabas or Aſtuſapes, Aſtaboras, aud Aſtapus, of the antients. Some modern writers ſeem inclined to believe, that the Mareb of the preſent Abaſſines anſwers to the Aſtuſapes of the antients, though we have here ſuppoſed the Goze to be that river (13).

(13) Pauſan. Eliac. poſter. Joſeph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Jeſuit. Voſſ. & Ludolph. apud Le Grand, diſſert. ii.

2. The ſolid gold found on the banks of ſeveral rivers about the ſize of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by Pliny, with which the provinces of Damot and Enarea are ſaid to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines ſome parts of it are ſo famous for. 4. The mountains of ſalt in a diſtrict upon the confines of Tigre and Angota, called the land of ſalt. In the mountains the ſalt is ſoft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being expoſed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red ſalt mentioned by the patriarch Alphonſo Mendez, and ſaid to be indued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral ſtibium, called in the Ethiopic tongue cuehel or cohol, which is produced in ſeveral provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the modern hiſtory of Abyſſinia ° (O).

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

Antiquity of the Ethiopians.

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former ſection, that the ſacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) Cuſh to one particular country. They ſometimes underſtood by it that region watered by the Araxes, which was the ſeat of the antient Scythians or Cuthites; and ſometimes that country on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt. In ſome paſſages likewiſe they ſeem to have had in view the whole peninſula of the Arabs, or at leaſt the greateſt part of that peninſula. But, notwithſtanding what has

° Strab. l. xvii. Plin. apud Ludolph. ut & ipſe Ludolph. l. i. c. 6, 7.

(O) To theſe curioſities we may add the gold mines near the coaſt of the Red Sea mentioned by Agatharchides, which, according to that author, alſo produced the fineſt and whiteſt marble in the world (14).

(P) Sometimes in ſcripture the word Cuſh comprehends both Arabia aud the proper Ethiopia, as in Ezek. c. xxxviii. v. 5. *Perſia, Cuſh, and Libya with them; all of them with ſhield and helmet*; i. e. Perſia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, &c. Compare alſo Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. with Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24.

(14) Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 10. apud Phot. p. 1339. Vid. etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8.

has been offered to the contrary by many perſons of vaſt erudition, we cannot help believing, that it moſt uſually and properly denoted the tract ſituated above the Upper Egypt, comprehending the modern kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abaſſia. In order to evince the probability of ſuch a notion, we ſhall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable paſſages already cited on this occaſion, but likewiſe obſerve, that the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, make the Cuſhites neighbours to the Libyans; which can only hold true of the proper Ethiopians. The Pſalmiſt alſo foretold, that *Cuſh ſhould ſtretch out her hands to* GOD; and the prophet Zephaniah, that *the ſuppliants of the* LORD, *from beyond the rivers of Cuſh, even the daughters of his diſperſed, ſhould bring* HIS *offering*: both of which predictions ſeem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by Philip, who came to worſhip at Jeruſalem; ſince, as he was treaſurer to queen Candace, it can ſcarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable offering or donation with them; and ſince Candace was queen of the proper Ethiopia, or at leaſt the peninſula of Meroe, a conſiderable part of it, as we learn from Pliny and Strabo. The words Cuſh and Αἰθίοπες therefore, in the texts here referred to, muſt be underſtood of the territories and people of the proper Ethiopia. Ezekiel propheſied, that the Egyptians from Migdol to Syene ſhould fall by the ſword; which not a little ſupports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our preſent opinion. King Ahaſuerus in Eſther reigned from the Indies to Cuſh, that is to ſay, as far as the modern Abaſſia; ſince Scythia or Arabia cannot be there meant as being contiguous to Perſia, and Herodotus intimates Darius Hyſtaſpis to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon proper Ethiopia. Nebuchadnezzar in Judith ſent embaſſadors to Geſem, and as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia: probably the kingdom ſo called to the ſouth of Egypt. In fine, many of the moſt remarkable paſſages of ſcripture, underſtood, for above a century paſt, of Arabia or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the proper Ethiopia, as is acknowledged by Calmet himſelf. It is therefore but reaſonable to conclude, that Cuſh the eldeſt ſon of Ham was the great progenitor of the Ethiopians [P].

[P] Jer. c. xlvi. v. 9. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 4, 5. & c. xxxviii. v, 5. Dan. c. xi. v. 43. Nah. c. iii. v. 9. Pſal. lxviii. v. 31. Zephan. c. iii. v. 10. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 6. Eſth. c. i. v. i. & c. viii. v. 9. Herodot. l. iii. Judith, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam Strab. l. xvii. & Plin. l. vi. c. 29.

A body of Arabs croſſing the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab paſſed into Ethiopia.

HOWEVER, moſt authors are agreed, that many of the early deſcendents of Cuſh ſettled firſt in the land bordering on the eaſt ſide of the Red Sea, moving gradually from thence to the ſouthern extremity of Arabia; and afterwards, by means of the eaſy paſſage over the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, tranſplanted themſelves into Ethiopia. According to Euſebius, this migration happened whilſt the Iſraelites were in Egypt; but Syncellus places it in the time of the judges. The Arabian Cuſhites were antiently called Abaſeni, and made up a great part of the Sabœans or Homerites, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors. The Ethiopians went under the ſame name, agreed in many points with the Arabian Cuſhites, and were believed by moſt of the Aſiatic nations in Joſephus's time to have had the ſame origin. Diodorus Siculus, it muſt be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign cuſtoms; though he aſſerts, that in ſeveral things they correſponded with the Egyptians. However, notwithſtanding what is advanced by that hiſtorian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already ſuggeſted, that part of Cuſh's poſterity moved gradually along the weſtern ſhore of the Red Sea into Ethiopia, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the Arabian Cuſhites firſt found their way into it. The great difference of atleaſt a conſiderable body of the Abaſſines from the Arabs, as well as other nations, the ſituation of the kingdom of Midian, where ſome of the earlieſt Cuſhites probably ſeated themſelves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both ſacred and prophane, tend to evince the juſtneſs of ſuch a concluſion. Bochart believes ſome traces of Obal, or, as the Arabians pronounce it, Aubal, one of Joktan's ſons, to be diſcernable in the empory Abalites, the Abalitic gulf, &c. and conſequently, that ſome of the children of Eber, after having inſinuated themſelves into Arabia Felix, migrated into Ethiopia. Some of the Ludim likewiſe might find a paſſage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the Atlantic ocean; ſince, as Moſes intimates them to have been the firſt branch of Miſraim's iſſue, they in all likelihood puſhed forwards towards the main land of Africa. The Ethiopians therefore might very well vye with the Egyptians, and even be deemed ſuperior to them, in point of antiquity, ſince Cuſh their great anceſtor was the eldeſt ſon of Ham. They might likewiſe have been eſteemed of equal antiquity with the Arabians, ſince from the kingdom of Midian the Cuſhites penetrated both into the ſouthern parts of the peninſula of the Arabs and Ethiopia. The communication betwixt

Egypt

Egypt and Ethiopia, as well as the proximity of blood of Cuſh and Miſraim, introduced that ſimilitude of manners obſervable amongſt their reſpective inhabitants, which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to take notice of [q].

Government of the Ethiopians.

PLINY relates, that Ethiopia was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he inſinuates that of Meroe to have been the moſt powerful and flouriſhing. But whether theſe were independent on one another, or under one ſupreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old oriental governments were abſolute, and the Abaſſine princes known to the Europeans ſince their firſt intercourſe with Abaſſia have been deſpotic, there is no reaſon to doubt but that the kings of Ethiopia always ruled with an (Q) uncontroulable ſway. If we admit the Ethiopian tradition, that a long ſeries of princes deſcended from Solomon reigned in the country we are now upon, it can ſcarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the Hebrew monarch knew no bounds. It appears from Strabo and Pliny, that ſome Ethiopic nations were governed always by queens, whoſe common name was Candace, as that of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, Ptolemy, &c. Diodorus Siculus gives us to underſtand, that a good part of Ethiopia was compoſed of ſeveral elective

[q] Euſeb. in chron. geogr. Syncell. in chronograph. Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ptol. l. iv. Procop. Gaz. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. Joſ. Scalig. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. Joſeph. antiq. l. i. c. 7. Diod. Sic. l. iii. & alib. Hieronym. quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & l. ii. c. 23. Gen. c. x. v. 13. Herodot. l. ii. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. iii. & alib. Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. i. Le Grand, diſſert. ii.

(Q) This ſeems likewiſe in ſome meaſure to appear from the conſtitution of the preſent kingdom of Abaſſia. The king's authority there is ſo unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with juſtice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he ſows his field, know that he ſhall reap it; for the king may beſtow the fruits upon whom he pleaſes, and all the ſatisfaction the former poſſeſſor can hope for, is, that ſome man may be appointed to bring in the eſtimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimburſement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the preſent owner, whom he preſumes to have more intereſt than the perſon diſpoſſeſſed (16).

(16) Le Grand, diſſert. v.

elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will; neither does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But after all, the Greeks knew very little of the Ethiopians; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. Sesostris and Zerah must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the proper Ethiopia was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute [r].

Laws. ACCORDING to Diodorus Siculus, the laws of Ethiopia agreed in substance with those of Egypt. This, continues the

[r] Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4. Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. ubi sup. Herodot. Apollon. Rhod. Apollodor. Pausan. Hygin. Lucan. aliique mult. pass. 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. c. xiv. v. 9. & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam Newt. chronol. of the empire of Egypt.

(R) Though the present kingdom of Abassia be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chusing out of the royal family whom he pleases for his successor, which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to this account of Diodorus, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution of Ethiopia (17).

(17) Idem ibid.

the ſame author, the Ethiopians accounted for by aſſerting, that Egypt was firſt peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of Egypt to have been at firſt, for a conſiderable period, entirely covered with water, and afterwards raiſed gradually, ſo as to become inhabitable, by the freſh acceſſion of mud the Nile brought every year out of Ethiopia. This is likewiſe confirmed by Herodotus, who affirms Egypt to be the gift of the Nile, and that the whole region, except the territory of Thebes, in the time of Menes, was one continued moraſs. However, he makes the Ethiopians to have been civilized by the Egyptians, and to have learned the cuſtoms and manners of that people, ſo late as the reign of Pſammiticus I. which, conſidering what has been already advanced, will not eaſily be admitted for truth. Yet ſome cuſtoms and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might poſſibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in Ethiopia; but the following ſeem to have been ſome of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of Ethiopians looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their prieſts. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of Ethiopia, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion amongſt the Ethiopic nations, upon the death of a king, his ſiſter's ſon (S) mounted the throne; and in caſe the female

(S) We are informed by Plutarch, that a certain Ethiopian nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The ſame author, however, judiciouſly obſerves, that all the high poſts were filled with men. Poſſibly the modern kingdom of Zendero, governed always by an elected monarch, who is ſaid to reſemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correſpond with this nation. 'Tis certain Diodorus Siculus and Pliny ſtyle the animal now called a baboon cynocephalus, from the reſemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated cyon or dog by Plutarch was an ape or baboon; eſpecially ſince the cynocephalus was produced only in Ethiopia. However, this we can only propoſe to our readers as a conjecture (18).

(18) Plutarch. adverſ. Stoic. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. viii. c. 54. Fernand. & Tellez. apud Job. Ludolph. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 6.

branches of the royal family failed of iſſue, they choſe the moſt beautiful and valiant perſon amongſt them for king. 4. It was eſteemed a moſt enormous crime in any perſon capitally convicted to attempt making his eſcape into a foreign country. Diodorus relates, that a criminal condemned to die having once meditated a flight out of Ethiopia, after the ſign of death had been ſent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon ſtrangled him with a garter, he not offering the leaſt reſiſtance, leſt an indelible ſtain ſhould thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to diſpatch (T) himſelf, whenever he received a meſſage from the prieſts of Meroe, the moſt revered of any in Ethiopia, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his ſubjects to do ſo. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domeſtics were forced to wound and maim themſelves juſt in the ſame manner. 7. At the king's death all his houſhold ſervants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indiſpenſable cuſtom, killed themſelves, this being looked upon as the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their ſincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the Ethiopic clans above Meroe on both ſides the Nile, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninſula, and the parts of Ethiopia nearer Egypt, elected the moſt induſtrious ſhepherds to preſide over them; others beſtowed the kingdom upon the moſt opulent perſons they could find, imagining them the moſt capable of ſupplying with their riches the wants and neceſſities of the people [s].

Religion. JUPITER AMMON, according to the Greek and Latin authors, ſeems to have been the principal object of religious worſhip in Ethiopia, though the natives (U) paid likewiſe divine

[s] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Herodot. l. ii. c. 5. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Nic. Damaſcen. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 518, 519.

(T) This vaſt power the prieſts enjoyed till the time of Ergamenes king of Ethiopia, cotemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of Æſculapius, where they reſided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the ſword. After this he made ſeveral regulations, and in a manner new-modelled the public worſhip of the Ethiopians, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus (19).

(U) Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Ethiopians valued themſelves upon their being the firſt nation that had a religious eſtabliſhment

(19) Diod. Sic. l. iii.

divine honours to Iſis, Pan, Hercules, Æſculapius, and others, whom they conſidered as the greateſt benefactors to mankind. In ſhort, if theſe authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering their vicinity to, and intercourſe with, that people. However, Diodorus aſſures us, that ſome of them were atheiſts, who looked upon the ſun, by reaſon of his ſcorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern Abaſſines, the Ethiopians, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of them, adhered zealouſly to the law of Moſes from the time of Solomon to their converſion to chriſtianity. According to this tradition, the queen of Sheba, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the ſouth, and who ruled over at leaſt a powerful nation of Ethiopia, had a ſon by Solomon named Menilehec, who was educated at that prince's court, and inſtructed there in the law of GOD through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of Ethiopia, and ſent home to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom, at the deſire of ſeveral eminent Iſraelites, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongſt his ſubjects and their poſterity till the time of St. Athanaſius. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; ſince the learned are not a little divided in their ſentiments concerning the ſituation of the kingdom of Sheba, whoſe queen had an interview with Solomon at his own court. St. Cyprian, Epiphanius, St. Cyril of Alexandria,

eſtabliſhment. They believed, that for this reaſon, adds he, their ſacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than thoſe offered by any other people. Which notion, continues Diodorus, Homer himſelf ſeems to countenance, when he introduces Jupiter, attended by the other gods, as preſent at an anniverſary ſacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the Ethiopians. In order to reward their tranſcendent piety, according to the ſame author, the gods never ſuffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, Cambyſes, Semiramis, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiouſly miſtaken, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory (20).

(20) Diod. Sic. l. iii. ſub init. Vid. & Lucian. de Jup. Trag. p. 697. Ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615.

cardinal Baronius, Suarez, Lorinus, Pineda, Bochart, and the Arabs in general, fix her residence in Arabia Felix. The last call her Belkis, and affirm her to have been the daughter of Hod-Had king of the Homerites. On the other hand, the Abassine nation, Josephus, Origen, St. Austin, the learned Hugo Grotius, the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, the fathers Balthasar Tellez, and Joan Dos-Santos, have placed this celebrated princess in Ethiopia. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions; but shall, however, observe, that the kingdom of Abassia seems to answer better the queen of Sheba's country, according to our Saviour's description of it, as being more to the south of, and more remote from, Judæa, than Arabia. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the proper Ethiopians were of the same religion with the Jews, or nearly so, in the apostolical age, since queen Candace's treasurer (W), baptized by Philip, went with

(W) Father Calmet and others suppose this eunuch to have been one of those proselytes which the Jews call "a proselyte "of the gate," already by us described. But we must own, that this notion seems to us not a little improbable, since those were only confined to an observance of the seven fundamental laws of natural religion enjoined by Noah to his posterity immediately after the flood, according to the opinion of the Jews, whereas we find this man perusing, and consequently not unacquainted with, the writings of the Old Testament peculiar to the natural Jews. Besides, that a treasurer or prime minister of the queen of Ethiopia should take so long a journey as that from Meroe to Jerusalem purely to worship God, and offer an oblation to him, there, seems very strange, if he was such a mungrel-convert "as the proselytes of the gate were," who, for the most part, if not always, resided in Judæa. It is therefore much more probable, especially as scarce any instance can be produced of so eminent a personage's being ever found amongst the residing proselytes above-mentioned, who were, generally speaking, people of no figure, much less of one who exposed himself to the various dangers of so long a journey purely to worship God at Jerusalem, that this Ethiopian had been trained up in a religion not very different from that of the Jews. Nay, as he was a person of such power and authority at the Ethiopian court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the established religion of Meroe at that time pretty nearly resembled

with an offering to Jeruſalem to worſhip God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Teſtament; which cannot, we apprehend, be ſaid with ſo much propriety of the Arabians. This ſeems to us a ſort of proof, that the Moſaic law was held to be of divine inſtitution in Meroe, and the other parts of Ethiopia dependent on it, even a conſiderable time before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of Solomon; and conſequently adds ſome weight to the arguments of thoſe writers, who have aſſerted, that the queen of Sheba came out of Ethiopia. It likewiſe renders the authority of Joſephus preferable to that of Diodorus Siculus and Stephanus, notwithſtanding what M. Bochart has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of Moſes in Meroe, before chriſtianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing, with the Abaſſines and authors above-mentioned, that this peninſula was the queen of Sheba's country, that her ſon introduced ſome knowledge of the public worſhip of the Hebrews there, and conſequently that its metropolis was called Sheba or Seba before Cambyſes's reign, as Joſephus aſſerts, and not built by that prince, as Diodorus Siculus and Stephanus will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongſt ſome of the Jews and Greeks in Joſephus's time, and Herodotus was then cited to ſupport it, however his text, or that of Joſephus, may be now corrupted; ſince the latter hiſtorian cannot fairly be ſuppoſed ſo profligate and abandoned a writer as to impoſe a known falſhood and forgery upon the world, as Bochart aſſerts

reſembled the Jewiſh. This appears to be in ſome ſort confirmed by the prophet Zephaniah, who ſeems evidently to predict the converſion of the eunuch here under conſideration, and even to inſinuate, that he came to Jeruſalem with an offering from queen Candace herſelf, ſince nothing is more likely, than that ſhe was *the daughter of his diſperſed beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that ſhould bring his offering*; which, if admitted, muſt be allowed no mean proof of what we would here ſuggeſt; but this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, muſt be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (21).

(21) Act. c. viii. v. 27, 28. Zeph. c. iii. v. 10. Calmet. Prideaux, aliiq; mult.

him to have done. However, it must be owned, that Strabo suggests the people of Meroe in his time to have adored Hercules, Pan, and Isis, with another foreign god. But Strabo's authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture: nay, he seems to be a little inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the Ethiopians in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the Ethiopians, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshipped the true God, and held the memory of Moses in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the Greek and Latin writers related of the Jews, with whom they had a more immediate communication; and therefore we ought not to be surprised at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the Ethiopians; tho' it should be acknowledged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the Jews. The author last cited likewise informs us, that the Ethiopians ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth. The sun, according to him, the people under consideration in the most early times so highly adored, that they reputed those to be atheists who cursed him at his rising, as some such there were inhabiting the Torrid Zone, because he forced them to shelter themselves from his intense heat in moist and marshy places. For this reason the Greeks and Romans gave the Sun the name of the Ethiopian Jupiter. The Ethiopians themselves called him Assabin or Assabinus, as we learn from Pliny. They consecrated likewise to him the cinamon-tree, an odoriferous shrub, which grew in their country. The priests only were allowed to gather that harvest, which they always ushered in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep, beginning the work that followed before sun-rising, and finishing it before his setting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a spear, which was never used but on that occasion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the same place that which fell to the sun; and forthwith, say Pliny, Solinus, and Theophrastus, if the division had been performed with equity, the sun's portion took fire

fire of itſelf, and was conſumed (X). This ceremony ſeems to have been common to both the Ethiopians above Egypt, and the Sabæans ſeated in Arabia Felix. Banier believes the Ethiopians to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the Egyptians; that they worſhipped the moon under the name of Iſis, and univerſal nature under that of Pan. We doubt not but this may be true; eſpecially, ſince they, in all likelihood, at firſt worſhipped the planets, or ſome of them, in common with the Egyptians and Arabians, and likewiſe paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, as did thoſe nations together with the Mauritanians. Among thoſe princes deified by this laſt people were the famous Juba, and Verſotina, who was probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction ſignalized by her glorious actions. The Ethiopians of Meroe, according to Herodotus, in his time, worſhipped Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter. Some Ethiopian nations offered ſacrifies to the day, which they eſteemed as a god, according to Lucian. An antient tradition prevails amongſt the Abaſſines, that the firſt Ethiopians adored a monſtrous ſerpent called in their language Arwe-midre; but this ſavours ſo much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deſerves little regard [t].

In

[t] Herodot. l. ii. Strab. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. xii. c. 19. Solin. c. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615. Theophraſt. de plant. Lactant. l. i. c. 15. Tertullian. apol. c. 24. Minut. Fel. in Octav. Greg. Abaſſ. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. Banier, l. vi. c. 9. Joſeph. Orig. Auguſt. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron. Suarez. Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3. Pocock, ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 59. Joſeph. ant. l. ii. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 6. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p. 87. Diod. Sic. & Steph. Byzant. apud Bochart. ubi ſup. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Georg. Horn. hiſt. philoſoph. l. ii. p. 132. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1655. Alphonſ. Mend. Balth. Tellez. & Jo. Dos-Sant. apud Le Grand. diſſert. vii. Vid. & Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3.

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the prieſts ſecretly conveyed ſome coals under the heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that thoſe coals kindled ſome moments after, preciſely at the time of their retiring. Such pious frauds have been,

Language. In a country of ſo vaſt an extent as Ethiopia, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that no ſmall variety of languages, at leaſt of dialects, muſt have prevailed. The moſt antient of theſe was undoubtedly that called by the learned the Ethiopic, into which the holy Scripture was formerly tranſlated, and in which all the books of the Abaſſines, both ſacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly reſembles the Chaldee; but, according to Ludolphus, who ſpent above ſixty years in the ſtudy of it, it bears as great an affinity to the Hebrew and Syriac, and approaches nearer ſtill to the Arabic, from which to him it ſeems immediately to be derived. In ſhort, there is ſo perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever underſtands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will credit him, make himſelf maſter of the other; nay, he aſſerts, that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, or any other of the oriental tongues, will enable a ſtudent ſoon to make a very laudable progreſs in the Ethiopic. As many Hebrew (Y) roots, and genuine ſignifications of Hebrew words, are ſtill preſerved

been, and ſtill are, uſed in countries whoſe religion utterly diſclaims frauds and impoſtures of any kind whatſoever, in order to ſerve ſuch a turn as theſe prieſts of the Sun had in view: witneſs the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, &c.

(Y) Of this we ſhall beg leave here to produce two inſtances: 1. The Hebrew lexicographers derive the Hebrew and Phœnician word Adamah, earth, from אדם red, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But Kimchi takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of Hebrew roots; and how ſmall a part of the earth, in compariſon of the whole, is red, no naturaliſt ſtands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at beſt mal-à-propos. But the Ethiopic language ſuggeſts to us a much more proper one, when it propoſes to our view the word Adamah ſignifying "beautiful, elegant, pleaſant, &c" from whence if we deduce the Hebrew and Phœnician Adamah, Earth, it will not be remote from the κόσμος of the Greeks, though that ſeems to have had a more extenſive ſignification. Upon this ſuppoſition, Adam derived his name not from a certain fictitious redneſs, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the maſter-piece of the creation. And agreeably hereto the Ethiopians to the word

preſerved in the Ethiopic, which would be ſought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the eſteem of all who diligently apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. Beſides, 'tis impoſſible to come at a thorough knowledge of the Abaſſine affairs, this being the language in which all their hiſtories, and other treatiſes, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The pureſt dialect of this tongue was that uſed in the kingdom of Tigre, where Axuma, the reſidence of the old Ethiopian kings, was ſeated. Here it continued till the failure of the Zagean line; after which, a Sewan prince aſcending the throne, the Amharic dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire. However, the language ſpoken in Tigre at preſent comes the neareſt to the old Ethiopic; which ſtill retains its priſtine dignity not only in their books, but alſo in their divine worſhip, as alſo in their kings letters patents, commiſſions, and all other publick acts whatſoever. Father Tellez informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms and provinces in Abaſſia: nay, that there were different dialects in one and the ſame kingdom,

word Adam always annex the idea of ſomething perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city Admah or Adamah, before it was deſtroyed with Sodom and Gomorrah, ſeated upon the banks of the Jordan, compared to "the gar-"den of the LORD," was ſo denominated from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. 2. The word מלאך Malach, an Angel or Meſſenger, is not to be deduced from the Arabic Malaka, poſſedit, dominatus eſt, &c. for that is not ſufficiently appoſite, but from the Ethiopic Layka, miſit, legavit, &c. Nay, ſometimes the roots of Arabic words themſelves are to be ſought for in the Ethiopic: ſo in the Alcoran the apoſtles are called Hhawwâri, whoſe origin cannot be diſcovered in the Arabic lexicons, ſince it certainly comes from the Ethiopic Hawyra, ivit, inceſſit, &c. than which nothing can be more ſuitable to the office of an apoſtle. Our readers will find this point more fully diſcuſſed by the learned Ludolphus, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them. (23).

(23) I. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. & comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 202 ——208. Vid. etiam Sim. Ockleii introd. ad ling. Oriental. p. 159, 160. Cantabrigiæ, 1706.

kingdom. As the language of Tigre is at preſent deeply tinged with the antient Ethiopic, ſo thoſe of moſt of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the Amharic; though they conſiderably differ one from another. The people of Bagemdra or Bagemeder uſe a dialect peculiar to themſelves; thoſe of Hangota, Ifata, Gojam, and Shewa, one common to them all; the Gafatas have many Amharic words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be underſtood by any of the other Abaſſines; in the kingdom of Dambea a language is ſpoken very different from both the Amharic and Ethiopic; the dialect of Gonga agrees with that of Enarea, though it does not bear a near reſemblance to any of the others in Ethiopia. But we ſhall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all theſe, as well as thoſe of the Gallans, Agawi, Chankalas, &c. when we come to the modern hiſtory of Abaſſia [u].

Letters

As it will be expected, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters, of the nation we are

[u] Mariani Victorii inſtitutiones linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. inſtitut. grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. pſalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in introd. at lect. linguar. Oriental. Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. ut & Balthaz. Tellez. apud Ludolph. ibid. Vide etiam Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 60. Francofurti ad Mænum, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that the Ethiopians had antiently hieroglyphic characters as well as the Egyptians. Thus amongſt them a hawk ſignified any thing that made a quick diſpatch, that bird in ſwiftneſs exceeding moſt others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of juſtice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, repreſented plenty; and the left, cloſed, a ſecure poſſeſſion of property, &c. But whether the Egyptians or Ethiopians firſt in reality hit upon this way of writing, cannot certainly be known, though Diodorus attributes the invention of it to the latter. 'Tis not improbable, that the people of all nations at firſt recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarſe manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglyphics, as in ſome meaſure appears from the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans, the antient character of the Chineſe, and from what we find related of the Scythians by Clemens Alexandrinus, Euſtathius, and Herodotus.

Theſe hieroglyphic characters, according to the ſame Diodorus, were not only underſtood by the prieſts, as amongſt the Egyptians,

are now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers

Egytians, but likewiſe by all the people, as well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. Fourmont ſeems to aſſert, that the Ethiopic alphabet was made up of theſe hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being eſſentially different from even the characteriſtic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The laſt repreſent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the ſame manner as the antient and modern characters of the Chineſe, whereas the former are expreſſive of ſounds. In ſhort, though we ſhould allow it an eaſy tranſition from the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, as well as from the Egyptian hieroglyphics to the characteriſtic marks of the Chineſe, which Du Halde demonſtrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot ſee how the invention of an alphabet muſt as naturally ſucceed theſe marks. There is, it muſt be owned, a ſufficient reſemblance between the American and Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Chineſe characters; but theſe all ſeem entirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the leaſt relation to them. As an affinity between all theſe is the point neceſſary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and eaſy deſcent from picture-writing to letters, ſome better argument ought to be offered in ſupport of it, than a ſuppoſition extremely precarious, if not plainly falſe, and which, if true, would be little to the purpoſe. Now, that the notion of the Ethiopic alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics is ſuch a ſuppoſition, evidently appears from what we have juſt hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by Ludolphus; and yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. Warburton has in fact offered only this hypotheſis, on M. Fourmont's authority, to prove the connection between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of ſuch a connection, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. Diodorus indeed, in the ſame place, intimates, that the forms of the Ethiopic letters (τύπους) reſembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be underſtood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately ſubjoins: "For their "writing (ἡ γραμματικὴ) is expreſſive of the ſubject, not by "a compoſition of ſyllables, but by the ſignification of certain "images delineated, and a metaphorical application of it im-"preſſed on the memory by exerciſe. For, they write (γράφουσι) "a hawk, a crocodile, a ſerpent, a part of the human body, as "an eye, a hand, the face, &c. A hawk ſignifies with them "diſpatch

readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here the antient Ethiopic alphabet, as given us by the learned Job Ludolphus in his excellent hiſtory of Ethiopia.



From comparing theſe letters with the old oriental alphabets taken from antique coins, inſcriptions, &c. by Lœſcher, and

" diſpatch, becauſe this bird in celerity exceeds almoſt all o-
" thers, &c." Nay, he here expreſly aſſerts, that the Ethiopic letters were the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and conſequently allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters: this paſſage, therefore, which ſeems to have miſled M. Fourmont, is ſo far from proving the Ethiopian alphabet to have conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters, that it ſtrongly intimates the contrary.

Heliodorus ſays, that the Ethiopians had two ſorts of letters, the one called regal, the other vulgar; and that the regal reſembled the ſacerdotal characters of the Egyptians. Diogenes Laertius, from Thraſyllus, alſo informs us, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the ſacred letters of the Babylonians, the other of the ſacred letters of the city of Meroe. M. Fourmont believes, that moſt of the eaſtern nations likewiſe had a ſacerdotal alphabet (24.)

(24) Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. l. iv. Diog. Laert. in vit. Democrit. ſegm. xlix. l. 9. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. iv. Clem. Alexandrin. ſtrom. l. v. p. 567. Euſtath. in Hom. Iliad. vi. v. 168. Athanaſ. Kirch. China illuſtrata, p. 227. & Oedip. Ægypt. theat. hieroglyphic. p. 12. & alib. Le Comte, nouv. memoires ſur l'état préſent de la Chine, tom. i. p. 256. Amſt. 1698. Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 227. M. Fourmont, Reflections crit. ſur les hiſt. des anc. peup. tom. ii. p. 500, 501. à Paris, 1735. Joſ. Acoſt. l. vi. c. 10. Madr. 1608. Purchaſ. pilgr. par. iii. p. 1065, 1066. Gemell. Carer. del mond. tom. vi. c. 6. p. 37. Warburton's divin. legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol. ii. par. 1. ſect. 4.

and conſulting what we have already obſerved in our account of the Carthaginian, it may perhaps not ſeem abſolutely improbable, that ſome of them were derived from the old Aſſyrian, Phœnician, Samaritan, Syriac, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewiſe in this alphabet, and the names of ſeveral of them, tend to evince the ſame thing, though Ludolphus believes them to have been invented by the Axumites or Ethiopians themſelves, and to be much older than even the Cuphic character of the Arabs. 'Tis remarkable, that the Abaſſines have no grammar; and, that when Gregory was ſhewn the uſe of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a ſort of exclamation, crying out, "Thanks to God!" as though ſome ſecret of great importance had been diſcovered to him. We muſt not forget obſerving, that the Ethiopians both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the cuſtom of the Orientals; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not of the ſame extraction with that of the Arabs. But for a farther account of the antient Ethiopic letters, as well as language, we muſt beg leave to refer the curious and inquiſitive part of our readers to Ludolphus's Ethiopic hiſtory, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the beſt pieces of their kind extant [w].

Customs.

THE Ethiopians, as has been already obſerved, agreed in ſeveral points with the Egyptians, though they had many cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, ſome of which were very ſingular and uncommon. As we have not time at preſent to expatiate upon all ſuch cuſtoms to be met with in hiſtory, we muſt content ourſelves with touching upon ſome of the principal of them. 1. The Ethiopian Ichthyophagi differed from other nations in ſeveral particulars. By ſtopping up the paſſages of certain caverns on the coaſt of the Red Sea with ſtones, they incloſed vaſt numbers of large and ſmall fiſhes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and ſerved them for food. The women and children employed themſelves in throwing on ſhore thoſe of a leſſer ſize, whilſt the men ſecured the ſharks, ſea-calves, con-

gers.

[w] Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 1. gram. Æthiop. ed. Lond. 1661. & comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 34, 555, 556, 562, & alib. paſſ. Vide etiam Val. Ern. Loeſcher. de cauſ. ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224, & alib. ed. Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706. & Univ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 653.

gers, monſtrous lobſters, &c. with which the aforeſaid ſea abounded, killing them with ſharp goat-horns, and rough ſtones broken off the rocks. Theſe they expoſed to the ſolar rays in ſtone pots turned towards the ſouth, where the fleſh was ſoon ſeparated from the bones by the intenſe heat. The latter they applied to the uſe already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the ſeed of paliurus. The maſs formed by theſe two ingredients was at firſt liquid, and of a reddiſh colour; but being ſpread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the ſun, it became hard and ſavoury. This they commonly fed upon; but when any inundations happened, that they could not for ſeveral days together approach the ſhore, they were conſtrained to eat ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which were ſo large, that they weighed four minas. If theſe at any time failed, they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the bones, though deſtined for another uſe, which preſerved them till the ſea ſent them their uſual ſupplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in ſuch immoderate quantities, that they were ſcarce able to breathe. They ſeemed not to utter any articulate ſounds, and conſequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to Agatharchides, never drank at all, living only upon raw fiſh. Theſe, continues the ſame author, might have been deemed perfect ſtoics, as being never ruffled or diſcompoſed by the violence of any prevailing paſſion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the phocæ or ſea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to aſſiſt them in catching other fiſh. Several clans of them lived in ſuch caves as we have deſcribed in the former ſection; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a cheſnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a ſort of canopy, whereby, together with the pleaſant breezes coming from off the ſea, they were ſheltered from the ſcorching rays of the ſun; and laſtly, others fixed their habitations in certain inacceſſible hollows ſurrounded with high precipices and the ſea. The Ichthyophagi for the moſt part enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health, but few of them attained to old age, as above obſerved. They carried their dead to the ſea-ſhore, where they lay expoſed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; ſo that, as they fed upon fiſh in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded thoſe animals a repaſt. 2. The Chelonophagi above-mentioned did

not

not only uſe the fleſh of tortoiſes for food, but likewiſe covered their huts or cottages with the ſhells of thoſe animals. As both in ſize and figure theſe ſhells reſembled a ſmall fiſhing-veſſel, the Chelonophagi alſo uſed them as boats on ſome occaſions. They had a particular manner of ſurpriſing this fiſh, which we find deſcribed from Agatharchides by Diodorus Siculus. 3. Another Ethiopic canton lived upon fiſh of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the ſhore by chance. When they were preſſed by famine, they devoured the bones of thoſe creatures, whoſe fleſh at other times ſuſtained them. 4. The Ethiopian Rhizophagi, after they had waſhed the roots of the canes growing in marſhy ground, bruiſed them, and prepared them by the heat of the ſun, fared deliciouſly upon them. This canton was greatly infeſted by lions, which came out of the deſerts in vaſt numbers, and had quite depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous ſize annually expelled them from thence. At the ſame time the Rhizophagi, in order to avoid theſe gnats, retired towards the moraſſes, which greatly contributed to their preſervation. 5. The Hylophagi were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that they ſkipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young ſhoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarrelled about their reſpective habitations. On theſe occaſions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the Libyans, which ſometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of Ethiopians, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they had drank ſo copiouſly, that they were ready to burſt, with clubs burnt at one end, ſtones, darts, &c. in the manner deſcribed by Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not ſuffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another Ethiopic nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full deſcription of which our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors laſt mentioned. 8. The Struthophagi had ſeveral arts and devices to take oſtriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw out of its feet, in this reſpect reſembling a ſling, with great violence. The Struthophagi of the ſkins of theſe oſtriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The Acridophagi

phagi had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combuſtible materials; and, when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, ſet them on fire, the ſmoak ſuffocating all thoſe animals. Such infinite numbers of locuſts were deſtroyed on theſe occaſions, that the ground for ſome leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under conſideration ſeaſoned with ſalt, produced moſt copiouſly in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholſome food; for the Acridophagi (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at laſt died in a miſerable manner. They were devoured by winged inſects of different ſpecies, of a ſtrange and ugly form, expiring for the moſt part in exquiſite torture. Poſſibly the air itſelf as well as the locuſts, might have greatly contributed to ſo uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The Cynamolgi, ſeated in the ſouthern parts of Ethiopia, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) Indian oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongſt them. 11. The nations placed ſtill more to the ſouth, according to Agatharchides and Diodorus, lived the life of ſavages, if not that of the worſt of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the Cafres were not unknown to the antients, and conſequently that they had ſeen more of the ſouthern parts of Africa than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greateſt part of the Troglodytes (B) in their manner of life nearly reſembled the

(Z) Plutarch mentions a tribe of Ethiopians that were very ſhort-lived, the oldeſt among them ſcarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. Theſe were probably the Acridophagi of Agatharchides Cnidius, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny (25).

(A) The antients ſometimes included the weſtern and proper Ethiopia, as well as Arabia, under the name of India.

(B) We are informed by Strabo, that all the different ſpecies of cattle theſe Ethiopians took with them from place to place were extremely ſmall. Their dogs were likewiſe very little, but vaſtly fierce. Some of theſe Ethiopians, or at leaſt the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which ſerved them both for meat and drink. They alſo uſed butter and fat inſtead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public, in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their ſubjects (26).

(25) Plut. de placit. philoſophor. (26) Strab. l. xvii. p. 565. ed. 1587.

the Libyan Nomades, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of theſe were under one ſupreme head. This confirms what we have elſewhere obſerved of the form of government antiently prevailing in Numidia and Mauritania. 13. The Troglodytes, during the time of the Eteſian winds, drank a liquor compoſed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the ſummer months they lived about the moraſſes with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient paſtures. The old and infirm cattle always ſupplied them with food, for which reaſon they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving thoſe denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beaſts ſkins, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the higheſt veneration, inſomuch that, in their moſt bloody conteſts, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themſelves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon admonition from a friend they refuſed to do this, they might be ſtrangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to deſire life when a perſon was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongſt them was ſeized with an incurable diſtemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of ſome hill, where they firſt covered them with ſtones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a ſenſe of compaſſion, that the ceremony of burying the deceaſed in this manner was one of their moſt celebrated diverſions. 15. The Ethiopians made uſe of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and ſeveral other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great ſtrength and dexterity. 16. Circumciſion (D) was a rite obſerved amongſt them, as well as

(C) The Megabari, a canton, as ſhould ſeem, of the Troglodytes, fought with clubs, and carried before them round ſhields made of raw ox-hides; many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (27).

(D) We have obſerved in a former note, that Herodotus is not entirely conſiſtent with himſelf in what he ſays of circumciſion, as a rite practiſed in Egypt and Ethiopia; which muſt undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this

(27) Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 776.

the Egyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of these

this particular. But, waving this conſideration, when he aſſerts circumciſion to have prevailed ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning, amongſt the Egyptians, Colchi, and Ethiopians, he cannot be ſuppoſed to mean, that they received it from their firſt anceſtors. For in ſuch a caſe it muſt have paſſed from him to the Philiſtines, who were likewiſe his deſcendents; which all, who pay the leaſt regard to ſcripture, will allow to be falſe. That expreſſion, therefore, muſt either import indefinitely, that it had been obſerved in Egypt from time immemorial, or from ſome period near the beginning of the great Egyptian empire formed by Ammenemes and Seſac, about the reign of Solomon, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with Egypt, between five and ſix hundred years before Herodotus wrote his hiſtory. And here in fact ſeveral learned men have placed the introduction of this inſtitution into Egypt. Beſides, what has been advanced by Herodotus, in the point before us, ſeems to be founded on a miſtake, as may be inferred from Diodorus and Strabo. Thoſe authors, who probably followed him, believed, or at leaſt pretended to believe, the Hebrews to have derived the rite of circumciſion from Egypt, becauſe they were originally a colony of the Egyptians, and conſequently agreed with them in all their cuſtoms and manners, in both their ſacred and civil inſtitutions. But, as nothing can be more falſe than ſuch a notion, not the leaſt regard is due to what they have advanced upon a ſuppoſition of its truth. That the Samaritans or Cuthœans, whom Herodotus calls Syrians of Paleſtine, ſhould declare to him, that they received circumciſion from the Egyptians, muſt be attributed to their hatred of the Jews. As for Herodotus, he was frequently impoſed upon moſt egregiouſly by the Egyptians, eſpecially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or thoſe cuſtoms they had in common with other nations. Their exceſſive vanity would not permit them to ſpeak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the leaſt honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring ſtates. For which reaſon, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly becauſe it ſeems to us diametrically oppoſite to ſcripture, we cannot pay any regard to the ſentiments of thoſe authors, who either deduced circumciſion originally out of Egypt, or make the Hebrews to have borrowed it of the Egyptians (28).

(28) Herodot. l. ii. c. 36, 37, & 104. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 24. Strab. l. xvii. p. 824, ed. If. Cauſaub. Gen. c. x. v. 13. 14. 2 Sam. c. i. v. 20, & alib. Vid. etiam Agatharchid. Cnid. in excerptis Photii, p. 1358. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. i. p. 354. c. 15. edit. Potter. Cotelerii not. in Barnab. epiſt. c. 9. & Suid. in voc. ⲫⲱⲗⲉ.

theſe nations firſt received it, cannnot certainly be known. 17. The Ethiopian ſoldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like ſo many rays, which formed a kind of crown. Theſe arrows were extremely ſhort, pointed with ſharp ſtones inſtead of iron, and dipped in the virus of dragons, or ſome other lethiferous poiſon, inſomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they ſhot theſe arrows were four cubits long, and required ſo much ſtrength to manage them, that no nation could make uſe of them but the Ethiopians. According to ſeveral authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or ſhowers of thoſe arrows. Many tribes of the people now under conſideration, particularly the Blemmyes, had wonderful ſkill in uſing the weapons here mentioned, taking aim ſo well, and hitting the mark ſo exactly, that ſome of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The Ethiopians retreated fighting in the ſame manner as the Parthians, diſcharging vollies of arrows with ſuch dexterity and addreſs whilſt they were retiring full ſpeed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from Scylax, Horace, and Ælian, that the Mauritanians and Blacks, or weſtern Ethiopians, were likewiſe very expert archers, and ſhot poiſoned arrows; and the ſame thing has been obſerved of their poſterity by the epitomizer of Edriſi, or, as he is more uſually called, the Nubian geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immenſe ſize, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vaſt bodily ſtrength. 19. The Macrobian or long-lived Ethiopians fed for the moſt part upon roaſted fleſh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of one hundred and twenty years. 'Tis ſaid, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain rendering their bodies ſmooth as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themſelves. 20. Theſe Ethiopians looked upon braſs as the moſt valuable of metals, and had gold in

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from Lucian. But how ſuch a cuſtom came firſt to be introduced amongſt them, or what they intended by it, has not not been intimated by any antient author (29).

(29) Lucian. de ſaltat. p. 505. ed. Lutet. Par. 1615.

ſuch little eſteem, that they fettered their priſoners with golden chains. 21. They dried the bodies (F) of their anceſtors, and laid thereon a covering of white plaiſter, on which they drew a picture as nearly reſembling the deceaſed as poſſible, and incloſed the whole in a caſe of cryſtal, according to Herodotus. Diodorus alſo affirms, that they kept the bodies of their friends and relations in their houſes within caſes of glaſs, not thinking it right, that the knowlege of the features and the likeneſs of their dead relations, ſhould be concealed from their ſurviving kindred, or that they ſhould be forgotten by their poſterity. Herodotus adds, that the dead were clearly ſeen through the cryſtal above-mentioned, emitting no ill ſcent, nor being at all diſagreeable to the eye, ſince they perfectly reſembled the perſons when alive. They were kept, continues the ſame author, a whole year in the houſes of their neareſt relations, who, during that term, honoured their manes with ſacrifices, and firſt-fruits of all kinds: after which they carried them out, and placed them upright round the parts adjoining to their cities. 22. Other Ethiopic cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and ſwore by their manes, as has been before related of the Naſamones; and laſtly, others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the beſt ſort of burial that could poſſibly be allotted them. 23. Some of the Ethiopians had no regular meals, or ſtated times of eating, but always refreſhed themſelves when hunger and thirſt prompted them thereto. 24. The Ethiopian Anthropophagi lived upon human fleſh, as we learn from Philoſtratus, Pliny, Solinus, and Ptolemy. This ſeems fully to evince, that the Cafres, and conſequently the territories they inhabited,

(F) In another place the ſame Diodorus obſerves, that when the corſe came from the embalmer's, the very eye-laſhes, brows, and features, were ſo well preſerved, that the whole form of the body was invariably retained, and the original effigies or likeneſs known. Wherefore, continues he, many of the Egyptians kept the bodies of their anceſtors within magnificent repoſitories, in order to behold the complete images of thoſe who had been dead perhaps many ages before they themſelves had been born. There they not only ſaw the lineaments of their faces, but alſo the make of their bodies; all which they contemplated with great delight (30).

(30) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 8.

inhabited, were known to the antients, though we find ſcarce any thing in the old geographers concerning them [x].

Arts, &c.

As the Ethiopians agreed with the Egyptians in moſt of their laws, their ſplendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes, the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, circumciſion, and in fine moſt of their ſacred and civil inſtitutions, 'tis highly probable, that the ſame arts, ſciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongſt both nations. Nay, this ſeems to be expreſly aſſerted by Diodorus Siculus, when he informs us, that not only the ſame kind of ſtatues, but likewiſe the ſame hieroglyphic figures and characters, were uſed in Egypt and Ethiopia; ſince it is generally allowed, that thoſe were the repoſitories of the Egyptian wiſdom and literature. It muſt be owned, that an ingenious modern writer roundly affirms, that no nation beſides the Egyptians continued to write with marks after the invention of letters; all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method, becauſe the Egyptian hieroglyphics only contained any wiſdom or learning. But theſe ſeem to be aſſertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly

 falſe,

[x] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. l. ii. l. iii. l. vii. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v, c. 12--31. apud Phot. p. 1343--1360. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Xenoph. Ἀνάβασ. l. iii. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. ix. & alib. Vet. auct. apud Suid. Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Philoſtrat. l. vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. Plin. l. vi. c. 29, 30. Solin. c. 30. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 9. Marcian, Heracleot. p. 42. Cyril. in Eſai. l. ii. Claudian. l. i. & alib. Vid. & Lib. Hebr. Baal Aruc. Theophraſt. hiſt. plant. l. ix. c. 15. & alib. Homer. Iliad. x. v. 93. Scylax Caryand. p. 12. Ælian de animal. l. vi. & l. xiv. c. 5. Hor. l. i. od. 22. Ætius in tetrab. iv. ſerm. 1. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. Joan. Tzetz. c. i. l. 8. 1220. Joan Geometr. hym. ii. See alſo the Univerſal hiſtory, Vol. xvii. in the hiſtory of Numidia, and Vol. xviii. in the hiſtory of Mauritania.

(H) Diodorus relates, that the Egyptians learned the cuſtom of deifying their kings from the Ethiopians. Nay, according to him, the Egyptians derived ſtatuary, and even their letters themſelves from the ſame ſource. This author alſo obſerves, that the Egyptian and Ethiopian prieſts, as well as kings, wore caps wreathed round with ſerpents called aſps; by which was intimated, that every perſon guilty of treaſon would as certainly ſuffer death, as if he had been bit by that poiſonous animal (32).

(32). Diod. Sic. l. iii. ſub init.

falſe, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically oppoſite to what Diodorus Siculus has advanced from the beſt authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had perſons amongſt them eminent for their wiſdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by Photius; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Ægyptians, in moſt points of importance, ſeems to have been the general ſentiment of the Romans as well as the Greeks, as is implied by Feſtus, when he calls them Egyptini. Homer alſo celebrates both their wiſdom and religion, when he makes Jupiter, and the reſt of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were inſtructed in ſeveral branches of literature by Moſes himſelf, who was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, may be collected from Artapanus in Euſebius, Joſephus, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here inſiſted upon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that a nation ſo near Egypt, the centre of learning and politeneſs in very early ages, with which the Ethiopians always kept open a communication, and ſo potent as this appears from hiſtory in moſt times to have been, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowledge both in the liberal arts and ſciences, and thoſe termed mechanical [y].

Character of the Ethiopians.

THE Ethiopians were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewiſe ſurpaſſed moſt other nations in beauty, and largeneſs of ſize, to which a proportionable

[y] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Warburton's divine legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol. ii. par. 1. p 157. Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Philoſtratus Tyrius de vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. Feſt in voc. Ægyptin. Joſeph. antiquit. l. ii c. 5. Artapan. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4. Act. c. vii. v. 22. Vide etiam Homer. Iliad. A. Clem. Alexandrin. in ſtrom. alioſque auctor. paſſ.

(I) Lucian makes the Ethiopians to have excelled all other nations in wiſdom and literature. According to him, they invented aſtronomy and aſtrology, and communicated thoſe ſciences, as well as many other branches of learning to the Egyptians. As their country was very fit for making celeſtial obſervations, ſuch a notion ſeems not entirely groundleſs; though ſcarce any particulars of their knowledge have reached us (33).

(33) Lucian. de aſtrolog. p. 539, 540. & in fugitiv. p. 1011.

tionable degree of ſtrength was generally annexed. For which reaſon Herodotus intimates, that the Macrobii conferred the royal dignity upon the moſt beautiful, large, and ſtrongeſt perſon they could find amongſt them. Both they and the Arabians had an invincible averſion to mice, as we learn from Plutarch. If the modern Abaſſines reſemble their anceſtors, they were well-ſhaped, of a generous diſpoſition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the ſame ſuppoſition, ſome of them muſt have been free, chearful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) juſtice. According to various authors, the proper antient Ethiopians were, for the moſt part, perfectly black, as we find their poſterity at this day, tho' ſome particular cantons were white, called, by Pliny, white Ethiopians. 'Tis probable they were pleaſed with their natural colour, and preferred it to thoſe of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the preſent Abaſſines are terrified at the ſight of an European, as much as ours are at that of a Negro; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in ſome provinces of Abaſſia the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a black ſpot upon their navel, which in a ſhort time after their birth ſpreads over their whole body; and that, being tranſported into Europe, they become white at the ſecond or third generation. Gregory the Abaſſine informed Ludolphus, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddiſh hue, but in a ſhort time turned black. Their women are ſtrong and luſty, and bring forth with little pain, as uſually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour they kneel down upon their knees, as the Hebrew women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife.

Many

(K) Pauſanias, when he diſtinguiſhes the proper Ethiopians from thoſe bordering upon the Mauri and Naſamones, remarks, that the people of Meroe, as well as the other neighbouring Ethiopians, were eminent for their love of juſtice. This obſervation was probably truer than what he ſubjoins to it, viz. that the Ethiopians had no other river but the Nile; though as all other rivers join the Nile, this is no unpardonable miſtake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the Ethiopian ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other inſtances that might be produced (34).

(34) Pauſan. in Bœotic. & in Attic. p. 62, 63.

Many, if not all, of these particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient Ethiopians, who, from what is observable in their posterity, seem to have been likewise very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greatest fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Lastly, from Herodotus compared with the relations of some modern authors, 'tis not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the sword, or were devoured by wild beasts, as Sallust has observed of the antient Africans [z].

[z] Excerpt. e vit. Pythag. apud Phot. p. 1319. Herodot. l. iii. Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Plut. de invid. & od. P. Balthazar Tellezius, & Greg. Abass. apud Job Ludolph. in hist Æthiop. l. iii. c. 14. ut & ipse Ludolph. ibid. Is. Vossius de orig. Nil. &c. Pompon. Mel. & Solin. apud Ludolph. ubi sup. P. Augustin. Calmet dict. bibl. in voc. Æthiopia, &c. Sallust. in Jugurth.

CHAP. VII.

The history of the Ethiopians, to the usurpation of the Zagæan family, which commenced about the year of Christ 960.

Where the first kingdom of Cush was situated uncertain.

WE have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of Egypt to Libya Incognita, and the peninsula of Arabia, as well as one part of it on the coast of the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt, but likewise Susiana, called by the Orientals Khuzestân, and the country watered by the Araxes, the seat of the antient Scythians, went under the denomination of Cush amongst the Asiatic nations, and Ethiopia amongst the Greeks. Where Cush himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in Susiana or Khuzestân, others in Arabia Felix, and others in that district near the confines of Egypt, called in Scripture the land of Midian or Madian. Possibly some of his descendents might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but 'tis probable, that the greatest body of them advanced towards Arabia and Egypt, since the posterity of Elam the son of Shem replenished,

niſhed, in all likelihood, moſt of the provinces of Perſia, and particularly Elymais contiguous to Suſiana or Khuzeſtân. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, the land of Midian went by the name of Cuſh before the age of Moſes, when, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, the country waſhed by the Araxes was but thinly peopled, and even ſcarce known. That the children of Cuſh ſhould have migrated in the moſt numerous parties into Arabia, and particularly that part of Yaman bordering upon the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, as well as the country afterwards called the land of Midian, has the greateſt appearance of truth, ſince theſe ſeem to be the moſt commodious ſituations for throwing large colonies of Cuſhites into the proper Ethiopia, as well as the inland parts of Africa. To ſupport farther the conjecture offered to the conſideration of our readers here, it may be obſerved from various authors, that a good part of the upper Egypt was poſſeſſed by the Cuſhites in the moſt early ages, and that the city of Coſs, Kûs, or Kûſh, ſituated upon the Nile in that country, confounded by ſome with the famous Thebes, took its name from Cuſh the father of the Ethiopians. The Arabs call Ethiopia not only Habaſh, from Habaſh the ſuppoſed ſon of Cuſh, but likewiſe Cuſh or Couſch, in like manner as the Hebrews. The firſt kings of this country we have no account of, that deſerves the leaſt regard. 'Tis probable, that ſeveral princes reigned here at the ſame time, before any of the great empires were formed as in Egypt. Some of the modern Abaſſines pretend, that one Arwe was the firſt king of Ethiopia, but relate nothing memorable of him, only that he was aſſaſſinated by one Arigab, who afterwards aſcended the throne, and was ſucceeded by Sabanut, Gedur, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous hiſtory of Tzagaxus, and what we find on this head in Jerome Vecchietti, not the leaſt degree of credit is due to them. The preſent king of Ethiopia, or emperor of Abaſſia, is ſtyled by his ſubjects Negus, i. e. king; but, as the governors of provinces are ſometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is Neguſa Nagaſt Zaitiopia, i. e. king of the kings of Ethiopia [a].

It

[a] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 458, &c. Dan. c. viii. v. 2. Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5. Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 25. Joſeph. antiquit. l. xii. c. 13. Hyde de relig. vet.

Moſes conquers Ethiopia.

It may be inferred from ſome authors, that the Ethiopians poſſeſſed Thebais before Moſes's time, and conſequently that they were a powerful nation from the remoteſt antiquity. According to theſe authors, they made an irruption into the Lower Egypt whilſt Moſes was there, and penetrated as far as Memphis. Having defeated the Egyptians in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate deſtruction. Whereupon the Egyptian gods, being conſulted, ordered their votaries to put an Hebrew at the head of their forces, and then march againſt the enemy. The king, in purſuance of this order, prevailed upon Moſes to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. Moſes, being veſted with an unlimited power to act as he ſhould thing proper for the good of his maſter's ſervice, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the Nile, in conformity to their expectations, but to puſh through ſome mediterranean provinces, greatly infeſted with ſerpents of an enormous ſize, towards Meroe the capital of Ethiopia, he was obliged to have recourſe to the following ſtratagem, in order to ſave his men: He filled many cheſts or paniers, made of the Egyptian plant papyrus, with vaſt numbers of the ibis, an Egyptian bird, that had a natural antipathy to ſerpents of all kinds and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with thoſe animals, he let out his birds, which deſtroyed all of them they met with, and opened a paſſage for the Egyptian forces. Moſes, therefore, without any difficulty, ſurpriſed the Ethiopians, gave them a total defeat, and at laſt ſhut them up in Meroe. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the Nile, the Aſtapus, and the Aſtaboras, which ſo ſurrounded it, that it was almoſt impoſſible for an army to approach it. However, Moſes's good fortune interpoſing, he found means to make himſelf maſter of it. The king of Ethiopia's daughter, obſerving from the walls Moſes's bravery in repulſing ſeveral

vet. Perſar. p. 80, &c. Num. c. xii. v. 1. Calmet, in art. Cuſh & Ethiopia. D'Herbel. biblioth. Oriental. in voc. Habas. Abulfed. Yacut. aliique apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 101. Newton's chronol. p. 201, & alib. D'Herbel. ubi ſup. p. 274, 409, &c. Vid. catal. in hiſt. fab. Tzagaxi, Hieron. Vecchietti, c. 39. & Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 1, 2. &c.

ſeveral ſallies of the beſieged, and being charmed with his ſucceſs, fell deſperately in love with him, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends ſhe could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would ſwear to marry her. This overture, continue the ſame authors, Moſes complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and ſeverity, firſt plundering them, and then putting moſt of them to the ſword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, razed or diſmantled all the places of ſtrength, and conſequently rendered the Ethiopians for a long time incapable of making head againſt the Egyptians, he returned home with great glory. Cedrenus intimates, that this war laſted ten years [b].

The Abaſſines believe their kings to be deſcended from Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

THE Abaſſines are firmly perſuaded, that the celebrated queen (A) of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, reigned over the proper Ethiopia. They have an hiſtory of her written at large, but interſperſed with various fables. The ſubſtance of it is as follows: Makeda, for according to them that was her name, receiving an account, from Tamerin an Ethiopian merchant, of the ſurpriſing power and wiſdom of Solomon, took a journey to Jeruſalem to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of moſt magnificent preſents. After ſhe had been inſtructed at Jeruſalem in the worſhip of the true God, ſhe returned home, and within the ſpace of a year brought forth a ſon begotten by Solomon, who named him David; but he was called by his mother and her ſubjects Menelech, or Menilchech, that is, another ſelf. He received his education at Solomon's court and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and Iſraelites of diſtinction, and particularly Azariah the ſon of Zadoc the high prieſt. By the

[b] Eupolem. & Artapan. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4 Joſeph. antiquitat. l. ii. c. 10. Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 48. ed. Pariſ. 1647.

(A) Joſephus ſays, that the queen of Sheba governed Egypt as well as Ethiopia; but as this notion runs counter to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, we ſhall not ſcruple to reject it (1).

(1) Joſeph. antiquit. l. viii. c. 6.

the aſſiſtance of theſe Hebrew attendants he eſtabliſhed the religion, profeſſed by his father, in Ethiopia, where it continued till that kingdom embraced chriſtianity. The Arabs and Abaſſines have given the princeſs above-mentioned ſeveral names, as Makeda, Belkis, Balkis, or Bulkis, Negheſta Azeb, i. e. queen of the ſouth, as we find her ſtyled by our Saviour, and the Ethiopic verſion, &c. The Abaſſines pretend, that their kings are deſcended in a right line from Menelech, and even moſt of the noble families in Abaſſia at this day trace their reſpective predigrees up to Solomon [c].

This tradition clogged with ſome abſurdities, though not to be deemed entirely falſe.

THAT this tradition is clogged with ſome abſurdities, will appear to any one who conſiders it with the leaſt attention, though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. Ethiopia is more to the ſouth of Judæa than the territory or kingdom of Saba in Arabia Felix, and conſequently ſeems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that princeſs whom our Saviour calls the queen of the ſouth. Ethiopia is ſtyled the remoteſt part of the habitable world by Herodotus and Strabo, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has ſaid of the queen of Sheba, viz. that *ſhe came from the uttermoſt parts of the earth*, than Arabia poſſibly can do. Nor can it be deemed a ſufficient reply to this argument, that Arabia Felix was the uttermoſt part of the earth in reſpect of Judæa, ſince it was bounded by the Red Sea; for that not only Egypt, but even Ethiopia, regions beyond that ſea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the Jews, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indiſputably clear. Laſtly, from what has been ſuggeſted above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that Judaiſm was not only known in a part at leaſt of Ethiopia, but likewiſe nearly related to the eſtabliſhed religion there at the beginning of the apoſtolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be underſtood as pretending to determine the reſidence of the queen of the ſouth; eſpecially ſince ſo much may be ſaid for Arabia, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, theſe two opinions, ſo contrary in appearance, may be made conſiſtent

[c] Ludolph. ubi ſup. c. 3. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. p. 6. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D Herbelot. bibl. Oriental. ſu b voc. Balkis. Le Grand, diſſert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

ſiſtent without great difficulty; ſince 'tis agreed, that Arabia and Ethiopia have antiently borne the ſame name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the Arabs and Ethiopians had the ſame origin, and very conſiderable numbers of the Abaſeni tranſplanted themſelves from Arabia Felix into Ethiopia, as already obſerved; which ſeems ſufficient to make appear the intercourſe that has formerly ſubſiſted between the Cuſhites or Ethiopians of Aſia and Africa [d].

Ethiopia reduced by Seſac.

But whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of Sheba in Arabia or Ethiopia, whether they will admit or reject the hiſtory of that princeſs and her ſon given us by the Abaſſines, it ſeems clear from ſcripture, that the Ethiopians were ſubject to Seſac, either in Solomon's time, or ſoon after his death. For, that the Cuſhites mentioned in the paſſage here referred to, were the proper Ethiopians, appears from their being joined with the Lubim or Libyans, who likewiſe ſerved in the army of that prince. This, it muſt be owned, is a ſtrong proof, that Seſoſtris and Seſac were the ſame perſon, in conformity to what Joſephus aſſerts, ſince we read not in ſcripture of any Egyptian but Seſac that was maſter of Ethiopia, and ſince Herodotus poſitively aſſerts, that Seſoſtris alone, of all the Egyptian monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the ſcripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of Egypt before Seſac, it is in the higheſt degree probable, that he was the firſt who extended his conqueſts in ſo wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of Seſoſtris; ſince, had ſuch great atchievements been performed ſooner, the ſacred hiſtory would undoubtedly have given us ſome hint of them, eſpecially as the Hebrews had ſuch an intercourſe with the Egyptians almoſt from the remoteſt antiquity. The ſilence therefore of ſcripture in this particular is an argument of no ſmall force in favour of what Joſephus has advanced relating to the identity of Seſoſtris and Seſac. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends ſtrongly to evince the Egyptian empire, founded by Ammenemes and Seſac, to have been the firſt great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity

[d] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Strab. l. xvii. p. 564 ed. 1587. Matt. c. xii. v. 42. Coſmas Ægyptius, in Chriſtian. opin. de mund. l. ii. p. 138, 139. Euſeb. comment. in Eſai. c. xliii. Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. c. 6. ſect. 2. Le Grand & Ludolph. ubi ſup.

quity of the Aſſyrian empire depends only upon the authority of Cteſias, not the leaſt hint in ſupport of ſuch antiquity being viſible in ſcripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by Pul, about two hundred years after the taking of Jeruſalem by Seſac. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of ſo many learned men to vindicate the notorious falſhoods of Cteſias, or, which is the ſame thing, of the antient Greek and Latin authors who copied from him, no one, who has the leaſt regard for ſcripture, can poſſiby imagine any Egyptian monarch of great note to have flouriſhed before Seſac, or Aſſyrian before Pul. This notion has been ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by Sir Iſaac Newton, but oppoſed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as theſe learned men ſeem not to have duly attended to what Sir Iſaac has advanced, and as it has been that illuſtrious author's misfortune to have his works at firſt miſunderſtood, though they have afterwards ſhone out with a double luſtre, we ſhall beg leave to make a general remark upon the moſt conſiderable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his ſyſtem of chronology, which to us ſeems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular ſentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore ſhall not offer an anſwer to all the objections urged againſt it; nor indeed, were we ſo diſpoſed, would the nature of the work we are at preſent engaged in render this practicable[e].

Sir Iſaac Newton miſrepreſented.

Sir Iſaac allows, that before the time of Ammon or Ammenemes the father of Seſac, there were ſeveral kings in Egypt, and even adopts what Manetho has written of the kings of the Lower Egypt; only he contends, that the Upper and Lower Egypt were not united under one prince before the reign of Ammon. And how does this contradict ſcripture, which takes notice only of the kings of Miſraim, or that part of the Lower Egypt bordering upon Arabia and Paleſtine? Nay, does he not ſuppoſe the truth of the moſt early Scripture-accounts of Egypt, by referring to the book of Geneſis on ſeveral occaſions, by deducing from thence ſeveral facts corroboratory of his ſyſtem? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of Egypt was governed by a ſeries of kings from the remoteſt antiquity, even from the firſt invention of corn-

there,

[e] 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. Herodot. Diodorus Siculus. Plin. Joſeph. Juſtin. Dionyſ. Perieg. Strab. Apollon. Rhod. Pauſan. Lucan. aliique ſcriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. paſſ. 2 Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 1 Chron. c. v. ver. 26.

there, to Joſhua's invaſion of Canaan; that the people of this country worſhipped the prince at the head of this ſeries, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as conſonant to all profane antiquity, than this obſervation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the Lower Egypt as early as the firſt plantation of it, and therefore might, for ought that appears to the contrary from him, or rather as he ſtrongly inſinuates, be Miſraim? To what purpoſe then have we been troubled with ſo much empty jangling, and outcries againſt him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that antient kingdom in the Lower Egypt ſo frequently mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorian? In ſhort, moſt of thoſe perſons, who have ſo groſly miſrepreſented Sir Iſaac in this particular, have been either profeſſed infidels, or ſuch as ſecretly favoured infidelity; or laſtly, ſuch as have implicitly ſwallowed the abſurdities of Cteſias. But from theſe our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has ſo effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the Egyptian empire, which the Egyptian prieſts endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which ſo long has been one of the laſt reſources of infidelity, that all our modern deiſts, as well as their ſecret abettors, muſt of courſe declare againſt him: and thoſe perſons, who are ſo hardy as to attempt in earneſt the reconciliation of Cteſias with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only capable of oppoſing what Sir Iſaac has offered in defence of his ſyſtem, but all the mathematical demonſtration that ever appeared in the world [f].

Some of the principal objections againſt him conſidered.

But it is ſaid, that Sir Iſaac makes Seſoſtris or Seſac to have introduced inſtruments of war, the exact diſtribution of property, &c. amongſt the Egyptians; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewiſe to what we have juſt advanced. And was there then no other country called Egypt but the land of Miſraim mentioned by Moſes in the firſt book of the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the Greeks called Egypt? No, this cannot be maintained; ſince that country is known not to have contained all the Lower Egypt, much leſs the Lower and Upper Egypt united; and it may be as well known, by peruſing Sir Iſaac with a proper

[f] Newt. of the empire of Egypt, and chronol. of the Greeks, paſſ.

proper attention, that both theſe united were the Egypt governed by Seſac. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer, for ſo we ſhall not ſcruple to call him, notwithſtanding the cavils of his adverſaries, into ſome parts of the Upper Egypt, or ſeveral ſavage diſtricts not far from the weſtern coaſt of the Red Sea, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had ſubſiſted in the Lower Egypt, whoſe members had been tolerably poliſhed before the reign of Seſac, from the age of Miſraim. Theſe points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir Iſaac's ſyſtem of chronology can be inferred from the ſuppoſed diſagreement of them. On the contrary, as the Troglodytes, appertaining partly to Egypt, and partly to Ethiopia, remained in a ſtate of barbarity many ages after Seſac, 'tis no ſuch improbable notion, that before his time ſeveral other tribes inhabiting the Upper Egypt might be as rude and barbarous as ſome of the antients repreſented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir Iſaac makes Ammon and Seſac to have been the great gods of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, known amongſt the Greeks and Romans by the names Zeus, Jupiter, Dionyſius, Bacchus, &c. which runs counter to the whole ſtream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture; ſince Apis, Serapis, i. e. Jupiter, was worſhipped by the Egyptians before the exodus of the Iſraelites, the golden calf being ſet up by that nation in the wilderneſs in imitation of the Egyptian Apis. Now, that the firſt king of that very antient monarchy in the Lower Egypt, ſo frequently mentioned by Moſes, was deified for the reaſon already aſſigned, and worſhipped in the ox or calf, is expreſly aſſerted by Sir Iſaac; and therefore we may moſt rationally account for the Iſraelites paying divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourſe to the worſhip of Apis. For although this worſhip, in ſeveral particulars, reſembled that of a more antient deity, even the firſt king of the land of Miſraim, it does not from thence follow, that this deified prince was the Egyptian Apis. One ſtrong preſumption, that theſe two pagan divinities were really different, is, that the god Mnevis ſeems more properly to correſpond with the founder of the kingdom of Miſraim than Apis. For Mnevis (B) was kept

(B) That Mnevis and Apis were different deities, or rather repreſentatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the Egyptians held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worſhip of Apis ſeems to have been not only univerſal in

kept at Heliopolis, and conſequently held in the higheſt veneration there, whereas Apis reſided at Memphis. Now Heliopolis was much more antient than Memphis, being the city On, whoſe prieſt's daughter Joſeph married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewiſe nearer the confines of Paleſtine and Arabia than Memphis, nay, it ſeems to have been in the very land of Goſhen or Geſen, where the Iſraelites dwelt immediately before the exodus; on which accounts the principal deity there muſt bid fairer for the moſt antient deified prince above-mentioned, and that repreſented by the Iſraelitiſh golden calf, than any other. Which ſingle obſervation, excluſive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point ſo confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir Iſaac Newton invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in Egypt before the time of Ammon the father of Seſac, that is, in ſome part of David's reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture ſay any thing of the alphabetic characters of Egypt before that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can ſuch a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourſelves greatly ſurpriſed at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in ſupport of that charge, quotes the following paſſage---- "As to the "preciſe time of the invention of Egyptian letters, IT CAN "NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT." ---- "How-

 ever,

in Egypt, but likewiſe common to moſt of the nations of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia; whereas the chief divine honours paid Mnevis did not extend much farther than the diſtrict of Heliopolis, if they were not abſolutely confined to that place. Now this is eaſy to be conceived, nay, perfectly rational, upon Sir Iſaac Newton's principles; for he ſuppoſes, that Seſoſtris or Seſac was the firſt prince in poſſeſſion both of the Upper and Lower Egypt, Ethiopia, &c. and that he civilized ſeveral nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of Miſraim, or the Scripture Egypt, to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. Ammianus Marcellinus ſeems plainly to give Mnevis the preference to Apis in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to eſpouſe will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance, but likewiſe by a careful and diligent compariſon of the authors here referred to with one another (2).

(2) Herodot. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. Ælian. hiſt. animal. l. xi. c. 9. Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 554.

" ever, that letters (in Egypt) were very early, we have " clearly ſhewn above, as well from other circumſtances as " from this, that the invention of them was given to their " gods." Now 'tis remarkable, that theſe circumſtances nowhere appear; and that the other paſſage referred to, in order to ſupport what is here advanced, only takes notice of writing, which, it is well known, in the earlieſt times always conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and ſciences in the land of Miſraim, or the Scripture Egypt, all that we can ſay of it is, that it preceded the age of Moſes, who, as St. Stephen himſelf, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghoſt, informs us, was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians. But what a progreſs literature had then made there, we cannot pretend to ſay. 'Tis not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, aſtrology, including ſo much of the ſimple elements of aſtronomy as contained the knowledge of the true ſyſtem of the world, ſome maxims of civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greateſt part of it. But we cannot collect from hence, that they knew even ſo much of the principles of aſtronomy and geometry, as to underſtand the art of navigation before the time Sir Iſaac mentions; nor that any of the arts or ſciences, which he intimates began to flouriſh amongſt the Egyptians about the reigns of Ammon and Seſac, were cultivated there to any great purpoſe before that period. But admitting, that the Egyptians of the land of Miſraim, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir Iſaac's adverſaries would inſinuate, which yet is utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the Upper Egypt, Libya, &c. had then any great pretenſions to learning and politeneſs; and therefore every thing advanced upon that ſuppoſition, which is almoſt the ſum of what has been offered againſt Sir Iſaac's ſyſtem of chronology, deſerves not the leaſt attention. In fine, moſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have oppoſed this excellent piece, ſeem to have confounded the kingdom of Miſraim with that Egyptian empire which arrived at its laſt perfection in the days of Seſac, if not with Libya, Troglodytica, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only ſo, but they have conſidered ſome of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a cloſe connection; have attacked ſeveral points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them; have attempted an anſwer to ſome of his weaker arguments without touching upon thoſe of greater ſtrength; laſtly, have never taken a full ſurvey of the

ſyſtem, but only fallen upon ſome of thoſe parts they thought the moſt liable to exception, and, from a ſuppoſed refutation of them, collected the falſity of the whole. However, 'tis not our buſineſs here to enter into a nice diſcuſſion of all the particulars relating to this controverſy, nor to examine every cavil levelled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, ſooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to ſome particular ſentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of ſeveral parts of the moſt excellent productions of all ages. As ſuch a digreſſion merited a place in ſome part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received by our readers.---- But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory [f]:

Hiſtory of Ethiopia, to the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepheards.

We have already obſerved, that Seſac ſubdued and reigned over Ethiopia. After his death a civil war ſeems to have broke out in Egypt, which Sir Iſaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians. But about ten years afterwards, continues the ſame illuſtrious author, the Ethiopians drowned Seſac's ſucceſſor in the Nile, and ſeized upon Egypt. With that kingdom, Libya alſo fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous hoſt with which Zerah the Ethiopian advanced againſt Aſa king of Judah. However, Aſa overthrew that army, conſiſting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and diſperſed it in ſuch a manner, that Zerah could never afterwards rally his ſcattered forces. Upon which, the people of the Lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and, being ſuſtained by a body of two hundred thouſand Jewiſh or Canaanitiſh auxiliaries, forced Memnon or Amenophis, king of that nation, to retire to Memphis. 'Tis probable, that the Egyptians, under the conduct of their chief prieſt Uſorthon, Oſorchon, Oſarchor, or Oſarſiphus, followed their blow; ſince, after Memnon had turned the courſe of the (C) Nile, built a bridge over that river, and

[f] Idem ibid. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. Herodot. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Ælian. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. Warburton's divine legat. of Moſ. demonſtr. vol. ii. par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

(C) This famous river, we ſuppoſe, by way of eminence, was called the Nile, i. e. the river, the torrent, &c. for that the word נהל Naal or Niil imports. Amongſt the Orientals the vowels were

fortified the paſs there, he retreated with great precipitation into Ethiopia. However, about thirteen years after this diſgrace, he and his young ſon Rameſſes returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned Jews or Phœnicians out of the Lower Egypt; which action the Egyptian writers called the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds, as we learn from the aforeſaid illuſtrious author, in conjunction with Manetho [g].

A deluge in Ethiopia.

We are told by Cedrenus, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after Cecrops the firſt king of Athens began to reign, there happened a deluge in Ethiopia; but what damage the inhabitants of that country ſuſtained on this occaſion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were ſufficiently felt, ſince otherwiſe it would not have merited the notice of any hiſtorian. As Cedrenus follows the technical chronology of Eratoſthenes, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not diſpoſed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us ſo much as to conjecture [h].

Continued to the time of Sabacon.

From ſeveral hiſtorical facts, Sir Iſaac renders it extremely probable, that Menes, Memnon, and Amenophis, were the ſame perſon; that the Ethiopian prince, who went by theſe names, was the ſon of Zerah; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of Solomon. According to the ſame incomparable writer, the city of Memphis, called in Scripture Moph and Noph, as likewiſe Menoph or Menuf by the Arabian hiſtorians, derived its name

[g] Newt. ubi ſup. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8——15. Maneth. apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Diod Sic. l. i. Herodot. l. ii. & Æſchyl. apud Newt. in chronol. p. 238.
[h] Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 83. Pariſ. 1647.

were nearly related to one another, and conſequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter ה, in ſome words, had not formerly ſo much as the force even of a note of aſpiration, is evinced by Bochart. Νεῖλος and Nilus, therefore, are only נהל with a Greek and Latin termination (3).

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by Philoſtratus, when he affirms Memnon to have reigned five ages or generations in Ethiopia. He alſo gives us to underſtand, that

(3) Val. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1104. Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 1,

name from that of this prince, who either built it, or firſt fortified it, to prevent Oſarſiphus from entering Ethiopia. The Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Amenophis, according to the principles of the ſyſtem we have at preſent in view. Some Greek authors relate, that he aſſiſted king Priamus with a body of Ethiopian troops. After his deceaſe, his ſon Rameſſes aſcended the throne of Ethiopia, who built the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. Mæris, his ſucceſſor, adorned Memphis, and fixed his reſidence there, near two generations after the Trojan war, upon the ſame principles. Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, were the three next kings, the laſt of which was ſucceeded by his ſiſter Nitocris. Then came Aſychis, in whoſe reign both Aſſyria and Ethiopia revolted from Egypt; which thereupon was again divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. Gnephactus governed one of theſe, and reſided at Memphis; but his ſon Bocchoris was ſlain by So or Sabacon the Ethiopian, who made himſelf maſter of Egypt. As all the principal atchievements of theſe monarchs, tranſmitted down to us by ſacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the hiſtory of Egypt, we have almoſt entirely paſſed them over here. However, we muſt not omit informing our readers, that, in the twenty-ſecond year of Bocchoris's reign, Africanus has fixed the commencement of the æra of Nabonaſſar [i].

SABACON, or So, as he is called in Scripture, ſoon after the reduction of Egypt, entered into an alliance with Hoſhea king of Iſrael; which induced that prince to attempt ſhaking off the yoke of the Aſſyrians; but his efforts proving unſuc- To the death of Sethon.

[i] Newt. ubi ſupra, p. 235——247. Herodot. l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. i. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Hellan. apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. xv. African. apud Syncel. p. 74. Euſeb. in chron. 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. Iſai. c. xix. ver. 13. Hoſ. c. ix. ver. 6. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 51 &c.

that the Ethiopians, ſome of them he means, were longer-lived than any other nation; which ſeems to agree with Herodotus. But when he relates, that the proper Ethiopians were originally of India, and expelled that country for an aſſaſſination of one king Ganges, he deſerves not the leaſt credit (4).

(4) Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyran. l. iii. ſub finit. Megaſthenes apud Strabon, & Plin. l. vi. c. 17.

ceſsful, a period was put to the kingdom of Iſrael by Shalmaneſer, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of Nabonaſſar. According to Herodotus, Sabacon, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquiſhed Egypt, and retired into Ethiopia. But, according to Africanus, he reigned only eight years in Egypt, and died in the ninth year of Hezekiah, or twenty-ninth of Nabonaſſar. The former author likewiſe informs us, that Sethon, whom ſome take to be the Sevechus of Manetho, his ſucceſſor, advanced to Peluſium, with a powerful army, againſt Sennacherib king of Aſſyria, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vaſt number of mice, which devoured the ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings of the Aſſyrians; and that, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſurpriſing an event, the ſtatue of Sethon, which he ſaw, had a mouſe in its hand. As a mouſe was the Egyptian and Ethiopian ſymbol of deſtruction, this ſeems to intimate, that he overthrew the Aſſyrians with a great deſtruction. Sir Iſaac Newton therefore believes, that Sethon, in conjunction with Tirhakah, either king of the Arabian Cuſhites, or a relation of Sethon, and his viceroy in the Proper Ethiopia, ſurpriſed and defeated Sennacherib betwixt Libnah and Peluſium, making as great a ſlaughter amongſt his troops, as if their bow-ſtrings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered conſiſtent enough with the Scripture-account of the blow received by Sennacherib, as we have elſewhere obſerved. The Egyptian prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and prieſthood, to the time when Sethon aſcended the throne of Egypt. The prieſts, during that period, as they pretended, had ſucceeded one another, without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word, ſignifying a good and virtuous man. Herodotus intimates, that Sennacherib was king of Arabia, as well as Aſſyria; which, if admitted, will prove, that Tirhakah preſided over the Proper Ethiopia, and not Arabia, as ſome learned men have ſuppoſed. If this be allowed, it will ſtrengthen, in ſome ſort, the conjecture we have already propoſed to the conſideration of the learned, viz. that Tirhakah was no other than Sabacon, who had before confined himſelf to Ethiopia, and left the Egyptian crown to Sethon. However, as this notion muſt be owned to be clogged with ſome difficulties, and even abſurd, upon the principles of thoſe, who

who make Tirhakah ſucceſſor to Sethon, we ſhall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they pleaſe [i].

FROM this time, to the ſeventy-eighth year of Nabonaſſar, we hear little of the kingdom of Ethiopia, which was then ſubjugated by Eſar-haddon king of Aſſyria. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in Egypt, as had been predicted by the prophet Iſaiah; and governed both thoſe countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of Nabonaſſar 81. But then the Ethiopians, revolting from the Aſſyrians, aſſerted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy diſtinct from Egypt, till the days of Cyrus, who, from Xenophon, ſeems to have been maſter of Ethiopia, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it. However, ſoon after the deceaſe of that prince, they withdrew themſelves from their ſubjection to the Perſians, ſince we find his ſon Cambyſes engaged in a fruitleſs expedition againſt them. Herodotus ſays, that, before he undertook this expedition, he ſent an embaſſy made up of the Ichthyophagi, as underſtanding the language of that nation, to the king of the Macrobii, or long-lived Ethiopians. The true end of this embaſſy was not ſo much to cultivate a good underſtanding with that prince, as to learn the ſtrength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his deſign, he ſent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaſter box of rich ointment, a veſſel of palm-wine, and other magnificent preſents. But the Ethiopian was too acute not to penetrate the Perſian monarch's views on this occaſion, and therefore frankly told the Ichthyophagi, that he was no ſtranger to their errand, and that, if Cambyſes entertained any ſentiments of equity, he would never deſire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a ſtate of ſervitude a people, who had never injured him. "However," added he, "give him this bow from me, and tell "him, that he may think of invading the country of the Ma- "crobian Ethiopians, when his ſubjects can thus eaſily "draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to "thank

And from thence to the reign of Xerxes.

[i] 2 Kin. c. xviii. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Plut. African. Syncel. ubi ſup. Joſeph. antiquit. l. x. c. 1. 2. Chron. c. xxxii. Iſai. c. xxxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. Iſai. c. xxxvii. Newt. chronol. p. 254, 255. Univer. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 51, &c. & vol. iv. p. 274, not (V), & p. 277.

" thank the gods, that they never inſpired the Ethiopians " with a deſire of extending their dominions beyond the " limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the embaſſadors: after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was, and how made? And being ſatisfied in both theſe particulars, he could not forbear obſerving, " That the robe was " a proper emblem and repreſentation of the deceitful prince " who wore it." All the other preſents likewiſe, except the wine, he deſpiſed, preferring the iron chains of the Ethiopians, which, he ſaid, were far ſtronger, to the golden bracelets, &c. of the Perſians. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in Ethiopia, and intimated, that the Perſians, ſhort-lived as they were, owed moſt of their days to ſo noble a cordial. When he heard, that a good part of their food was bread, he ſaid, He was not at all ſurpriſed, that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the Macrobian Ethiopians. As for what Herodotus relates of the table of the ſun in this country, it ſavours ſo much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of it. Cambyſes, being extremely incenſed at the anſwer brought by the Ichthyophagi from the Ethiopian, in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. This at laſt introduced ſuch a famine amongſt them, that the ſoldiers were obliged to eat one another; ſo that, not being able to traverſe the vaſt ſandy deſerts of Ethiopia, he found himſelf conſtrained to return, firſt to Thebes, and afterwards to Memphis, with the loſs of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met there with a warm reception, ſince, by the acceſſion of a large body of Egyptians in the reign of Pſammitichus, the Ethiopians muſt have been very formidable; for we learn from Herodotus, that two hundred and forty thouſand Egyptians, poſted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the ſides of Arabia,

(E) Herodotus, in the paſſage here referred to, makes Elephantis or Elephantine, and Daphnæ Peluſiæ, oppoſite boundaries or frontiers of Egypt, and places both of them on the borders of Ethiopia. This ſeems to point out the true tranſlation of

Arabia, Aſſyria, Libya, and Ethiopia, having not been relieved within the ſpace of three years, deſerted to the king of Ethiopia, who placed them in a country diſaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take poſſeſſion of their lands. He alſo informs us, that, in the Egyptian language, they were called Aſmak, i. e. "thoſe who ſtand "on the left hand of the king;" as likewiſe, that they civilized the Ethiopians. But the laſt article we can ſcarce give any credit to, ſince, from this very hiſtorian himſelf, and Africanus, it appears, that the Ethiopians were maſters of Egypt at leaſt eighty years before the time of Pſammitichus; and therefore might have learnt every thing the Egyptians could teach them before, if they were not, from the earlieſt ages, in all particulars as wiſe as that people. Sir Iſaac Newton inſinuates, that Cambyſes conquered Ethiopia, as well as Egypt, about the year of Nabonaſſar, 223, or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from Herodotus, nor any other good author. Poſſibly Ethiopia, like Egypt, might have had ſeveral collateral princes, whom the antients, through miſtake, placed in continual ſucceſſion; which could not but occaſion many blunders and errors in the hiſtory of that kingdom. However, Herodotus aſſerts, that Cambyſes reduced ſome of the provinces of Ethiopia contiguous to Egypt in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the Troglodytes, ſent an annual preſent to the

of a text in Ezekiel, rendered in our verſion — *I will make the land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate, from the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia*; which ought to be tranſlated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms; *I will make the land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate, from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia*: for if we ſuppoſe Migdol and Syene, or, as Herodotus aſſerts, Elephantine and Daphnæ Peluſiæ, to be oppoſite frontiers of Egypt, and both on the confines of Ethiopia, then we may look upon the words *from Migdol to Syene* as a parentheſis, and equivalent to the following words, *to the border of Ethiopia*. Such a tranſlation will render the paſſage exceeding obvious and clear, and is ſupported by a vaſt number of ſuch parentheſes to be met with in the old teſtament (5).

(5) Ezek. c. xxix. ver. 10. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 89. not. (C).

the Perſian monarch, conſiſting of two chænixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize, even to his time. But though the Perſians ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but likewiſe that part of Libya bordering upon the weſtern confines of Egypt, and carried their arms as far as the city of Cyrene, yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vaſt tract, comprehending the kingdoms of Sennar, Abaſſia, and other countries, anſwering to the proper Ethiopia of the antients, we cannot help thinking at leaſt very improbable [k].

Xerxes has a body of eaſtern and weſtern Ethiopians, Libyans, &c. in his army.

AMONGST the various nations that compoſed the numerous army, with which (F) Xerxes invaded Greece, Herodotus ranks the Ethiopians. He mentions on this occaſion two ſorts of that people; the eaſtern, who had their abode in

[k] Iſai. c. xix. ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4, 5. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p 88, &c. Herod. & African. ubi ſup. Xenoph. in Cyropæd. Herodot. l. iii. Newt. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

(F) Herodotus informs us, that Xerxes had not only eaſtern and weſtern, or Aſiatic and African, Ethiopians in his army, but likewiſe Libyans. The eaſtern or Aſiatic Ethiopians, he tells us, anointed one part of their bodies with a ſpecies of gypſum or plaſter, and another with minium or red-lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The Libyans, from his account of them, ſeem to have been negroes, who by Diodorus Siculus are called Ethiopians. That author gives us the following deſcription of them: "They are," ſays he, "flat-faced, exceeding fierce and cruel, in their manners "reſembling beaſts, extremely wicked, and have frizzled hair. "Their bodies are naſty and loathſome, their voice ſhrill, and "their diſpoſition ſuch as renders them incapable of being ci- "vilized. Some of them carry ſhields made of the raw hide "of an ox, and ſhort lances, in their wars; others uſe darts "forked at the ends, together with bows four cubits long, "out of which they diſcharge their arrows by the help of "their feet. When their ſhafts are ſpent, they fall on with "clubs. Their women likwiſe, till they arrive at a certain "age, take on in the ſervice; and many of them hang a braſs "ring at their lips. Some go always naked, ſheltering them- "ſelves from the ſcorching rays of the ſun with whatever falls "in their way. Several cover their pudenda with ſheep-tails; "and

in Aſia, and were looked upon as Indians, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the weſtern or African Ethiopians. The former carried the ſame arms as the Indians, wore for helmets the ſkins of horſes heads, the ears and manes whereof ſerved them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the ſkins of cranes for ſhields, and had long hair. The Africans were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was Maſanges, the ſon of Aorizus, a perſon doubtleſs of great diſtinction amongſt them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the diſſolution of the Perſian empire, though it is probable matters, with reſpect to them, all along remained in the ſame ſituation; that is to ſay, the Ethiopian provinces contiguous to Egypt were ſubject to the Perſians, and the others in a ſtate of independency, either ſo little known, or made ſo inconſiderable a figure,

" and others apply beaſt-ſkins to that uſe. Laſtly, it is not
" uncommon amongſt this people to wear a garment about their
" loins made of human hair, the ſheep in this country carrying
" no fleeces at all. They feed, for the moſt part, upon the
" tender ſhoots of trees, the roots of canes, the lotus and ſeſa-
" mus, together with another ſpecies of fruit produced in mar-
" ſhy places. Many alſo live upon fowl, which, being excel-
" lent archers, they kill in vaſt numbers; but moſt of them uſe
" fleſh, milk, and cheeſe, for their ſuſtenance." As Diodorus intimates many of theſe to have been ſeated in the heart of Africa, as well as on both ſides the Nile, and expreſly calls them Blacks, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as ſome of the proper Ethiopians; nay, as he ſeems to join together " the heart of Africa and both ſides of the Nile," and the deſcription he gives of the Blacks on both ſides the Nile agrees, in moſt particulars, with the preſent Blacks, poſſibly ſeveral of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of Diodorus, the Niger and the Nile were believed to have been branches of the ſame river. Be that as it will, the paſſage here referred to by no means diſcountenances ſuch a notion; which adds ſome weight to what has been already advanced in the hiſtory of the Melanogætuli and Nigritæ, as our readers will find, by conſulting it (6).

(6) Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Diod. Sic. l. iii, ſub init. Univerſ. hiſt. vol xviii.. p. 59.

figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian [1].

Ptolemy Euergetes penetrates into Ethiopia.

It does not appear, that Alexander the Great ever undertook an expedition against the Ethiopians, though, when he consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the first enquiries he made was after the sources of the Nile, and, having afterwards encamped at the head of the river Indus, which he imagined to be that of the Nile, was overjoyed at his success. But Ptolemy Euergetes, one of his successors in Egypt, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the Nile, with this view carried his arms into Ethiopia. The particulars of this enterprize we find nowhere related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations seated in it, appears from an inscription (G) preserved down to us by Cosmas Ægyptius

[1] Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 56.

(G) Eleshaan, king of the Axumites or Ethiopians, ordered Asbas, governor of Adule, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of Justin's reign, just before Eleshaan undertook the expedition against the Homerites, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. Asbas employed Cosmas, and one Menas, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at Raithus, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rhaptus, possibly the Rauso of Cosmas, to take him an exact copy of it, and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance," says he, "into the western part of "the city, facing the road to Axuma, stood a chair of white "marble, consisting of a square base, a small thin column at "each angle of this base, with a larger wreathed one in the "middle, a seat or throne upon these, a back, and two sides. "Behind this chair there was a large stone three cubits high, "which had suffered considerable injury from time." This stone, and the chair, contained a Greek inscription, part of which imported, "that Ptolemy Euergetes had penetrated to "the farthest parts of Ethiopia; that he subdued Gaza, Agame, "Sigue, Ava, Tiamo or Tziamo, Gambela, Zingabene, Angabe, "Tiama, Athagaos, Calaa, Semene, Lasine, Zaa, Gabala, "Atalmo, Bega, the Tangaitæ, Anine, Metine, Sesea, Rauso, "Solate, the territory of Rouso, and several other kingdoms; "that

tius (H), or, as ſome call him, Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, which he copied upon the ſpot in the time of the emperor

" that amongſt the nations he reduced were ſome inhabiting " mountains always covered with a deep ſnow; and others " ſeated upon ridges of hills, from whence iſſued boiling " ſtreams, and craggy precipices, who all therefore ſeemed in- " acceſſible; that having finally, after all theſe conqueſts, aſ- " ſembled his whole army at Adule, and ſacrificed to Mars, " Neptune, and Jupiter, for his great ſucceſs, he had dedicat- " ed this chair or throne to Mars." It may not be improper to remark here, that Gaza ſeems to correſpond with Gheeza, a name of the kingdom of Abaſſia, in uſe amongſt the natives at this day; that Agame and Ava ſeem to be the ſame with Agamia and Afa, two prefectures of the preſent kingdom of Tigre; that Tiamo or Tzamo, and Tiama, anſwer to Tzama in the kingdom of Tigre, and Tzama in that of Bagemeder; that Athagaos muſt agree with one of the two regions called Agao; and that Semene is undoubtedly the country now denominated Samen, or Semen. This, to omit other proofs, that might be offered, is no contemptible argument in favour of the authority of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes. For a full account of every thing relating to this inſcription, publiſhed firſt by Leo Allatius, and afterwards by Berkelius, Spon, and Monsfaucon, we muſt refer our readers to the learned Dr. Chiſhul (7).

(H) Coſmas informs us, that from Alexandria to the Cataracts were thirty ſtations; from the Cataracts to Axuma thirty more; and from thence to the fartheſt part of Ethiopia producing frankincenſe, and contiguous to the ocean, called Barbaria, fifty ſtations. Near Barbaria lay the country known by the name of Saſus, according to the ſame author, which was likewiſe reputed one of the remoteſt regions in Ethiopia.

The Barbarians, ſays Coſmas, imported various ſorts of ſauces, frankincenſe, caſſia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the Homerites, ſeparated from them by the ſtreights of Babal Mandab. They ſupplied likewiſe the Perſians and Indians with the ſame commodities. The ſea beyond Barbaria our author calls the Zingian ocean, and intimates, that Saſus abounded with gold-mines. Every other year the king of Axuma ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction

(7) Coſm. Ægypt. in topograph. Chriſtian. A. D. 545. ſcript. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Pariſ. 1706. Chiſh. antiquitat. Aſiat. p. 73----88. Lond. 1728. Vide & Ludolph. PP. Tell. Mend. Pays, &c. paſſ.

peror Juſtin I. It is probable however, that he abandoned theſe conqueſts, ſince henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the proper Ethiopians

tion to Agau, to traffick with the natives for gold ; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, ſalt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themſelves on a certain ſpot of ground, killed and cut in pieces ſeveral oxen, which they expoſed, together with the ſalt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of theſe then approaching with ſmall ingots of gold, which they called Tancharas, laid down one or more of them, as they pleaſed, upon the piece of the ox, ſalt, or iron, they had a mind to purchaſe, and then retired to a place at ſome diſtance. The proprietor, ſeeing this, took the gold, if he thought it ſufficient, and went away ; and the perſon who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the Axumite or Ethiopian, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain ; which the other obſerving, either made an addition to what he had before depoſited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found neceſſary, as being ſtrangers to each others language ; and it was generally finiſhed in five days. This journey the Axumites commonly performed in ſix months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reaſon of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, ſince ſeveral gangs of robbers ſometimes attacked them upon the road, eſpecially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the Nile were in this diſtrict, and as the rivers they found themſelves obliged to paſs were greatly ſwelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that ſeaſon could intercept them. By the violence of thoſe rains, continuing three months, many ſmall torrents became rivers, that emptied themſelves into the Nile. This method of trading is ſtill uſed in various parts of Africa, as appears from ſeveral modern relations, which it is needleſs here to produce. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the diſtrict of Agau, mentioned by Coſmas, is undoubtedly the country of the Agaus taken notice of by father Pays, the name of both theſe provinces being the ſame, and the ſource of the Nile being placed in both of them by theſe authors (8),

(8) Coſm. Ægypt. ubi ſup. p. 138, 139, 140. P. Pays apud Le Grand. diſſert. iii.

pians in the writings of the antients, till the days of Auguſtus [m].

ABOUT the year of Rome 732, when Ælius Gallus had drawn moſt of the Roman forces out of Egypt, in order to invade Arabia, Candace queen of Ethiopia, or rather of the kingdom of Meroe, made an irruption into the province of Thebais with a numerous army. According to Dio, Candace herſelf headed her troops in this expedition; which ſeems to be confirmed by Strabo, when he intimates, that ſhe was a lady of uncommon bravery and reſolution. At firſt ſhe met with great ſucceſs, ravaged all the country as ſhe advanced, took Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, the Egyptian frontiers on the ſide of Ethiopia, without oppoſition, and made three Roman cohorts, garriſoned therein, priſoners of war. But receiving intelligence, that Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was in full march to attack her, ſhe retired into her own dominions. The Roman general purſued the Ethiopians as far as Pſelcha, from whence he ſent a deputation to the queen, to know the reaſon of the late hoſtilities, and to demand all the priſoners, as well as a reſtitution of all the effects, particularly the ſtatues of Auguſtus, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But Candace not ſending a ſatisfactory anſwer, and ſeeking only to gain time, Petronius immediately attacked the Ethiopian army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, tho' his ſcarce amounted to ten thouſand, in the neighbourhood of Pſelcha. As the Ethiopians were, for the moſt part, only armed with poles, hatchets, &c. and entirely undiſciplined, he gained an eaſy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others diſperſed in the adjacent deſerts, and others ſwam to a neighbouring iſland of the Nile, few crocodiles infeſting that part of the river, by reaſon of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, Pſelcha ſurrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had eſcaped to the aforeſaid iſland, in which were ſeveral of queen Candace's general officers. At Pſelcha he reviewed his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to Premnis, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, which he made himſelf maſter of. Flushed with this ſucceſs, the Roman general

Petronius forces queen Candace to ſue for peace, which is granted her by Auguſtus.

[m] Diod. Sic. Arrian. Quint. Curt. aliiq. de reb. geſt. Alexand. Coſm. Ægypt. topograph. Chriſtian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. Le Grand. diſſert. iii.

neral marched to Napata, where Candace held her residence, which he took, and destroyed. Her son however found means to make his escape. The queen herself had retired to one of her castles at some distance from Napata, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herself not in a condition to make head against the Romans, she thought proper to make overtures for an accommodation. But Petronius, by reason of the excessive heats, and a want of provisions, soon finding himself obliged to return to Alexandria, the conferences were broke off. After the departure of Petronius, Candace besieged Premnis, where the Romans had left a garrison of four hundred men; but, being soon forced to raise the siege, she dispatched embassadors a second time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who sent them with an escort to Augustus. That prince, whom they found at Samos, gave them a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condescension may be attributed to the rich presents those ministers carried with them. Pliny intimates, that the kingdom of Meroe had been governed by queens for several preceding generations, who all went under the name of Candace [n].

History of Ethiopia continued to the ascension of our blessed Saviour.

THOUGH Augustus restored all the towns taken by Petronius, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from Candace, yet the Romans now looked upon themselves as masters of Ethiopia. They complimented Augustus on the great glory he had acquired, in subduing a country unknown even to his great predecessor, which finished the reduction of Africa. Hence we find, on the reverse of one of that prince's medals struck this very year 732, three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conquest of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be considered as nothing more than an instance of the Roman vanity, since not only the Ethiopians, but several other nations, had hitherto preserved their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of Meroe, which seems to have been the Ethiopia known to the Romans, happened either during the remainder of Augustus's reign, or that of his successor Tiberius, queens still

[n] Strab. l. xvii. p. 820. Dio, l. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Sext. Aur. Vict. epit. de vit. & mor. imperator. Romanor. sub init.

ſtill continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the chriſtian religion was introduced into Meroe about the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius's reign, has been believed by ſome writers of good authority. Theſe writers make the eunuch baptized by Philip the deacon to have converted his royal miſtreſs, after his return home, to the chriſtian faith. St. Luke calls that princeſs Candace; from whence ſome have inferred, that ſhe was the ſame queen of Ethiopia mentioned by Pliny and Strabo. But as the interval betwixt the invaſion of Ethiopia by Petronius, and the converſion of the aforeſaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings uſually reign, and as the former author remarks Candace to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of Meroe, we are, by no means, inclinable to come into ſuch an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was Candace; which muſt certainly be deemed a miſtake: for that this word either ſignified ſovereign authority, or at leaſt was a title peculiar to the royal family of Meroe, the teſtimony already produced ſeems to put beyond all doubt [o].

And from thence to the reign of Dioclesian.

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the Ethiopians. Ælius Spartianus relates, that the emperor Heliogabalus frequently confined his moſt intimate friends for whole nights together with little old Ethiopian women, by way of diverſion, ſaying, that theſe women were the moſt beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Chriſt 220, there was an intercourſe betwixt the Roman empire and the Ethiopians. Probus, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition againſt the Blemmyes, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of Thebais, vanquiſhed them, and ſent many of them priſoners to Rome. What occaſioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the Blemmyan captives graced Probus's triumph, and exhibited ſuch an odd appearance, as greatly aſtoniſhed the Romans, we learn from Vopiſcus. Towards the cloſe of the third century, that nation and the

[o] Dio, ubi ſup. Comes Franciſc. Mediobard. Birag. in numiſm. imp. Rom. congeſt. ad. A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. Act. c. viii. ver 27. Calmet. in voce Candace. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. l. vi. Euthym. in pſal. lxii. Greg. Naz. in ſanct. baptiſm.

Nobatæ, a people inhabiting the banks of the Nile near the Upper Egypt, committing great depredations upon the Roman territories, and the adjacent part of Thebais being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor Diocleſian found his revenue in thoſe parts ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the garriſons placed there to repreſs the courſes of the Ethiopians. He therefore aſſigned the Nobatæ lands in the Roman dominions, and gave both them and the Blemmyes a conſiderable annual ſum, to deſiſt from their former practices; but, notwithſtanding their ſolemn aſſurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the Roman ſubjects to the time of Juſtinian, according to Procopius. That prince did not treat them with ſuch lenity as they had met with from Diocleſian. For this laſt emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewiſe tranſplanted ſome of them to an iſland in the Nile near Elephantine, gave them the uſe of the (I) temples there in common with the Romans, and ordered prieſts to be ſelected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But Juſtinian ordered Narſes, the commandant of the garriſon in Philæ, to demoliſh the temples of the barbarians, impriſon their prieſts, and ſend all the images of their gods to Byzantium; which he did accordingly. That Diocleſian built the fortreſs of Philæ, and gave it that name, from the friendſhip and union, which, he imagined, the meaſures he had taken would occaſion betwixt the Romans, Egyptians, and Ethiopians ſettled there, as we find advanced by Procopius, can by no means be allowed, ſince this very fortreſs was in being, and called by the ſame name, in the days of Strabo. Procopius, in agreement with Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, aſſerts Elephantine to have been thirty days journey from Axuma, or, as he calls it, Auxomis. The ſame author alſo affirms, that, before the reign of Diocleſian, the frontiers of the Roman empire on that ſide extended ſo far into Ethiopia, that they were not above

(I) Procopius ſays, that the barbarians worſhipped the Sun, Iſis, Oſiris, Priapus, and other pagan deities. It likewiſe appears from him, that they offered human ſacrifices to their idols. Their religion was probably the ſame, or nearly ſo, with that of the Romans; which, had the Nobatæ and Blemmyes been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correſpondence between them (9).

(9) Procop. in loc. laudat.

above twenty-three days journey diſtant from this capital [o].

We find nothing worthy of obſervation recorded of the Ethiopians, from the reign of Dioclesian, to the time of their converſion to chriſtianity, which was but a ſhort interval, by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians. The modern Abaſſines inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of Bazen, a prince of the Solomonean line, and the twenty-fourth from Menilehec, ſurnamed El Hakim, i. e. the wiſe, or ſon of the wiſe above-mentioned. They likewiſe enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-ſeven years, betwixt him and Abreha and Atzbeha, or Abra and Aſba, who ſat upon the throne when Frumentius carried the light of the goſpel into Abaſſia. Frumentius, according to ſome, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. Matthew, who had applied himſelf to the converſion of the Nubians, a nation before diſpoſed for the reception of chriſtianity by the eunuch of Candace, who had already ſown in their minds the firſt ſeeds of that religion. Theſe St. Matthew, continue the ſame authors, took care to cultivate, and raiſe to fruit, tho' he could not reach Abaſſia. The planting of the chriſtian faith in that country was reſerved for the age of St. Athanaſius patriarch of Alexandria; of which great event Rufinus and others have given us the following relation [p].

Nothing material to be met with in hiſtory concerning the Ethiopians from the reign of Dioclesian to the time of St. Athanaſius.

Meropius the philoſopher, a native of Tyre, took a reſolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the converſation of other philoſophers, or for the ſake of traffick, which was not thought inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of philoſophy. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels, and, touching at an iſland in the Red Sea, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. Frumentius and Ædeſius, or, as the Abaſſines will have it, Fremonatus and Sidracus, (for ſo were his kinſmen called) falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near to his perſon, and advanced them. Their talents and induſtry procured them ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treaſurer, and Ædeſius his butler;

Ethiopians or Abaſſines converted by Frumentius.

[o] Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab. Flavius Vopiſcus in Prob. Procop. de bel. Perſ. l. i. c. 19. Strab. l. xvii. Coſmas Ægyptius in topograph. chriſtian. l. ii. p. 138, 139, 140. edit. D. Bern. de Montfauc. Paris, 1706. [p] Rufin. l. i. c. 9. Socrat. l. i. c. 19. Sozom. l. ii. c. 24. Theodoret. l. i. c. 23.

ler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, which followed some time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowlege of JESUS CHRIST. Contracting an acquaintance with some christian merchants, either trading to or settled in Abassia, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the Abassines a desire to be instructed in the principles of christianity; which induced Frumentius, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to Alexandria, in order to inform St. Athanasius of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of Axuma, and about the year of our Lord 335, sent him to propagate the christian religion in Ethiopia. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the Abassines, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and in short gained an assent to the divine truths of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The Ethiopic book at Axuma, held in the highest veneration by the Abyssines, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as several Greek and Latin authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest regard. That Adad or Aidog, therefore, king of the Axumites, first introduced christianity into Ethiopia about the fifteenth year of the emperor Justinian, after an unparallelled defeat given the king of the Homerites, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and nobless, afterwards relapsed into paganism, according to an oriental author of some note; and embraced again the christian religion, at the command of Aidog, about the fourth year of the emperor Justin, an. Ch. 521, for the reason just assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be drawn from the extracts of several Syriac writers, to be met with in the learned M. Assemanus's bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana [q].

ABRA

[q] Idem ibid. Theophanes ad an. incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 535. Simeon episcop. Beth-Arsamen. apud Cl. Assem. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & seq. ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæs. Baronii annal. ad an. 523. vol. vii. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. Assem. ubi sup.

ABRA and Aſba, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre, are greatly celebrated by the Ethiopian hiſtorians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was ſo ſingular and uncommon, that it almoſt became a proverb in Ethiopia. Conſtantius the emperor made uſe of many expedients to introduce Arianiſm into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He ſent embaſſadors to thoſe kings, in order to prevail upon them to put Frementius the biſhop of Axuma into the hands of George the Arian biſhop of Alexandria, ſubſtituted in the place of Athanaſius, who was forced to quit that ſee, and retire to a place of obſcurity. But they refuſed to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as perſon with an unſhaken reſolution, notwithſtanding Philoſtorgius falſly affirms an Arian biſhop to have been ſettled at Axuma. So mild and amiable was his conduct among them, that they called him Abba Salamah, the pacific father. The Copts and Abaſſines have a notion, that one Tacalhaïmanout, a ſaint or Abaſſine monk, deſcended from Sadok the high prieſt in the days of David and Solomon, attended Abba Salama into Ethiopia, to demonſtrate to the people there the neceſſity of baptiſm, they having till that time practiſed (K) circumciſion.

Abra and Asba refuſe to admit Arianiſm.

(K) Authors are divided in their ſentiments in relation to the origin of circumciſion amongſt the Abaſſines. Some maintain, that this inſtitution was introduced amongſt them by Moſes; others, that they received it from Menilehech the ſon of Solomon. Which of theſe opinions is true, or whether either of them be ſo, we ſhall not pretend to determine. That it was not in uſe amongſt the Arabian Cuſhites before the time of Moſes, appears from Scripture. One ſtrong preſumption againſt Herodotus's notion, that the Egyptians firſt practiſed circumciſion, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came firſt to admit ſo painful a rite; whereas the ſcripture is expreſs in both thoſe particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongſt the Hebrews. Grotius has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that God, in commanding Abraham to uſe the rite of circumciſion, meant it a mark of covenant between his poſterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practiſing it, learned it either from him or his deſcendents. The firm perſuaſion of the Abaſſines is, that they derived it from the Hebrews. We may perhaps ſay ſomething of the circumciſion of women when we come to the modern hiſtory of Abaſſia (10).

(10) Exod. c. 4. Hugo Grot. in Gen. & alib. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 269. & alib. Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de circum. &c.

The twenty-fourth day of the month Meſri, correſponding with that of Auguſt in the Julian calendar, is celebrated as the feſtival of this ſaint by the Copts. The word Tacalhaïmanout is Ethiopic, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, ſignifies the paradiſe of the Trinity. But Ludolphus gives us to underſtand, that this Tacalhaïmanout, or, as he calls him, Tecla Haimanout, that is, according to his interpretation of thoſe words, the plant of faith, reſtored the monaſtic way of life in Ethiopia about the year of Chriſt 600, and lived till A. D. 630. The Abaſſines believe, that he ſpoke in his cradle, and wrought ſeveral miracles in his infancy; as alſo, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by Cyril metropolitan of Ethiopia, cotemporary with Benjamin patriarch of Alexandria, of the Jacobite ſect. Gonzales relates, that he firſt converted the Ethiopians to chriſtianity, by deſtroying a ſerpent before worſhipped amongſt them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. D'Herbelot aſſigns him. Be that as it will, next to Gabra-Menfes-Keddus (L), i. e. the ſervant of the Holy Ghoſt, in honour of whom they kept one holy-day every month, he was the moſt celebrated ſaint in Ethiopia. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that Claudius king of the Abaſſines ſent the life of this ſaint written in Ethiopic to Gabriel the ninety-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, which is at this day to be ſeen in the royal library at Paris, num. 796, under the title of Saïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout[r].

HISTORY

[r] Joannes As. epiſc. apud Dionyſ. patriarch. in bibl. Orient. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. Philoſtorg. l. iii. Pagius ad an. 541. num. 6. & alib. Ludolph. ubi ſup. c. 33. & in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N°. 51. p. 436. Le Grand, diſſert. ix. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. Tacalhaïmanout, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697. Vid. etiam Gonzal. apud Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 479.

(L) Gabra-Menfes-Keddus lived only upon herbs, and uſed for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all wordly pleaſures and delights in the utmoſt contempt. He ſubdued lions and dragons, according to the Abaſſines, who ſtill preſerve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of theſe is, that he had a conference with the ever bleſſed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave ſeveral anſwers too blaſphemous to be mentioned (11).

(11) Poet. Abaſ. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſtor. Ethiopic. p. 291, 292. ut & ipſe Ludolph. ibid.

HISTORY ſcarce ſupplies us with any memoirs relating to Ethiopia from the reign of Conſtantius to the time of the famous Eleſbas or Eleſbaan king of Ethiopia, called Caleb by the Abaſſines, who ſeems to have been the ſame prince with Adad or Aidog above-mentioned. This conqueror, having made up matters with Xenodon or Axenodon, an Indian prince, with whom, according to Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the Homerites or Sabœans in Arabia Felix, after having vanquiſhed in battle the impious Dunawas, Dunaan, or Dhu Nowas, the laſt king of that people, who was of the Jewiſh religion. Eleſbaan had ſome time before declared war againſt the king of the Homerites, for maſſacring certain merchants, and vowed moſt ſolemnly to become a chriſtian, in caſe he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and ſtripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Chriſt, in purſuance of the vow already made, and placed a chriſtian prince upon the throne of the Homerites; after whoſe death, which happened in winter, when the Ethiopians could not tranſport (M) a body of forces into Arabia, Dunaan found means to ſeize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent perſecution of the chriſtians, upon whom he exerciſed unheard of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. Aretas, in particular, and many others, he cauſed to be burnt in the city of Nagra. This induced the Alexandrian patriarch to invite, by letters, Eleſbaan to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of the chriſtians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the moſt exquiſite tortures

The Ethiopians conquer the Homerites.

(M) One of the moſt noted ports of the Ethiopians on the Red Sea was Adule or Adulis, twenty ſtadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from Auxomis or Axuma the capital of Ethiopia. The Greek writers of the later ages denominated the Ethiopians in general Axumites from the name of this city, as we learn from Nonnoſus, Procopius, and others. Adule was the great mart for the commodities of Egypt, Arabia, &c. to which the merchants of thoſe countries conſtantly reſorted. Beſides the wares already mentioned, thoſe merchants exported from thence vaſt numbers of Ethiopian ſlaves, who, by this means, were diſperſed over a great part of the world (12).

(12) Ptol. in geogr. Æthiop. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Procop. de bell Perſic. l. i. c. 19. & alib. Geo. Cedren. ad an. 15. imp. Juſtinian. Coſm. Ægypt. ubi ſup.

tortures (N). Eleſbaan embraced the occaſion, and was favoured by God with an entire victory (†), which gave the Abaſſines (O) the poſſeſſion of Arabia Felix till the time of Abd al Motalleb grandfather of Mohammed. Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Aſhram was the governor of Yaman, under the king of Abaſſia, whoſe puniſhment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the Koran. He brought, ſays the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the ſiege of Mecca; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder,

(N) It appears from Simeon Metaphraſtes, Theophanes, Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis, Alphonſus Mendeſius, and others, that this Caleb or Eleſbaan was a prince of great ſanctity, and as ſuch the church of Rome has honoured him with canonization. M. Ludolphus informs us, that father Tellez obſerved a ſurpriſing agreement betwixt the Ethiopic and Latin writers, with regard to the life and actions of Eleſbaan. To which we may add, that M. Aſſemanus has likewiſe exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt Metaphraſtes and Beth-Arſamenſis, in relation to the conduct and great atchievements of the ſame prince. But we ſhall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the hiſtory of the antient Arabs, whoſe country was the theatre of thoſe atchievements (12).

(†) This happened in the reign of the emperor Juſtin, probably about the ſeventh or eighth year of it, A. C. 524, or 525, and not, as Theophanes and Cedrenus ſeem to intimate, 522, or 523. (13).

(O) Procopius attributes this famous exploit to Helleſtæus, Eleſbaan's ſon, whom he calls king of the Axumites, and is followed herein by cardinal Baronius. But as this notion has been overthrown by Ludolphus, as ſo noble an action ſeems more agreeable to the high encomia paſſed upon Eleſbaan, than the reign of his ſon, of whom the Abaſſine hiſtorians ſay but little, and as Metaphraſtes and Beth-Arſemenſis poſitively affirm Eleſbaan (that prince who embraced chriſtianity after the victory obtained over a former king of the Homerites) to have taken vengeance on Dunaan, we cannot but declare ourſelves of another opinion (14).

(12) Sim. Metaphraſt. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943, & alib. paſſ. Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Cedren Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. aliique apud Joſeph. Simon. Aſſeman. in biblioth. Oriental. tom. i. p. 359---385. Alphonſ. Mendez. & Balth. Tellez. apud Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 232. (13) Vid. not. Cl. Aſſeman. ad Sim. epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. in bibl. Oriental. p. 365. (14) Procop. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 20. Baron. ann. 523. num. 30. Sim. Metaphraſt. p. 939. & ſeq.

Sim.

der, upon him. Each of theſe birds had a ſtone in its beak, which it dropped with ſuch violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to ſome, purſued the viceroy into his maſter's dominions, where one of theſe fowls let its ſtone fall upon his head, and killed him [s].

That Atzham king of Ethiopia embraced Mohammedaniſm not probable.

THE Mohammedan writers generally agree, that Atzham, or Aſhamah Ebn Abhar, the Najâſhi, or king of Ethiopia, during Mohammed's miſſion, did not only take under his protection a conſiderable number of Mahommed's friends, who were driven out of Hejaz by the Koreiſh, but likewiſe became a convert to the new religion of that impoſtor. This converſion, according to Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki, happened in the ſecond year of the Hejra; though it is placed ten years higher by Abulfeda and Al Jannabius. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly Selden and Colomeſius. But the abſurdities with which Abdo'l Bakides's narration, which by a very able Oriental critic ſeems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is ſtuffed, and the abſolute ſilence of the Ethiopians, as well as thoſe authors who have written the hiſtories of the patriarchs of Alexandria and the Saracens, on this head, will not permit us to come into ſuch an opinion. That Atzham, all his biſhops, preſbyters, monks, &c. ſhould allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that Mohammed was this prophet; that the Abaſſine biſhops and preſbyters, by citing it to the Najâſhi in favour of Mohammed, ſhould admit for genuine a paſſage of the New Teſtament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, uponthefight of the twenty-ninth andthirtieth chapters of the Koran, they ſhould all burſt out into a flood of tears, and be in the ſoreſt affliction; in ſhort, that they ſhould be converted to Moſlemiſm by the Goſpel itſelf; theſe, we ſay, are ſuch glaring abſurdities, as can be ſwallowed by none but a moſt bigotted Mohammedan. And ſuch a train of remarkable effects

[s] Niceph. Calliſt. & Cedren. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Simeon Metaphraſtes apud Surium, p. 943. & alib. paſſ. Joannes Aſ. epiſc. Theophanes & Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 364---385. Procop. de

Sim. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p 381. 385. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 4. Vide & MSS. Græcor. Menelog. apud Lambecium, l. v. p. 133.

fects muſt have followed a king of Ethiopia's embracing Moſlemiſm, that the above-mentioned hiſtorians could not have omitted taking notice of it; nay, the Mohammedan writers themſelves would undoubtedly have recorded many tranſactions, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch an event, which we find they have not ſo much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of Ethiopia, even before the Arabs themſelves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great ſurprize, that the very learned M. Ludolphus ſhould run himſelf into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of Abdo'l Bakides and Abulfeda with regard to the introduction of Moſlemiſm into Ethiopia. The ſpirit with which the Koran was written, that is, a lying ſpirit; the genius of the Mohammedan writers, not only with the worſt kind of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, but likewiſe addicted to romance and fiction in points abſtracted from religion; theſe, we ſay, in conjunction with what has been juſt offered, amount to little leſs than a demonſtration, that this ſtory was invented by the Moſlems, purely with a deſign to do honour to Mohammed and the Koran. For which reaſon we ſhall make no ſcruple to reject it entirely, with father Marracci [t].

Their hiſtory to the uſurpation of the Zagæan family extremely ſhort.

GEBRA-MESKEL, ſucceſſor to Eleſbaan, according to the Ethiopian poet ſo often cited by Ludolphus, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conqueſts. His ſubjects, however, enjoyed the ſweets of peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. Procopius gives us to underſtand, that the emperor Juſtinian entered into an alliance with him; but what hereupon enſued, we no-where find. The ſame author alſo relates, that even in Gebra-Meſkel's time the Axumites or Ethiopians were ſo little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they croſſed the ſtreights of Bal al Mandab in rude veſſels, conſiſting of nothing but planks or boards faſtened together with ropes. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for ſhipping, their maritime provinces affording them ſcarce any thing of this kind, and the

de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 20. Pagius ad an. 523, & alib. Lambecius, l. v. p. 133. Vid. etiam not. eruditſſ. Cl. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. 381---385. Al Koran Mohammed. c. 105. & Le Grand, in diſſert. ix.

[t] Poet. Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 4. ut & ipſe Ludolph. ibid. Vid. & Procop. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 9.

the Romans being obliged, by a particular law, not to tranſport any naval ſtores into Ethiopia. Next to this pious king, for as ſuch he is deſcribed by the Abaſſines, one Conſtantine aſcended the throne, and after him one Freſenna, whoſe name imports good fruit. During the (P) interval between Freſenna and Delnoad, who reigned about the year of the chriſtian æra 960, the Ethiopian hiſtory is ſo barren, as not to ſupply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the uſurpation of the Zagæan family commenced, the cauſe of which will hereafter be fully explained [u].

CHAP.

[u] Abulfeda in vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26, 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. Ebn. Shohnah. Abdo'l-Bakid. in hiſt. Habeſſin. par. 2. c 2. & c. 3. Al-Jannabius in vit. Mohammed. Al Koran Mohammed. c. 19. c. 29. & c. 30. Al-Wakedius apud Abdo'l-Bakid. ubi ſup. Selden, de ux. Hebraic. p. 553, & alib. Colomes. in obſervat. ſacr. Job. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiopic. p. 223. & p. 284, & alib. Ludovicus Marraccius in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. edit. Patavii, 1698. Vid. etiam Cl. Gagn. in Abulfed. ubi ſup.

(P) We are told, that about A. D. 836, Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The Abaſſines, continues this author, attributed theſe evils to the violence and indignities offered John the metropolitan ſent them by James the fiftieth patriarch of Alexandria. A knot of the nobility had before caballed againſt this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned perſuaſion, he was recalled and re-eſtabliſhed. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raiſed new perſecutions againſt the Abuna, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. John choſe to undergo circumciſion, and, being ſtripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a ſingular miracle, ſay the Copts and Abaſſines, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day. We muſt here obſerve, that as the church of Abaſſia acknowledges that of Alexandria as its mother, it is ſubject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own biſhop. This ſubjection is as antient as the converſion of the Abaſſines to chriſtianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal eſteem with the ſacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inſerted when we come to the modern hiſtory of Abaſſia (15).

(15) Le Grand, diſſert. viii. c. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

The hiſtory of the Arabs, and their antient ſtate, to Mohammed.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Arabia.

Many authors have taken great pains to give an accurate geographical deſcription of Arabia.

THE independency moſt of the Arabs maintained to the downfal of the Roman empire, and the ſurpriſing conqueſts they made under Mohammed and his ſucceſſors, rendered their country ſo famous, that 'tis no wonder many authors ſhould have taken ſuch pains to give an accurate deſcription of it. Ptolemy ſeems to have laboured this point more than any other: Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, with many more of the antients, in their accounts of Arabia, are likewiſe pretty prolix. But the Arab writers themſelves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their hiſtorical and geographical relations; which would have met with a more general eſteem, had not the Arab genius, ſo ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, and conſequently inclined to fable and romance, ſo eminently diſplayed itſelf through almoſt every part of thoſe compoſitions [a].

Whence Arabia ſo called.

ARABIA, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives Arabah; which name it ſtill retains. However, we find it frequently ſtyled by their hiſtorians Gjazîrah or Jeazîrat al Arab, the peninſula of the Arabs, Belad al Arab, the region of the Arabs, Diyar al Arab, the provinces of the Arabs; and, by many of the Orientals, Arabiſtân. Amongſt ſome of the Syriac writers it ſeems to have gone under the apellation of Cuſhatha, and ſometimes in Scripture that of Cuſh, as we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of the Ethiopians. 'Al-Motarezzi, in the book Mogreb, derives the name

[a] Ptol. in Arobia, edit. Oxon. 1712. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. i. l. xvi. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 27, & alib. Abulfed. deſcript. Arab. edit Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam Steph. Byzant. in voce Χαρακμωβα, & Hudſ. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. ſcript. Græc. min. Oxon. 1712.

name Arabah from Arbah, a diſtrict of Tehâma, where Iſhmael dwelt, or, according to Safioddin, a town in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and 'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî, in 'Abu'l-Fedah, from Ya'rab, the ſon of Kahtân or Joktan, and grandſon of Eber. But thoſe bid the faireſt for truth, who deduce it from an Hebrew original; the word arab of ereb having ſeveral ſignifications very favourable to ſuch a conjecture. For it imports, the weſt, a mixture, and merchandize, or traffick. Now, that the weſtern part of Arabia was at firſt called ארץ ארב eretz arab or (A) ereb, the weſtern country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eaſtern provinces are denominated in Scripture ארץ קדם eretz kedem, the land of the eaſt. Which if we admit, from א רב arab naturally and eaſily flows Arabah. This notion ſeems the leſs liable to exception as Moſes himſelf ſtyles the weſtern Arabia Arabah; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its ſituation, it firſt received that name. Afterward the Iſhmaelites, who were poſſeſſed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word Arabah along with them, and applied it to thewhole peninſula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have aſſumed the name we are now conſidering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed the Arab nation. In ſupport of this opinion it is alledged, that in Scripture the Arabs are termed a mingled people, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting Arabia. But, as the paſſage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear neceſſarily to denote the Arabs, as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not abſolutely imply, that all thoſe clans had a different original, and as the beſt Arabian hiſtorians aſſert all their countrymen to be ſprung from two ſtocks only, perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Laſtly, others deduce the name Arabah from the third ſignification

(A) From hence, by the inſertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word Erembi, the name of a nation mentioned by Homer and Strabo. Homer's ſcholiaſt and Bochart intimate, that the Erembi were the ſame people with the Troglodytes; though they likewiſe allow, that they might have been a branch of the Arabians. For a more ample diſcuſſion of this point, we muſt refer our readers to Bochart (1).

(1) Hom. Odyſſ. Δ. v. 85. & ſchol. in loc. Strab. l. i. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2 & c. 29.

fication of ערב above-mentioned, because the Arabs in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffick; the gold, frankincense, myrrh, jewels, spices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from India, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and inconteſtable; yet, as the moſt antient names of places ſeem chiefly to have been taken, either from thoſe of the firſt planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or ſome circumſtances in the ſituation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon ſuggeſted by the firſt ſignification of ארב arab. The ſacred hiſtorian calls the territory, where the deſcendents of Joktan ſettled, Kedem, the eaſt; which renders it probable, that in his time the name Arabah was not known there. This is ſufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by 'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî, which depends only upon an Arabian tradition, that can by no means ſtand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be cenſured for deducing the moſt noted name of Arabia from the Hebrew tongue: for, that Moſes uſes this very name, has been already obſerved; and that in early ages the Hebrew and Arabic languages were the ſame, ſeems to be acknowledged by the Arabs, when they make themſelves the deſcendents of Eber and Abraham, the two great anceſtors of the Hebrews [b].

The largeſt extent of Arabia.

ARABIA, taken in its largeſt extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and ſeventy-eighth of longitude. The greateſt length, or a line drawn from a point on the coaſt of the Red Sea about 1° 25′ S. of the tropic of Cancer to the extremity of

[b] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 78. & alib. Cl. Gagnier in not. ad Abulfed, geogr. Arab. ſub init. Cumberl. Phœn. hiſt. Sanchoniath. p. 367. ed. Lond. 1720. Ebn Said Al Magrebi apud Abulfed. hiſt. cap. 4. Pocock. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. 33. Al-Motarrezzi in lib. Mogreb. Alfirauzabadius, & Safioddin. apud Cl. Pocock. ibid. Gagn. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiæ nomin. ſect. 1. Buxtorf. Schindl. aliique lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. Job. c. i. v. 3. Jud. c. vi. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. & 3. Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi. c. 28, & alib. Ptol. in Arab. R. Saadias in verſ. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. Poc. ubi ſup. 39. Greg. Abulfarag. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 927. &c. Boch. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30.

of cape Ras al Ghat, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greateſt breadth, that is to ſay, the diſtance from the northern extremity of the deſerts of 'Al-Jazira to the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the weſt by Paleſtine, part of Syria, the iſthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, called by the Arabs the Sea 'Al-Kolzom; on the eaſt by the Euphrates, the Perſian gulph, and bay of Ormuz; on the north by part of Syria, Diyar-Becr, Irâk, and Khûzeſtân; and on the ſouth by the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, and the Indian ocean. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of Syria and Diyar-Becr; and, by reaſon of the proximity of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, may be looked upon as a peninſula, and that one of the largeſt in the world [c].

Its proper limits.

But the limits of the proper Arabia are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the iſthmus, which runs from Ailah to the head of the Perſian gulph, and the borders of the territory of Cûfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the happy. Here the Arabs have been ſettled almoſt ever ſince the flood. The eaſtern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria; and Arabia Deſerta they call the deſerts of Syria. But as the Arabs have for many ages reduced theſe two provinces or kingdoms, either by ſettlements or continual incurſions, the Turks and Perſians at this day include them in Arabiſtân. The antients in like manner aſſigned different limits to this vaſt peninſula. Pliny extended it as far as the borders of Commagene, the north part of Syria, on account of the many Arabian colonies planted there by Tigranes; and Xenophon included in it the greateſt part of Meſopotamia. But Ptolemy, who gives us a more accurate deſcription of Arabia, determines its dimenſions differently from thoſe authors. According to him, the city of Phara, between the Elanitic and Heroopolitan gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the weſtward of this city near the diſtrict of Heroopolis, was its boundary on the ſide of Egypt. On the weſt it was terminated by Paleſtine, art of Syria, the confines of Egypt, and the Arabian gulph; on the north by the Euphrates, from the city of Thapſacus,

[c] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in deſcript. Arab. paſſ. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Raſm, ibid.

cus, near the borders of Palmyrene, to the diſtrict of Idicara in Babylonia; on the eaſt by the Chaldæan mountains, and the Perſian gulph; and on the ſouth by the Erythræan ſea. The ſame ſituation and extent, or nearly ſo, are aſſigned it by Diodorus and Strabo. Conformably to the ſentiment of the Arabs, this region may be deemed a peninſula, whether we conſider it as anſwering to the name of Arabia in its moſt uſual ſenſe, or as it is variouſly deſcribed by the antients, or, laſtly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almoſt entirely by the Euphrates, the Perſian gulph, the (B) Sindian, Indian, Red ſeas, and part of the Mediterranean [d].

The firſt diviſion of Arabia.

THE firſt diviſion of the peninſula of the Arabs was into Kedem and Arabah, as we learn from Scripture. Kedem, or the land of Kedem, comprehended the Arabia Felix and Arabia Deſerta of Ptolemy, whoſe limits and extent we ſhall ſoon define from that geographer. Arabah anſwered to that country called, from Petra its metropolis, Arabia Petræa by Ptolemy; Arabia Citerior, from its ſituation in reſpect of Italy, by Pliny; and Arabia Vetus by Stephanus and Procopius, according to Ortelius. Moſes ſeems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a preciſion worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the ſouth it reached to the ſea of Suph, or the Red Sea; on the weſt to Paran and Tophel; on the north to Laban, Hatſeroth, and Dî-Zahab, that is, to the borders of Syria; and on the eaſt to Kadeſh-Barnea, eleven days

[d] Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Xenoph. in ἀναβάσ. l. i. Ptol. in Arab. Atwal, Kanun, Raſm, Abulfed. Gol. &c. ubi ſup.

(B) Sind or Sindia is that large tract comprehending all thoſe countries between India, Carmania, and Sigiſtân. On the ſouth it is waſhed by the ſea, which from thence is called the Sindian ſea, contiguous to the bay of Ormuz and the Indian ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of Manſoura, according to the eaſtern writers. The ſindon of the antients was ſo denominated from Sindia, where it was produced in vaſt quantities. The Arabs believe the people of this region to be the poſterity of Cham (z).

(z) Strab. paſſ. Abulfed. apud Schult. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p. 77.

days journey from mount Horeb. As Arabah imports the weſt, ſo Kedem does the eaſt; and theſe ſignifications agree with the ſituations of thoſe regions. The Arabic verſion makes Kedem to extend as far as Rekem or Petra, which runs counter to ſome other authors. In one paſſage Moſes apparently comprehends Chaldæa under the name of Kedem; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The firſt inhabitants of Arabah, or the weſtern Arabia, were the Caſlûhhim, deſcended from Miſraim, the Caphtorim, and the Horites, who occupied mount Seir, before they were expelled from thence by Eſau and his poſterity. Afterwards Iſhmael and his deſcendents ſettled here; and laſt of all the Edomites, or Idumæans. As for Kedem, or the eaſtern Arabia, it was firſt peopled by the ſons of Joktan, who are reputed the genuine Arabians; though in proceſs of time the Iſhmaelites ſpread themſelves over this country. That ſome of the Cuſhites alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of part of it in early times, has been already obſerved. The children of Abraham by his concubine Keturah likewiſe contributed towards repleniſhing it with inhabitants, as appears from the ſacred hiſtorian [e].

PTOLEMY ſeems to be the firſt who divided the peninſula we are now upon into three parts. Theſe he termed Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix; and ſince his time that diviſion has generally prevailed. In order therefore, to give our readers a ſuccinct idea of every one of theſe provinces, we ſhall purſue the method he has obſerved, and deſcribe them upon the plan he has laid down [f]. Ptolemy the firſt who divided it into three parts.

ARABIA Petræa on the eaſt was contiguous to Syria and Arabia Deſerta; on the weſt to Egypt, or rather that neck of land ſeparating Africa from Aſia, called at this day the iſthmus of Suez, and the (C) Heroopolitan gulph; on the Arabia Petræa.

[e] Gagnier ubi ſup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. c. ii. ver. 8. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 6. Job. c. i. ver. 3. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. Plin. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c. 34. Strab. ubi ſup. Procopius, Stephanus Byzant. & Ortelius apud Gagn. ubi ſup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. Ptol. ubi ſup. Arab. verſ. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. c. xxix. ver. 1. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. iv. ſub init. Gen. c. x. ver. 26---31. c. xxxvii. v. 25. &. c. xxv. ver. 1---19. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. vi. [f] Ptol. in Arab.

(C) The Heroopolitan gulph received its name from the city of Heroopolis bordering upon it. This gulph, the weſtern arm of

north to Paleſtine, the lake Aſphaltitis and Cæle-Syria; and on the ſouth to Arabia Felix. This tract was for the moſt part uncultivated, the greateſt part of it being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here-and-there with ſome fruitful ſpots. Petra, its metropolis, ſeems to

of the ſea Al-Kolzom, is the Yam Suph, or Yam Souph, The weedy ſea, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. Shaw ſuppoſes it to have been ſo called from the variety of algæ and fuci, that grow within its chanel, and, at low water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the ſea-ſhore. If this be admitted, the word סוף ſouph has not been rendered ſo properly flags by our tranſlators, Exod. c. 2. ver. 8. Iſa. c. xix. ver. 6. nor juncus or juncetum by Buxtorf. The ſame worthy gentleman relates, that whilſt the ſurface of the ſea is calm, ſuch a diverſity of madrepores, fuci, and other marine vegetables, preſented itſelf to the eye, that it is natural to take thoſe plants for a foreſt under water, agreeably to what we find obſerved by Pliny. It may not be improper farther to remark, that the Yam Souph was likewiſe denominated Yam Edom, or the ſea of Edom, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the ſons of Edom, having poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe parts, from their father Edom, called the gulph we are now upon the ſea of Edom. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnicians, rendered Yam Edom improperly ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, The Red Sea, miſtaking the word Edom for an appellative. However, they ſeem to have been well appriſed, that this name was not derived from any redneſs peculiar to the territory bordering upon the ſea of Edom; ſince many of the Greek and Latin authors expreſly aſſert, that this ſea was ſo denominated from one king Erythrus, who could be no other than Eſau or Edom. Though there are ſeveral thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at ſome ſmall diſtances from the immediate banks of the Yam Souph, yet none are obſerved either upon them, or growing out of the ſea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. Shaw's notion. The caſtle and garriſon of Adjeroute are ſuppoſed to occupy at preſent the ſpot of ground on which the antient Heroopolis ſtood (3).

(3) Shaw's geograph. obſervat. in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, &c. p. 342, 386, 387, & alib. Exod. c. x. v. 19. c. xiii. v. 18, &c. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. Agatharchid. Cnid. edit. Oxon. p. 2. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. & l. x. c. 1. Philoſtrat. l. iii. c. 15. Arrian. in rer. Indicar. libro, p. 579. edit. Blanc. Prid. connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. i. p. 10, 11. ed 2.

to have been denominated by the Hebrews Selah, both which words were of the ſame import in the Greek and Hebrew languages. St. Jerom intimates, that among the Syrians it went by the name of Rekem, and was the ſame town that we find in Scripture ſtyled Joktheel. Joſephus calls it Arke and Arakeme, which Bochart takes to be equivalent to Rekem, as being only that word with an article prefixed. Petra was the chief fortreſs of the Idumeans, Edomites, or Nabathæans, as already obſerved, and derived its name from its rocky ſituation. It was acceſſible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, rendered it almoſt impregnable. (D) Authors, however, differ with regard to its ſituation. It was ſeated in a plain

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the ſituation of Petra. Strabo places it three or four days journey from Jericho, and five days journey from the foreſt of Palm-trees, which was upon the Red Sea. Pliny makes it to be ſix hundred miles diſtant from Gaza, and an hundred twenty-five miles from the Perſian gulph. But Reland and Cellarius think, that the numbers have been changed, and that the true reading in the laſt author is an hundred twenty-five miles from Gaza, and ſix hundred miles from the Perſian gulph. Euſebius places Theman five miles from Petra, Carcaria a day's journey from the ſame city, and Elath or Ailah ten miles to the eaſt of it. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one Petra. St. Athanaſius diſtinguiſhes two, one in Paleſtine, and the other in Arabia. The paraphraſts Jonathan and Onkelos alſo repreſent Rekem and Petra as two different cities. Joſephus mentions Petra and Rekem in the country of the Amalekites, near which Aaron died, and Petra in the land of the Midianites, though he ſeems to confound thoſe two places. Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa, is appropriated to Paleſtine by the author of the antient Notitia eccleſiaſtica, being the metropolis of what was called the Third Paleſtine. Euſebius and St. Jerom alſo extend Paleſtine as far as the Red Sea, to Elath; ſo that with them it comprehended Idumæa, and Arabia Petræa. But thoſe countries were looked upon as diſtinct from Paleſtine in all the ages preceding Euſebius. Laſtly, father Calmet ſuppoſes the Petra called Selah by Iſaiah, and the author of the book of kings, to have been ſeated in the land of Moab, or the eaſtern part of Idumæa, and afterwards named Joktheel; whereas the other, called Rekem, was, according to him, ſituated in the ſouth Idumæa, or Arabia Petræa, or the

country

full of gardens, and watered with fountains, but ſurrounded with rocks, according to Strabo. Pliny ſpeaks of it almoſt in the ſame terms. He ſays, the Nabathæans inhabited the city of Petra, ſituated in a plain of about two thouſand paces over, watered by a river, and encompaſſed by inacceſſible mountains. But that it ſtood upon a ſteep rock, in a very dry and barren country, is intimated by Dio; with whom Herodian and the Nubian geographer in ſome ſort agree. For the former deſcribes the capital of the Agareni as ſtanding upon the point of a very high mountain; and the latter repreſents the city of Petra as conſiſting of houſes dug or cut out of a rock. As great a diverſity of opinions, in this particular, prevails amongſt the moderns. Some think, that the city of Karak, or Krak, lying on the confines of Arabia and Syria, inclining towards the north, is the antient Petra. According to them, this fortreſs, for that the word ſignifies in the Syriac and Chaldee tongues, anſwers to the Characha in the Maccabees, the Karkaa in the book of Joſhua, the Charac Moab or Charac Moba of Ptolemy, and the Charakmoba of Stephanus. Others make this city to be the ſame with Hagr or Hejr the capital of a diſtrict in the kingdom of Hejaz. And, laſtly, others believe Errakim, or Arrakeh, a town in a northerly direction from Hagr near Krak or Caracha, to correſpond with the Petra of the antients. None of theſe notions ſeems remote from truth; though, by the aſſiſtance of 'Al-Makrîſi, Bohadin, and the Nubian geographer, ſuch reaſons have been aſſigned for the laſt, as, we think, cannot eaſily be anſwered [g].

Ir

[g] Idem ibid. Dr. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. or an aſſay towards the natural hiſtory of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & ſeq. Joſ. c. xv. v. 3. 2 Maccab. c. xii. v. 17. Diod. Sic. l. xix. Strab. l. xvi. Joſeph. antiq. l. iv. c. 4, 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib.

country of the Amalekites. The ſame author, together with M. Tillemont, alſo believes, that the Petra, ineffectully attacked by Trajan, which Dio had in view, appertained to Meſopotamia, and conſequently was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(4) Strab. Plin. Joſeph. Dio. in loc. jam laudat. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. Reland. Palæſt. l. iii. p. 927, 928. Vid. etiam SS. Script. paſſ. P. Auguſt. Calmet. in voc. Petra, ut & D. Tillem. in Traj. art. xxiv. p. 204.

Towns in Arabia Petræa.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a barren region ſhould abound with large and populous cities; and therefore moſt of thoſe places, whoſe names have been tranſmitted down to us by Ptolemy, muſt be conſidered as inſignificant and obſcure. The principal towns appertaining to Arabia Petræa, taken notice of by Scripture, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were Paran, Duma, Diblathaim, Dibo, Nebo, Bethmeon, Karioth or Kirioth, Nemrim, and Pithom. Paran, the Phara of Ptolemy, that gave name to a famous deſert adjoining to it, was three days journey to the eaſt of Elath. Duma ſtood upon mount Seir, and, from what the prophet Iſaiah intimates, was probably a place of ſome conſideration. Diblathaim, Dibo, Nebo, Bethmeon, Kirioth, and Nemrim, from ſeveral paſſages in the old teſtament, appear alſo to have been places of ſome note, though their ſituation cannot from thence be aſcertained. Heroopolis, on the weſtern extremity of the Arabian gulf, is by ſome ſuppoſed to be Pithom, built by the Iſraelites for Pharoah, during their ſervitude in Egypt, and the Patumos or Patumon of Herodotus. Be that as it will, it is certain the Septuagint and Coptic verſions countenance ſuch a ſuppoſition, the one rendering Goſhen Heroopolis, and the other Pethom. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongſt thoſe belonging to Egypt; but Herodotus was of another opinion. Haura, Zathag or Zatha, and Zize, three modern places of this country, correſpond tolerably well with the Auara, Zanaatha, and Ziza of Ptolemy; but as for Lyſa, Gypſaria, Geraſa, and moſt, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geogra-

alib. paſſ. Euſeb. & Hieron. in Arkem. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Petr. Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Χαραμωβα. Dio. l. lxviii. p 785, 786. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Athanaſ. epiſt. ad monarch. Sharif al Edriſi, clim. iii. par. 5. Ptol. l. v. c. 17. Calmet. in dict. bibl. voc. Petra. Jud. c. xi. ver. 3. 2 Mac. c. xii. ver. 17. Euſeb. onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πετρα. 2 Kin. c. xiv. ver. 7. Iſm. Abulfed. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96, 97. Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Bohadin. apud Cl. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ut & ipſe Schult. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 154, &c. Vide etiam Gul. Tyr. l. xxii. c. 2. & 5. Bern. Theſaur. de acquiſ. ter. ſanct. Ebn. Hawkal apud Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup. in voc. Caracha.

pher, ſcarce any footſteps or traces of them are now to be ſeen [h].

Nations of Arabia Petræa.

THE moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the Iſhmaelites, the Nabatæi or Nabathæans, the Cedrei or Kedareni, and the Agareni or Hagareni (E). Of theſe the Iſhmaelites were the moſt potent, if they did not comprehend all the reſt. The Nabathæans and Kedareni apparently deduced their names from Nebaioth and Kedar, the ſons of Iſhmael, and conſequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the Iſhmaelites, or in all reſpects as the ſame nation with them. It is probable the deſcendents of Midian, one of Abraham's ſons by Keturah, ſeated themſelves in the neighbourhood of the Iſhmaelites; ſince we find the ſame people called in Scripture Iſhmaelites and Midianites. Amongſt the antient Greeks and Romans, the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deſerta, at leaſt the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of Arabes, and Nabatæi, Nauatæi, or Nabatæ. They extended themſelves, according to St. Jerom, from the Red ſea to the Euphrates; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated Nabatena; nay, ſo numerous were the Nabathæans, that we find them mixed with the Reubenites, Gadites, and people of Moab. The Cedrei or Kedareni and Chanclei, ſeem to have been two tribes of them, the former of which Cellarius places near the northern confines of Arabia Felix. The Midianites made a ſettlement behind the Elanitic gulf, and incorporated themſelves with the Cuſhites. If the Hagareni did not correſpond entirely with the Iſhmaelites, they muſt have been nearly related to them. Kimchi inſinuates, that they were originally the children of Hagar by an Arab, after ſhe had left Abraham; but others rather apprehend they aſſumed

[h] Ptol. ubi ſup. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Hieronymus apud Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. Num. c. x. ver. 12. Iſai. c. xv. ver. 2. & c. xxi. ver. 2. Jer. c. xlviii. Exod. c. i. ver. 11. LXX. in Gen. c. xlvi. ver. 28, 29. & Interp. Ægypt. ibid. Guil. Bonjour. in monument. Coptic. ſect. 21. Herodot. l. ii. c. 158. Vide Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 1. par. 1. ſect. 7. & chart. geograph. Arab a Sen. & Sal. ed.

(E) To theſe we may add the inhabitants of the wilderneſs of Mahon, called in Scripture Mehunim, who bordered upon Gerar and Pharan, and conſequently were ſeated in the neighbourhood of Egypt. For a further account of this people, our readers may have recourſe to the firſt volume of the univerſal hiſtory (5).

(5) 2 Chron. c. 26. ver. 7. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 134. not. (G).

ſumed their name from the ſtony region they inhabited. Cellarius thinks, that at firſt they muſt have been but an obſcure people, though neither Trajan nor Severus could reduce their metropolis, according to Dio. Their territory bordered upon the land of Moab, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon, were abſorbed in that of Saracens, which continued famous for ſeveral centuries over the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world. It is obſervable, that the Jeruſalem Targum ſtyles the Iſhmaelites Saracens. That the Arraceni of Pliny were the Saraceni of Ptolemy and Dioſcorides, may be evinced by ſeveral arguments: 1. The ſame proper name has frequently an S and a vowel for its initial letters in different authors; as Ἁλμυδηνὸς and Σαλμυδηνὸς, Ἀνδράκοπα and Σανδράκοπα, Ἐξιτανία and Σεξιτανία, Ἀσιράτης and Σιασιράτης, Ἀρδιαῖοι and Σαρδιαῖοι, Elana and Selana, Samnitæ and Amnitæ, &c. 2. Ptolemy aſſigns the ſame ſituation to the Saraceni, that Pliny does to the Arraceni. 3. They had both the ſame origin, and deduced their names from that of the ſame city. This will more evidently appear from the account we ſhall give of the Saracens in the following ſection [i].

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

BEFORE we leave Arabia Petræa, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The town of Colzum or Kolzom, giving name to the ſea adjoining to it, the Clyſma, as may be ſuppoſed, of Ptolemy, which ſtood on the weſtern extremity of the Red ſea, near the ſpot where the preſent city of Suez was erected, and not far from the antient Heroopolis. Betwixt this place and Elath or Ailah was Eziongeber, a celebrated port in the reigns of Solomon and Jehoſaphat, called afterwards Berenice. 2. The promontory of Phara or Paran, betwixt the Heroopolitan and Elanitic gulfs, on which ſtood the town of the ſame name. 3. The wilderneſs of Sur, extending from Paleſtine to the Arabian

[i] Diod. Sic. l. ii. & iii. Ovid. metam. l. i. ver. 61. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. v. c. 11. l. vi. c. 28. & l. xii. c. 17. Epiphan. hæreſ. ix. 1 Macc. c. ix. ver. 35. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ptol. ubi ſupra. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25, 27. Hieronym. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Pſal. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & Kimchi in loc. Dio. ubi ſup. & alib. Euſeb. in voc. Madian. Procop. de bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 17, 19. Marcian. Heracleot. peripl. Sin. Arab. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. paſſ. Cellar. geog. ant. l. iii. c. 14. Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Iſ. Caſaub. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 8, 9. & alib.

bian gulf, so celebrated in sacred writ. 4. The desert of Sin, which the Israelites entered into after they had left that of Sur. 5. The wilderness of Sinai, which the same nation traversed after the former. 6. That of Paran, terminated by Kadesh-barnea, on the confines of the land of Canaan. 7. That of Zin, contiguous to the south-western part of Idumæa, and terminated by Kadesh. This may possibly have been the wilderness or solitude of Kadesh or Cades, mentioned by the Psalmist. 8. The mounts Casius and Sinai, both which were in Arabia, according to St. Paul, Pliny, and Strabo. 9. The several stations of the Israelites here, on their march to the land of Canaan from Egypt, viz. Zalmona, Phunun or Fenon, Oboth, Jim, Abarim, &c. 10. Adra, in the northern part of Arabia Petræa, an episcopal see, over which Proclus presided at the council of Chalcedon, according to Lucas Holstenius. 11. Elusa, which, according to the Jerusalem Targum, seems to have corresponded with Sur, and likewise the seat of a bishop. 12. Bostra, twenty-five miles from Adra, a town of this region greatly honoured by Trajan, and called also Philippopolis, from the emperor Philip, surnamed Arabs by Aurelius Victor. 13. Moca, a city taken notice of by a medal of Antoninus Pius as governed by its own laws. We shall pass over in silence here every thing relating to the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites or Idumæans, Amalekites, and Midianites, though settled in Arabia Petræa, since they have been already treated of at large in the second volume of this history [k].

Arabia Deserta.

ARABIA DESERTA was bounded on the north by the Euphrates, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from Mesopotamia (F); on the west by Syria, Judæa, and Araba

[k] Golii. notæ ad Alfragan. p. 88, 144, 145. Ptol. Hieronym. Cellar. &c. ubi sup. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 7, 14. c. xx. ver. 1. c. xxv. ver. 18. Exod. c. xv. ver. 22. c. xvi. ver. 1. c. xvii. ver. 1. c. xix. ver. 1. Num. c. x. ver. 12. c. xiii. ver. 3, 4. c. xxxii. ver. 8. Deut. c. ix. ver. 23. Num. c. xxxiv. ver. 4. Jos. c. xv. ver. 3. Deut. c. xi. ver. 8. 1 Kin. c. ix. ver. 26. c. xxii. ver. 49. c. xiv. ver. 22 2 Chron. c. xxvi. ver. 2. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. & Isaac. Voss. in loc. Joseph. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. & alib. Diod. Sic. Strab. Steph. Byzant. ubi sup. Salmas. in Solin. p. 344. Aur. Vict. Targ. Hierosol. & Lucas Holstenius, apud Cellar. ubi sup. Ammian. Marcel. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. Vales. Num. Antonin. Pii apud Patin. aliiq; num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat.

(F) It appears from Strabo, that all the Arab tribes bordering on

Arabia Petræa ; on the eaſt by Chaldæa and Babylonia, or more preciſely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from thoſe countries ; and on the ſouth by Arabia Felix, from whence it was likewiſe disjoined by ſeveral ranges of hills. The Cauchabeni, according to Ptolemy, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the Euphrates, as the Batanæi did that upon the confines of Syria. The Agubeni and Rhaabeni were placed more ſoutherly, towards the frontiers of Arabia Felix ; and by the Perſian gulf the Orcheni. Under the Cauchabeni, near the borders of Babylonia, the Æſitæ had their habitation ; and above the Rhaabeni the Maſani. In the interior part the Agræi were ſeated ; and in the mountainous region, near Chaldæa, the Marteni or Martini. All theſe nations, or rather tribes, except the Æſitæ and Agræi, were very obſcure ; but theſe deſerving ſome regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers [1].

The Æſitæ.

BOCHART ſuppoſes the Æſitæ to have inhabited that tract, where the holy and patient Job was ſeated. He believes, that Ptolemy wrote Αυσίται Auſitæ ; and that Uz the ſon of Nahor, ſettling here, gave name to the whole diſtrict. This notion, it muſt be owned, as well as the emendation that ſupports it, is not void of a good degree of probability ; for the ſeptuagint verſion renders in the land of Uz ἐν χώρᾳ Αὐσιτιδι, in the land of the Auſitæ ; and Haran or Charræ, where Terah's family reſided, was on the oppoſite bank of the Euphrates, and conſequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the Chaldæans and Sabæans are repreſented as Job's neighbours in Scripture ; which circumſtance agrees extremely well with the country of the Auſitæ or Æſitæ, as being contiguous to Chaldæa, and having, according to Ptolemy, a city called Sabe ſituate in it. Further,

[1] Ptol. ubi ſup.

on Meſopotamia, from their way of life, where by the Greeks and Romans denominated Arabes Scenitæ. That roving people, whom ſome authors make the ſame with the Saracens and Nabathæans, diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral parts of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Felix, as well as through almoſt every diſtrict of this barren province (6).

(6) Strab. l. xvi. p. 526. Plin. l. v. c. 24. & 16. & l. vi. c. 28. Vide etiam Chr. Cellar. geogr. antiq, l. iii, c. 14. p. 586, 587, 594.

ther, Buz was Nahor's second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called Busitis, of which Elihu, one of Job's friends, was a native; and another of them came from Tema or Thema, a town of Arabia Deserta, not very remote from hence: which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, render it not a little probable, that the land of Uz, and the territory of the Ausitæ or Æsitæ, were one and the same country[m].

The Agræi. The Agræi lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of Arabia Petræa; which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them Agaræi, and make them the same people with the Hagareni above-mentioned, whom we have placed in Arabia Petræa. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of Arabia, and been much more powerful than Cellarius is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain Pliny in the same passage takes notice of the Agræi and the city of Egra or Agra; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins have been discovered, with the words ΖΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΕΥΣ, Jupiter of Agra, or Jupiter the protector of Agra, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the Oriental geographers assign Hagr, a name not very remote from Agra, quadrates well enough with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the Agræi and Hagareni were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow

[m] Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 8. LXX. in Job. c. i. Ptol. & Cellar. ubi sup. Frid Spanhem. in Jobi hist. p. 50. Gen. c. xxii. ver. 21. Job c. xxxii. ver. 2, &c.

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them, since they agree entirely with those of the cities in the neighbourhood of Palestine. They prove therefore Pliny's text to have been corrupted, and that his present Egra was originally Agra. That Jupiter should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when we consider the Diana Ephesia, Apollo Delphicus, Apollo Clarius, &c. of the antients (7).

(7) Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob. &c. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592.

narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which ſide of the queſtion they pleaſe [n].

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deſerta.

It is very well known, that the antient Ituræans, Edomites, Nabathæans, people of Kedar, and other nations ſettled in Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deſerta, led, for the moſt part, a wandering life, like their poſterity the preſent Bedoweens, without houſes, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greateſt part of both theſe provinces or kingdoms was a loneſome, deſolate wilderneſs, no otherwiſe diverſified than by plains covered with ſand, or mountains conſiſting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unleſs ſometimes at the equinoxes, refreſhed with rain. The few vegetables therefore, which they produced, muſt have been ſtunted by a perpetual drought, and the nouriſhment afforded them by the nocturnal dews ſufficiently impaired by the intenſe heat of the ſun in the day. Throughout the ſandy deſerts were found huge mountains of ſand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceaſed in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were ſo very rare in theſe parts, that it is no wonder they ſhould have occaſioned ſo much ſtrife and contention. However, notwithſtanding the natural ſterility of the tract we are now upon, thoſe vaſt plains of ſand above-mentioned were here-and-there interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, which appeared like ſo many little iſlands ſurrounded by an immenſe ocean, as has been obſerved by Pliny. Theſe being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and moſt excellent fruits, the Arabs, with their flocks, encamped upon ſome of them, and, having conſumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the cuſtom of the Bedoweens at this day. Such fruitful ſpots were likewiſe frequent in Libya, and by the Egyptians called Auaſes or Abaſes, as we learn from Strabo. The barren part of Arabia Felix, bordering upon the Red ſea, was, in like manner, interſperſed with ſuch Abaſes; which probably gave name to the Abaſeni, a nation ſettled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of theſe, croſſing the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab, paſſed into Ethiopia, which from them received the denomination of

[n] Jacob. de Barry apud Reland. Palæſt. tom. ii. p. 933, & ſeq. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. ubi ſup. Moham. Alfrag. in clim. ii. aſtronom. c. 9. ut & Gol. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad Chriſt. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & Abulfed. in Arab.

of Abaſſia. This, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. Ludolphus, appears to us much more likely, than that either the Arabs or Ethiopians ſhould have been called Abaſſines, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation; for the very notion of ſuch a mixture is repugnant to the whole ſtream of Oriental antiquity, and even to the ſacred writings themſelves, as our readers will eaſily collect from ſeveral paſſages of this hiſtory. It is certain the Nubians (H), a people inhabiting part of Libya Interior, abounding with Abaſes, and Ethiopia, went antiently under the appellation of Abaſeni; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of Arabia Felix itſelf ſhould be called Abaſene, is not to be wondered at, ſince it might as well derive this name from Arabia Petræa, as it did from thence that of Arabah or Arabia; for that Arabia Petræa was ſtyled Abaſene, appears from Herodian and Dio, who have given an account of Severus's expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverſe the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ, exhibited by Goltzius. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by M. Ludolphus againſt the etymon of Abaſene or Abaſſia here propoſed [o].

Though

[o] Herod. Strab. Mel. Plin. &c. paſſ. Shaw, ubi ſup. Strab. l. ii. & alib. Caſaub. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. Plin. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au camp du Grand Emir par le chevalier D'Arvieux, paſſ. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, &c. Scalig. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 111, 112. Balth. Tellezius, l. i. c. 2. p. 5. J. Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 50, 51, 52. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Heſych. in voc. Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι. Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l. viii. c. 12. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Georg. Elmacin. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 17. Dio, ubi ſup. Herodian. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. Hubertus Goltzius in theſaur. rer. antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antuerp. 1618.

(H) That the Nubians were a branch of the antient Ethiopians, appears from Ariſtotle, Ptolemy, and others; and that the Ethiopians were nearly related to the Egyptians, after conſulting Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, no one can doubt. The Ethiopic and Egyptian languages therefore, in early ages, muſt have been, in a manner, the ſame; which likewiſe may be immediately collected from the aforeſaid authors. Auaſes or Abaſes therefore was probably an Ethiopic as well as an Egyptian word. Now, that that Arabic tongue antiently agreed with the Ethiopic,

cannot

Towns of Arabia Deſerta.

THOUGH Ptolemy has handed down to us a large liſt of the towns appertaining to Arabia Deſerta, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing obſervations, that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes Thapſacus on the Euphrates, a city of ſome note on account of the bridge over which Alexander and Darius marched their reſpective armies, its frontier on the ſide of Meſopotamia; but Pliny and Stephanus think this town belonged to Syria. Near the mountains ſeparating Arabia from Chaldæa ſtood Themma, Thema, or Tema, ſo called from Thema or Tema the ſon of Iſhmael, and mentioned in various paſſages of Scripture; for the Iſhmaelites extended themſelves from the land of Havilah near the Euphrates to the confines of Egypt. Seba was upon the borders of Arabia Felix, and founded probably by Seba Abraham's grandſon; ſince all that patriarch's children by Keturah, according to Moſes, moved towards the eaſt. Gadirtha, Auzara, Audattha or Adittha, Balatæa, Pharga, Belgnæa, and the other antient cities ſituated along the banks of the Euphrates, have long ſince diſappeared; unleſs we will allow ſome traces of Audattha, or Adittha, and Balatæa, to be ſtill viſible in the modern Haditha and Balladoc. Ammæa, Idacara, and Jucara, towards the Perſian gulph, are equally obſcure; except the preſent Al-Kere ſhould be thought to bear ſome reſemblance to the two latter. Salma, Calathuſa, Arrade, Tedium, Odagena, Luma, Dumætha, &c. in the mediterranean parts; Artemita and Abæra on the ſkirts of Arabia Felix; Thauba, Erupa, Alata, Aurana, Choce, Barathena, &c. to the northward, never probably made any conſiderable figure. However, that ſome memory of Salma ſeems at this day to be preſerved in mount Salma, of Dumætha in Dawmat-al-Jandal, of

cannot well be denied, ſo uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; ſo that Auaſes or Abaſes may be conſidered likewiſe as a word uſed by the antient Arabs. Theſe points add great weight to the conjecture here propoſed (8).

(8) Herod. l. ii. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. iii, Ariſtot. hiſt animal. l. viii. c. 12. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Heſych. in voc. Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι, Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Vide etiam Plin. l. vi c. 29. Elmacin. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 17. & Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 26, &c.

of Aurana in Auran, and of Alata in Aladi, we think, cannot well be denied [p].

Arabia Felix.

ARABIA FELIX was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms juſt deſcribed; on the ſouth by the Erythræan ſea; on the eaſt and weſt by part of that ſea, together with the Arabian and Perſian gulphs. In ſhort, it pretty nearly anſwered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninſula of the Arabs by the Oriental geographers. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough correſponds with the diviſion of the proper Arabia into five provinces by the eaſtern writers. Theſe provinces are Yaman, Hejaz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama; to which ſome add Bahrein, as a ſixth. But the more exact make this a part of Irâk, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with Strabo. However, others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejaz, the laſt including the three provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as ſettled here were the Sabæi, Gerræi, Minæi or Minnæi, Atramitæ, Maranitæ, Catabani, Aſcitæ, Homeritæ, Sapphoritæ, Omanitæ, Saraceni, Nabathæi, Thamydeni, Bizomenæ, &c. As the limits and ſituation of theſe nations cannot be determined with any manner of preciſion, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the particular geography of the Happy Arabia [q].

The Sabæi.

THE Sabæi ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable territory in the ſouthern and beſt part of this peninſula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongſt the antients for the vaſt quantity of frankincenſe it produced. Saba or Sabæ, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, ſtood upon a hill, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a caſtle, and, as has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of Sheba. However, provided we allow the modern Mâreb, in the province of Hadramaut, to correſpond with the antient Saba, this laſt muſt have been ſeated more to the ſouth,

[p] Ptol. ubi ſup. Arrian. l. i. p. 116. & l. iii p. 168. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. v. c. 24. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Vid. etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a Sen. Sal. &c. ed. [q] Ptol. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1129. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79 Herodot. Diod. Sic. Agatharchid. Cnid. Mel. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Marcian. Heracleot. Agathem. aliique antiq. ſcript. paſſ.

ſouth, and near the coaſt of the Erythræan ſea, or, as it is now called, the Indian ocean. And that the modern Mâreb anſwers to Saba, muſt be admitted at leaſt extremely probable from Pliny, who, together with Strabo, mentions Mariaba or Meriaba, the ſame words apparently with Mâreb, as the capital of the Sabæi, but is entirely ſilent as to the city of Saba. According to the eaſtern geographers, the town of Mâreb or Mârab is ſomething above three days journey from Sanaa the capital of Yaman, in an eaſtern direction. From the ſame authors it alſo appears, that Saba was originally the name of a diſtrict, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a ſmall part of the kingdom of Yaman. But that this diſtrict ſhould have been always confined to the province of Hadramaut or Shibâm, if not a part of it, as they ſeem to inſinuate, cannot be allowed; ſince frankincenſe, for the production of which the territory of the Sabæi was ſo famous, is only found in the province of Shihr, different from that of Hadramaut. The Arabs aſſert both the town and diſtrict to have been ſo denominated from Saba the ſon of Jexhab, and grandſon of Joktan, whoſe name imports "to lead into captivity," becauſe he was the firſt who reduced men to a ſtate of ſervitude. Pliny makes the Perſian and Arabian gulphs the eaſtern and weſtern boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were Marana, Marma, (I) Corolia, Sabatha, &c. and inland cities Naſcus, Cardaua, Carnus, &c. Rhegama or Rhegma, founded probably by Raamah the ſon of Cuſh, ſeated on the Perſian gulph, ſeems likewiſe to have appertained to the Sabæi [r].

The

[r] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Agatharchid. Cnid. in peripl. p. 63. Ptol. ubi ſup. Dionyſ. perieg. v. 927, &c. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 6. & alib.

(I) It is poſſible, that this town might be ſeated on ſome part of the Red Sea abounding with coral, eſpecially ſince that ſea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that Corolia received its name from the coral in its neighbourhood. Notwithſtanding what has been advanced by Pliny, the word coral ſeems to be of Oriental extraction. For חרול חרל or חורל ſignifies a thorn, a nettle, a thiſtle, &c. which are vegetables, and conſequently bear ſome analogy to coral. Some may perhaps imagine, that coral was ſo denominated from the town we are here ſpeaking of (9).

(9) Plin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Schind. pentaglot. in voc. חרל.

The Gerræi and Minæi.

THE Gerræi and Minæi, according to Strabo, brought vaſt quantities of frankincenſe, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or ſouthern parts of Arabia Felix to the ſeaports; which is a ſtrong preſumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the Sabæi. We find the towns of Bilæna or Bilbana, Gera and Magindana, mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to the Gerræi; and the Minæi, a powerful nation, joined with the Gerræi by Diodorus and Strabo. The laſt author calls the region of the Minæi Minæa or Meinæa, and makes its northern frontiers ſeventy days journey from Ailah. Its principal city was Carna or Carana, called, as ſhould ſeem, Carnus by Pliny, and placed by him in the country of the Sabæi; which brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what we have juſt advanced. Some authors take notice of the Charmæi as a people contiguous to the Minæi and Gerræi, but deliver nothing of moment concerning them [s].

The Adramitæ.

As for the Atramitæ or Adramitæ, they undoubtedly inhabited part at leaſt of the province at this day named Hadramaut or Hadramuta, and conſequently were a tribe of the Sabæi. Their metropolis was called Sabota or Sabatha, as may be inferred from Pliny and Ptolemy; beſides which the port of Cane, at the ſouthern extremity of Arabia Felix, belonged to them. Xibân or Shibâm, and Tezim, are now the principal towns of Hadramaut, both of them about a day's journey from the Indian ocean. Shibâm ſtands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the ſame name, is fortified with a citadel of great ſtrength, and rendered almoſt impregnable by its ſituation. It goes likewiſe under the name of Hadramaut amongſt the Arabs, lies in about 13° 30′ N. latitude, and is ſeven days journey from Aden. The province was denominated Hadramaut from one of the ſons of Joktan, whoſe deſcendents firſt peopled it. Shibâm and Tezim were alſo the names of two tribes, who founded, and ſettled themſelves in, the cities ſo called, as we learn from the Arab hiſtorians. Ebiſma, Dama, Ægiſthæ, Trulla, Mœphath, and other places fixed by Ptolemy here, deſerve not the leaſt attention [t].

The Maranitæ.

THE Maranitæ or Maranenſes muſt have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to aſcertain their ſituation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the Mara or Amara of Ptolemy, and the Mara of ſome of the Oriental geographers [u]

CELLARIUS

[s] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l xvi. [t] Plin. ubi ſup. Ptol. ibid. Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 82. [u] Ptol. l. viii. Cotbodin & Ebn Joun. apud Gol. ubi ſup. p. 84. Ptol. geogr. l. viii.

CELLARIUS makes the Catabani a people of good confideration; which is confirmed by Pliny, who tells us, that the Larendani, Catabani, and Gebanitæ, had many towns, particularly Nagia, and Tamna that contained ſixty-five temples. Tamna muſt have been the ſeat of ſome Arab prince governing the Catabani, according to Strabo; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of Tehama ſtretching out as far to the ſouthward as the city of Aden. Golius ſays, that the word ſignifies a violent heat; and that the country was ſo denominated from its being greatly expoſed to the ſolar rays, whoſe heat there is very intenſe. But as many other places in Arabia were ſubject to the ſame inconvenience, our readers may poſſibly ſuppoſe it rather to have deduced its name from Tema the ſon of Iſhmael, whoſe poſterity in proceſs of time might ſettle themſelves in it. This ſeems to be confirmed by Almotarezzi, who ſays, that Iſmael himſelf reſided in Araba a diſtrict of Tehama. Tebala, the capital of Tehama, a town of conſiderable note, built by Tebala the ſon of Midian, ſtands in the road from Mecca to Sanaa the metropolis of Yaman [u]

The Catabani.

THE Aſcitæ poſſeſſed all that tract about the promontory Syagrus, the cape Ras al Ghat of the moderns, including, as ſhould ſeem, part of the provinces of Omân and Mahra. Nay, they muſt have ſpread themſelves much farther, if we ſuppoſe Hâſec, a maritime town on the coaſt of Hadramaut, to have been ſo denominated from them. Whether any traces of the Aſcitæ are ſtill viſible in Maſkat an Arab town on the bay of Ormuz, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape Ras al Ghat, and almoſt under the tropic of Cancer, we muſt ſubmit to the judgment of our curious and inquiſitive readers [w].

The Aſcitæ.

PTOLEMY mentions the Homerites as a nation ſeated in the ſouthern part of Arabia Felix, and bounded on the eaſt by the Adramitæ, or province of Hadramaut. His Arabiæ Emporium he likewiſe places in their country, as Pliny does his Maſſala. Some authors make them the ſame people with the Sabæans, whilſt others conſider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon Sabæi and Homeritæ to have been different names of the ſame nation, and are countenanced herein by the Oriental hiſtorians. For theſe inform us, that

The Homerites.

[u] Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 598, 599. Plin. Ptol. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. Kelebæus in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi ſup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Yacût ibid. Almotarezzi in Mogreb apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 33 [w] Ptol. & Albufed. in Arab.

the Sabæans were called Hamyarites from Hamyar the ſon of their great anceſtor Saba; and that they ruled over almoſt the whole country of Yaman. Though the kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, was at length tranſlated from the princes of Hamyar to the deſcendents of Cahlân his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of Hamyar. We find them ſtyled Immireni by Theodorus Lector, and Theophanes Byzantius gives them the name of Ethiopians, inſinuating them to be the Macrobii of Herodotus, which yet we are by no means diſpoſed to admit. They made a great figure amongſt the antient Arabs before the time of Mohammed, as will more fully appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory [x].

The Sapphoritæ.

THE Sapphoritæ of Ptolemy cannot be conſidered as a people diſtinct from the Homerites, notwithſtanding the authority of Ptolemy and Cellarius. They were only the citizens of Sapphar, or, as Pliny has it, Saphar, a city of note in the dominions of the Homerites. Ptolemy aſſigns this place a poſition nearly agreeing with that of the preſent Sanaa, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, eſpecially as Saphar is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by Pliny. The Arabs believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincenſe went, in the earlieſt times, by the name of Sephar; from whence the excellent Golius concludes this tract to have been the mount Sephar of Moſes. A ſtrong preſumption of the truth of which notion is, that Dhafâr, the ſame word with the modern Arabs as the antient Saphar, is the name of a town in Shihr, the only province of Arabia bearing frankincenſe, on the coaſt of the Indian ocean, five paraſangs from (K) Merbât, as we learn from Safioddin, who likewiſe informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of Dhafâr is about three days journey long, and of an equal breadth. Bochart therefore deſerves little regard, when he intimates, that the Meſha of Moſes was the Muza of Ptolemy, or the Mocha of the moderns, a celebrated port of the Red

[x] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Golius in Alfragan. p. 86, 67. Poc. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p 65, 66. Philoſtorgius, l. ii. num. 6. & l. iii. num. 4. Theodorus Lector, l. ii. p. 567. Theophanes Byzantius in excerpt. de legat. Vid. & Cellar ubi ſup. p. 599.

(K) A paraſang is about three miles. Eight paraſangs, according to Abulfeda, or twenty-four miles, make a ſtation, or a day's journey. But the Nubian geographer ſays, that a ſtation conſiſts of thirty miles (10).

(10) Albufed. Geogr. Nub.

Red Sea, about four or five days journey from Dhafâr; ſince this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the poſterity of the thirteen ſons of Joktan, as we are aſſured by Moſes the tract between Meſha and Sephar did. For which reaſon we cannot help preferring the ſentiment of R. Saadias and R. Abraham Zachutus, who aſſert Meſha to be Mecca; eſpecially ſince it is a point agreed upon by the Arabs, that Meſha was one of the moſt antient names of Mecca. Some authors believe, that in early times there ſtood a city called Dhafâr or Saphar, the Arabic letter ظ frequently anſwering to the Hebrew צ and Greek Σ, in the neighbourhood of Sanaa, and others that Sanaa itſelf went formerly by that name; which in a great meaſure confirms what we have juſt advanced [y].

The Omanitæ.

We find the Omanitæ taken notice of by Ptolemy, and Omanum their chief city repreſented by him as one of the moſt conſiderable places in Arabia. It cannot be doubted but the Omân of Alfraganus, and capital of the province of the ſame name, the common boundary of Yaman and Bahrein, is the Omanum of Ptolemy, and the country in which it is ſeated, the diſtrict of the antient Omanitæ. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the juriſdiction of the Homerites, and conſequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of Omân is defended by a ſtrong garriſon of Arabs. Either the tract itſelf, or the metropolis, ſeems alſo to have been called antiently Sohâr; but at this day the former is denominated Omân, and the latter Sohâr. The province of Omân ſtretches itſelf out three hundred miles on the coaſt of the Perſian ſea, which is there called the ſea of Omân. In the time of Ptolemy, Omanum, or Sohâr, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deſerted by merchants for ſeveral ages [z].

The Saracens.

The Saracens or Nabathæans poſſeſſed that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deſerta; but what extent this territory was of, we no-where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the Thamudeni, Thamuditæ,

[y] Ptol. & Cellar. ubi ſup. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. Arrian. peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. v. 30. R. Saadias in verſ. Arab. Pentat. Pocock. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. apud Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. Safioddin. in lex. geographic. Bochart. Phal. p. 163. RR. Abrah. Zachutus & Saadias apud Bochart, ibid. Gol. ubi ſup. p. 84. [z] Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubienſ. & philoſophus Xiraſita in clim. ii.

ditæ, or Thamydeni, a people alſo mentioned in the Koran. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the (L) Thamydeni inhabited part of the coaſt of the Arabian gulph; and Pliny intimates their principal city to have been named Badanatha. In fine, Golius believes them to have occupied a good part at leaſt of the province of Hejâz, and particularly that diſtrict wherein Hagr or Al Heir, the Egra or Agra of Stephanus and Ptolemy, is ſituated; which, as well as other conſiderations that might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the Saracens and Nabathæans, if not entirely the ſame people with them [a].

The Bnizomenæ.

DIODORUS SICULUS tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the Thamydeni were likewiſe ſeated the Bnizomenæ, who lived upon wild beaſts taken in hunting. In their country ſtood a temple held in the higheſt veneration amongſt all the Arabs. It is probable this temple was ſacred to Iſis, as Diodorus relates an iſland near the Bnizomenean coaſt to have been more immediately under her protection. Theſe likewiſe muſt have been ſettled in ſome of the maritime parts of Hejâz, but their ſituation for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the Nabathæans, as well as their neighbours the Thamydeni [b].

WE might here mention ſeveral other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to Arabia Felix. But ſince theſe either coincide with ſome of the Ethiopic cantons already deſcribed, as the Troglodytes, &c. or may be conſidered as branches of the Saracens, Nabathæans, Sabæans, Homerites, &c. our readers will excuſe even a bare enumeration of them. The ſame may be ſaid of that large catalogue of obſcure and inſignificant towns and villages, belonging to theſe tribes, to be met with in Ptolemy, of which that geographer himſelf had no idea. However, they will not diſpenſe with an omiſſion of certain towns and ſeaports of Arabia hitherto paſſed over in ſilence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and hiſtorians [c].

NYSA

[a] Plin. & Cellar. ubi ſup. Golii notæ ad Afraganum, p. 97. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. [b] Diod. Sic. l. iii. [c] Vide Strab. Plin. Ptol. &c.

(L) The Thamydeni were the tribe of Thamûd, ſo famous amongſt the Arab writers, of whom we ſhall have occaſion hereafter frequently to ſpeak (11).

(11) Abulfed. Gol. Pocock. &c.

NYSA was a town of Arabia on the Red Sea, near the confines of Egypt, famous for the education of Bacchus, who from thence, and his father Jupiter, received the name of Dionyſius. Arga and Badeo, two maritime cities in a ſoutherly direction from Nyſa, had royal palaces in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. Pudni we find eſteemed by Ptolemy as one of the principal places of Arabia Felix. Muſa or Muza was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which theArab merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern Mocha or Mokha to correſpond with the antient Muſa; but in our opinion, Moſa, at preſent a ſmall but handſome town near ten leagues from Mokha, ſeems to bid the faireſt for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and ſituation, but likewiſe from hence, that Moſa is the rendezvous and thoroughfare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of Arabia, a circumſtance well enough ſuiting with what the antients have related of Muſa. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that ſome traces of Muſa are ſtill preſerved in Moſa; eſpecially as Pliny intimates the Arab merchants to have brought in his time vaſt quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. Ocelis, according to Pliny and Arrian, ſtood upon the ſhore of that narrow ſea called by the moderns the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, and ſupplied the merchants with freſh water in their Indian voyages. Arabiæ Emporium has been already mentioned, and will be deſcribed when we come to ſpeak of the city of Aden, which is ſuppoſed to anſwer to it. The port of Moſcha our readers will probably place upon the ſpot occupied at this day by the city of Maſkat, which is all that we can ſay of it. As for the Itamas portus, the memory and ſituation of it ſtill remain in Càdhema, a town or village on the Perſian gulph, or bay of Baſra [d].

Remarkable places in Arabia Felix.

BEFORE we conclude this ſection, our readers will expect a ſketch of the Oriental geography of the peninſula of the Arabs. The beſt eaſtern writers, as has been already obſerved, divide this peninſula into five provinces or kingdoms, viz. Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama. This diviſion

Oriental geographers of Arabia.

[d] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. Diod. Sic. l. i. & l. iii. Apollodor. bibliothec. l. iii. c. 4. ſect. 3. extr. p. 159. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 2. Arrian. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. La Roque, voyage de l Arab. heur 1711, 1712, 1713. Arrian. peripl. p. 8. Çellar. ubi ſup.

vision is of great antiquity, as appears from Strabo; which is not to be wondered at, since the Arab customs, names of towns, &c. are nearly the same now that they were above three thousand years ago [e].

Yaman. THE province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right-hand or south of the temple of Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian ocean from the streights of Bab al Mandab to cape Rasalgat; part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west, as the towns of Najran, the Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, Haly or Haljo on the sea Al Kolzom, and Omân or Sohar, do on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omân, Mahra, &c. of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense. The very learned Mr. Sale did not sufficiently attend to the Oriental geographers, when he limited Yaman on the north by Hejaz, and made Najran a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them [f].

Principal antient cities of Yaman. THIS country has been famous from all antiquity [g] for its fertility, riches, and happiness of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the following. 1. Mokha, if it was the Musa or Muza of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a dispute. It is at present a port and town on the Red Sea of considerable trade; contains ten thousand inhabitants, Jews, Armenians, and Mohammedans; is surrounded with walls, after the antient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though strengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon [h] placed upon them. 2. Aden, a celebrated mart on the Indian ocean, not far from the streights of Bab al Mandab, so called, according to the Arabs, from its founder Aden the son of Saba, and grandson of Abraham. Some believe the name to be the same with Eden, the Hebrew word denoting Paradise, and that the town under consideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was situated. It stands at the foot of several high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. The Arabs have erected five or six forts on the summits of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reservoir, built about three

[e] Strab. l. xvi. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 79. [f] La Roque, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. Golius ubi sup. & p. 87. Ptol. ubi sup. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 2. [g] Strab. Plin. pass. Dionys. Af. ubi sup. [h] La Roque ubi sup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 84.

three quarters of a mile from the city, which ſupplies the inhabitants with very good water. Golius produces ſeveral reaſons to prove, that Aden is the Arabiæ Emporium of Ptolemy, which ſeem to carry conſiderable weight. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that Aden is the Adana which Stephanus mentions from Uranius [i]. 3. Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, a very antient city, greatly reſembling Damaſcus. It is ſeated in a mountainous territory, and bleſſed with a moſt delightful air; inſomuch that it enjoys a double ſummer, or rather a perpetual ſpring. It is about fifty leagues diſtant from Mokha on the borders of Hadramaut, and was denominated Ozâl from its founder the ſon of Joktan, as the Arabs pretend. They likewiſe make Sanaa the ſon of Ozâl to have communicated that name to it by which it goes at preſent. Some aſſert it to be the Saphar of Ptolemy, as above obſerved. Sanaa, towards the beginning of the laſt century, conſiſted of good houſes built with lime and ſtone, being as large as Briſtol. It ſtands in a barren and ſtony valley, ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the Arabs have built a ſmall caſtle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who ſometimes inſult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and conſequently very dear. On the eaſt ſide ſtands the caſtle invironed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are poſted proper guards. The king of Yaman does not now reſide here, but at Muab, a town built by one of the laſt monarchs of this country, not a mile from Dhamâr, a little to the S. E. of Sanaa. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleaſure-houſe, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himſelf; and, from the pleaſant country in which it was ſeated, ſtyled it Hiſn almawâheb [k], or the caſtle of delights. 4. Saba or Mâreb in the province of Hadramaut, of which an account has been given above. It is at preſent little better than a village, and ſtands above three days journey E. of Sanaa [l]. 5. Shibâm, Dhafâr, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been [m] already deſcribed. 6. Omân or Sohâr, the Omanum of

[i] Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Golius ubi ſup. p. 83. La Roque ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Arab. [k] La Roque, p. 232, & alib. Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 83, 84. Sir Henry Middleton's journey to Sanaa. [l] Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 86, 87. [m] Idem ibid. p. 82. ut & Abulfed. in Arab.

of Ptolemy, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for several ages been deserted by them. This seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky island called Kîs, so low that it cannot be discovered at any distance, on which many ships were dashed to pieces. Kîs lies a little to the east of Charec, another small island opposite to the coast of Omân, and famous for a pearl-fishery, according to Abulfeda. Jacûtus and the Nubian geographer make both these islands, now called the isles of Sohâr, about half a day's sail from the main land of Arabia; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in Omân are frequently so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the Orientals. The town of Sohâr must be in something more than 24°. N. lat. though Ptolemy places his Omanum Emporium in 19°. 45′ N. lat. and Ebn Maruph, mathematician to sultan Morad or Amurath II. asserts Omân or Sohâr to be in about 23°. N. lat. All other particulars of note relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to [n].

Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of Yaman.

THE best part of Arabia Felix, or that which the Greeks called most happy, was probably the country of Yaman; the delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the Red Sea is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but in return bounded by the aforesaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variery of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The principal of these mountains taken notice of by the antients were Cabubathra, Melan, Prionotus, and Didymi, whose Arabic names have not hitherto been brought into Europe. As the Greeks and Romans were little acquainted with this region, we must allow Ptolemy to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might also be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to suppose, that the present Arab river Falj, emptying itself into the Bay of Basra, is the Prion of Ptolemy; and the modern city Masfa his Mæphath, situate about 0°. 30′ N. of the source of that river. However, it must be owned, that a river of Omân,

[n] Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubiens. & philos. Xirasita in clim. ii. Abulfed. in Arab. Yacût. & Ebn. Maruph. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

Omân, falling into the Indian ocean at Sûr, about 0°. 40'. N. of Maſkat, poſſibly the Moſcha portus of Ptolemy, bids likewiſe fair for the Prion. No other rivers of note are to be met with in Yaman; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the ſtreams, which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being for the moſt part drunk up and loſt in the burning ſands of that coaſt °.

Hejaz, with its chief cities, &c.

Hejaz, either ſo named, becauſe it divides Najd from Tehama, or becauſe it is ſurrounded with mountains, is limited on the ſouth by Yaman and Tehâma; on the weſt by the ſea 'Al Kolzom; on the north by the deſerts of Shâm or Syria; and on the eaſt by the province of Najd P. This province is famous for its two chief cities Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his reſidence for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interment. The ſoil of Hejaz, as well as that of Najd, Tehama, and Yamama, is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in Hejaz, deſerving any attention on account of their antiquity, are theſe that follow: 1. Mecca, ſometimes alſo called Becca, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify a place of great concourſe, is certainly one of the moſt antient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the Meſa or Meſha of the Scripture, as above obſerved, and that it deduced its name from one of Iſhmael's ſons. It ſtands in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains under the ſame parallel with the Macoraba of Ptolemy, and about forty Arabian miles from the ſea 'Al Kolzom. The length of Mecca, from Maalah to Maſphalah, is about two miles, and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain Ajyad to the top of another called Koaikaân, about a mile. In the midſt of this ſpace the town is ſeated, built of ſtone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The Arab authors tell us, that near a chapel, or holy houſe, for ſo the Arabs term it, in the centre of 'Al-Hharâm, or great temple, here, called 'Al-Caabah, ſtands a white ſtone, which was the ſepulchre of Iſhmael; and that 'Al-Caabah was firſt built by Adam of ſtone, but deſtroyed by the deluge. However,

° La Roque voy. del'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, 153. Ptol. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Arab. P Gol. ad Alfragan. p. 98. Abulfed. in Arab. p 5.

ever, add they, God commanded Abraham and Iſhmael to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars erecting the trunks of palm-trees. There being no ſprings at Mecca, at leaſt none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the beſt, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackiſh, and cauſing eruptions in thoſe who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain-water, which they catch in ciſterns. But this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreiſh, endeavoured at a great expence to ſupply the city with water from mount Araſat, but without ſucceſs; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkiſh emperor. But long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a ſpring at a conſiderable diſtance, which was, after ſeveral years labour, finiſhed by the Khalîf al Moktader Abbaſida. Notwithſtanding the ſterility of the ſoil near Mecca, it being ſo barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſerts, yet a traveller is no ſooner out of its territory, than he meets on all ſides with plenty of good ſprings and ſtreams of running water, with many gardens, and cultivated lands. The prince or Sharîf of Mecca has a garden well planted at his caſtle of Marbaa, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. This prince is lineally deſcended from Haſhem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, who, being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to ſet out yearly, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to ſupply his countrymen with proviſions, the people of Mecca having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are ſupplied with dates in vaſt abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about ſixty miles diſtant, very few growing at Mecca. As for the citizens of Mecca, they are generally very rich, being conſiderable gainers by the prodigious concourſe of people of almoſt all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have alſo great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer ſort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almoſt every neceſſary of life muſt be purchaſed with money. The Sharîf of Mecca's troops conſiſt entirely of infantry, which the Arabs call 'Al-Harrabah, i. e.

archers

archers or dartmen. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Safa and Marwah were two places in Mecca, in which the idols Aſaph and Nayelah, were placed before the time of Mohammed. As for the temple of Mecca, and the reputed holineſs of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern hiſtory of the Arabs. Some authors write, that the interior or middle part of Mecca only had the name of Becca aſſigned it, becauſe it was greatly crouded with inhabitants, which that word imports; others believe, that Mecca was the name of the city, and Becca of the temple; and laſtly others think, that Becca paſſed into Mecca, as Balbec into Malbec, Banbe into Manbe, &c. which ſeems to us the moſt probable opinion. We muſt diſtinguiſh betwen the Hharam of Mecca, conſidered as the territory of the Sharîf, extending ſome miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it ſo called, being three hundred and ſeventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and ſupported by four hundred and thirty-four [q] pillars. It muſt not be forgot, that the Arabs have a tradition amongſt them, that Iſhmael, with his mother Hagar, fixed his reſidence here; which ſeems to have induced them frequently to viſit Mecca, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of Mohammed. They likewiſe believe Zemzem to have been the well, near which Hagar ſat down with her ſon Iſhmael, and was comforted by the angel. Abulfeda places the city we are now upon in 67°. 31. long. and 21°. 20′. N. lat. Some of the Orientals make the patriarch Abraham to have been the founder of it; but others with more reaſon attribute its foundation to one of the ſons of Iſhmael. It does not follow from Moſes's mentioning Meſha as inhabited by the poſterity of Joktan, that Mecca was built before the time of Iſhmael, ſuppo-

[q] R. Saadias in verſion. Arab. Pentat. Abraham Zachut. in Sefer Iuchaſin, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. Pitt's account of the religion and manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96. 107. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 98, 99. Sharif al Edriſi apud Pocock. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125. ut. & ipſe Pocock. ibid. p. 51. Algiawhary apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40. Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ſub voc. Manbeſium & Mecca. Sharif al Edriſi apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. Vid. etiam Adr. Reland. lib. de relig. Mohammed. & effig. Caabæ cum Templ. ei circumd. ibid.

ſuppoſing thoſe places to have been the ſame, ſince he more than once uſes the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary [r]. 2. Medina, which, till Mohammed's retreat thither, was called Yathreb, is a city ſtanding in a plain, ſurrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coaſt of the Red Sea. Abulfeda intimates, that one of its antient names was Taibah, a word importing ſalubrious, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as Mecca, and ten days journey from thence. In ſome parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, ſeveral ſalfuginous plants, and ſalt itſelf in many places. About the mountains Air and Ohud, the firſt of which is about two leagues to the ſouth, and the other as many to the north, of Medina, the country is fruitful in dates. The name Yathreb was derived from the chief of the tribe that firſt ſettled here, whom the Arabs make the great-grandſon of Aram. Golius takes it to be the Ἰάθειπωα of Stephanus, and the Λάθειπωα of Ptolemy. Here Mohammed lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city. Its ſituation has not been exactly defined, ſome authors determining its longitude to be 67°, 30′. and others 65°. 20′. and its latitude either 24°. or 25°. N. The moſt ingenious Mr. Sale muſt be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount Thabir two leagues diſtant only from Medina, ſince that mountain is in the neighbourhood of Mecca. Medina is dignified by the Mohammedans with the title of the city of the prophet, from the kind reception Mohammed met with there, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more fully to obſerve [s]. 3. Thaifa or Taifa, a town ſixty miles to the eaſt of Mecca, behind mount Gaz-

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[r] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum. p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi. Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup.

[s] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97, 98. Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40, 41. Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. ubi ſup. Ptol. & Steph. Byzant. apud Gol. ubi ſup. Sharif al Edriſi, vulgo geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 5. Kalkaſhendi p. 400. Pocock. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. paſſ. Safioddin. in compend. lexic. Yacût. & ipſe Yacût. ſub litera ع 'Ain. Al Sharistani apud Pocock. ubi ſup. Vid etiam Cl. Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 31. & Sal. prelim. diſc. p. 5.

wan, where the cold is more intenſe than in any other part of Hejaz, but the air moſt ſalubrious. It had the name of Veg ja given it at firſt by its founder. The Turks call it the region of Al Abbâs from the uncle of Mohammed, who fixed his reſidence here. The word Taifa plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is ſurrounded. Lat. 21 °. 20′, N [t]. 4. Gjudda or Jodda a port and maritime city, the bulwark of Mecca, muſt undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though ſcarce ever taken notice of by the Greek or Roman authors. The town of Aidâb, on the confines of Abaſſia, ſtands on the oppoſite ſhore, where great numbers of the African Mohammedans take ſhipping, in order to viſit the holy city of Mecca. Lat. 21°. 45′. N [u]. 5. Yanbo', or 'Al-Yanbo', is undoubtedly the Iambia of Ptolemy, and not far from Medina, or, as the Arabs more properly ſtyle it, 'Al-Madînah. We find it repreſented as a ſmall city by Abulfeda, who likewiſe cites 'Ebn Saîd, as affirming it to have a caſtle, and ſeveral fountains, in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to Al-Madînah. A little to the eaſt of Yanbo' ſtands mount Radwâ, about ſeven ſtations from Al Madînah whence a vaſt quantity of the whetſtone is exported into various regions. All the diſtrict of Zanbo' produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the Hhaſanites, who lived after the manner of the antient Arabes Scenitæ, and reſembled them in all particulars. Ebn Hhawkal obſerves, that the Hhaſanites and Giafarites, whoſe territories were contiguous, ſo weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of Yaman [w]. 6. Madian, the Modiana of Ptolemy, and Midian or Madian of Scripture, is a city of Hejaz, at preſent little better than a heap of ruins. It is ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the ſea 'Al-Kolzom, at no great diſtance from the gulph of Ailah. The Arabs have ſeveral traditions relating to this place, viz. that it received its name from the tribe of Madian, who firſt built and inhabited it; that Shoaïb, the ſon of Mikaïl, the ſon of Yaſhjar, the ſon of Madian, of that tribe, was the ſame perſon with the father-

[t] Golius ubi ſup. p. 99, 100. Sharif al Edriſi clim. 2. par. 5. Atwal, Raſm, Ulugh Beigh apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. [u] Go- Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſup. Atwal, Kanun, Raſm apud Abulfed. ibid. [w] Ebn Said & Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 45. ut & ipſe Abulfed· ibid. & alib. Ptol. in Arab.

father-in-law of Moſes, called in Scripture Reuel or Reguel, and Jethro; and that the well, whence Moſes, or, as they call him, Mûſa, watered Jethro's flocks, ſtill remained when Abulfeda wrote his geographical deſcription of Arabia. Moſt authors agree, that the Midianites ought to be looked upon as the deſcendents of Abraham by Keturah, who afterwards ſeem to have coaleſced with the Iſhmaelites; ſince Moſes names the ſame merchants, who ſold Joſeph to Potiphar, in one place Iſhmaelites, and in another Midianites. The ſacred hiſtorian makes Jethro both the prieſt and prince of Midian. Ptolemy aſſerts the latitude of Modiana to be 27° 45′ N. which almoſt exactly correſponds with that aſſigned it by 'Ebn Saîd, viz. 27° 50′ N though other Oriental writers place it in [x] 29° 00′ N. lat. 7. Hejr, or 'Al-Hheg'r, in 28° 30′ N. lat. according to 'Ebn Hhawkal, was the ſeat of the tribe of Thamud, the Thamydeni of the antients. This clearly evinces Hejr to be the Egra or Agra of Pliny, ſince that author makes the Thamydeni neighbours to that city. As Ptolemy likewiſe is far from being accurate in his determination of the longitude and latitude of places, we may ſafely enough take his Negra for the Egra of Pliny, and Hejr of the moderns, ſince the latitude of the former differs but two degrees from that of the latter of theſe towns. 'Al-Hheg'r ſtands amidſt a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houſes have been cut, as ſome ſuppoſe, by the Amalekites, or their anceſtors the Adites, Iramites, Thamudites, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the Koran. 'Ebn Hhawkal calls this ridge of mountains 'Al-Athâleb, i. e. the fragments of ſtones [y].

TIHAMA,

[x] Ptol. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144. Abulfed. & Ebn Said ubi ſup. Sharif al Edriſi clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. Al Beidawi, Tarikh Montakhab. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'Herbelot, bibl. Orient. art. Schoaib. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 24, & alib. Shalſhel hakkab. p. 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. Sal. in not. ad Al-Kor. ſur. vii. p. 126. & Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 6. [y] Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 43. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. Ptol. in Arab. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Sharif al Edriſi apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 37. Alb. Schult. in Ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladi ſub voc. Errakimum. Vide etiam Al-Kor. ſur. lxxxix. ver. 9.

TIHAMA, or Tehama, is a ſmall province, whoſe limits have not been ſufficiently defined by the Arab geographers, who have ſometimes confounded it with Yaman and Hejaz. Tehama, according to Golius, derived that name from its ſandy ſoil, as it did another, viz. Gaur, from its low ſituation. It is bounded on the weſt by the Red Sea, and on the other ſides by Hejâz and Yaman extending almoſt from Mecca to Aden. Abulfeda mentions ſeveral towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the Greeks and Romans. The Tamna of Pliny, and Thumna of Ptolemy, by the latitude he aſſigns it, viz. 17° 15′ N. ſeem to bear ſome relation to Tehama [z]. Tehama.

As the Nabathæans poſſeſſed the beſt part, if not all, of the province of Hejâz, contiguous to Tihama, the Thimanei of Pliny, neighbours to the Nabathæans, muſt be the Arabs of Tihama.

THE province of Najd, which word ſignifies a riſing country, lies between thoſe of Yamama, Yaman, and Hejaz, and is limited on the eaſt by Irâk. Najd is peculiarly oppoſed to Tehama, as the name implies, though this laſt has ſeveral ridges of mountains in it [a]. Najd.

YAMAMA, alſo called Arud, from its oblique ſituation in reſpect of Yaman, is encompaſſed by Najd, Tehama, Bahrein, Omân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province, and was antiently called Jaw, or Gjauva. It is four degrees to the E. of Mecca, and deduced its name, according to the excellent Golius, from the niece of Taſm, whoſe brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her ſo famous amongſt the Arabs, that one of their proverbs was, more ſharp-ſighted than YAMAMA. This lady governed Yamama, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conſpicuous in her. However, ſome authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called Yamama, from whence the province itſelf was ſo denominated. The falſe prophet Moſeilama, Mohammed's competitor, rendered this Yamama.

place

[z] Golius ubi ſup. p. 95. Sharif al Edriſi clim. ii. par. 5. Plin l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. ubi ſup.

[a] Golius ubi ſup. p. 94. Abulfed. in Arab. paſſ.

place famous by reſiding in it. But, he being vanquiſhed and killed, it ſubmitted to Abubecr [b].

Bahrein. THOUGH the more accurate Oriental geographers make Bahrein part of Irâk, yet a ſhort deſcription of it ought not to be omitted here. Bahrein then, in the moſt extenſive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritime tract lying between Baſra and the fartheſt limits of Omân; to which the Arabs have given the name of Bahrein, i. e. "Of "two ſeas, or the country of two ſeas," becauſe it connects the Perſian gulph with the Indian ocean. In a more confined ſenſe it is applied to an iſland, or rather two, of the Perſian gulph, in 26° 30′ N. lat. about a league from the town of Al-Katîf ſeated on that gulph. One of theſe iſlands ſeems to be the Ichara of Ptolemy, and Icharia of Strabo. As Jûlfâr and theo ther principal towns of Bahrein were built after Mohammed's death, our readers will expect ſome account of them in the modern hiſtory of Arabia [c].

The principal iſlands on the coaſt of Arabia. As for the iſlands of Ænus, Timagenes, Zygæna, and many others, both in the Arabian and (M) Perſian gulphs, enumerated

[b] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 95. Sharif al Edriſi clim. ii. par. 6. Geo-g. Elmacin. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 2. [c] Golius ubi ſup. p. 96. Ptol. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xvi. Ælian. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. Sharif al Edriſi, Yacût, & Abulfed. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

(M) The antients frequently called the Perſian gulph, or gulph of Baſra, as well as the Indian ocean, the Erythræan or Red Sea, as we learn from Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Philoſtratus, Mela, Pliny, Solinus, Dionyſius Afer, and Ælian. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for that appellation; but the moſt probable ſeems to be the reflection of the ſolar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddiſh colour. The learned Dr. Prideaux without a ſufficient foudation aſſerts this to have been the only proper Red Sea of the antients; ſince, according to Pliny, the Arabian and Perſian gulphs were both branches of that ſea. He ſeems likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he affirms the whole Arabian gulph to have been the Yam Souph of the Hebrews; ſince 'tis highly probable, that the Heroopolitan gulph only was ſo called by that people (12).

(12) Herodot. l. i. c. 180. & l. iv. c. 37. Strab. l. xvi. Polyb. l. v. Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon. l. iii. c. 50. p. 136. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. Plin. l. vi. c. 23, 26. Solin. c. 58. Dionyſ. Af. v. 1132. Ælian. hiſt. animal. l. xvi. c. 14. Prideaux & Shaw ubi ſup.

enumerated by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ptolemy, Ælian, &c. as appertaining to Arabia, they merit not the leaſt attention. But it may not be improper to obſerve, that, in our opinion, Ptolemy's iſland of Socrates may be looked upon as the ſame with the Socotra of the moderns. 'Tis true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, and the little acquaintance the Greeks and Romans had with the people of Arabia Felix, ſufficiently account for ſuch a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names Socrates and Socotra ſeems no inconſiderable argument in favour of the conjecture here propoſed. With this obſervation we ſhall cloſe our deſcription of Arabia [d].

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, learning, arts and ſciences, diſpoſition, manner of life, &c. of the Arabs.

Some of the poſterity of Cuſh ſettle in Arabia.

THE deſcendents of Cuſh formed a kingdom in that part of Arabia Petræa bordering upon Egypt, and extending itſelf along the eaſtern ſhore of the Red Sea towards the frontiers of Paleſtine and Arabia Felix, in very early times, as has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the Ethiopians. His ſons Seba or Saba, Sabtah, Regma or Raamah, Sabtecha, and grandſons Sheba and Dedan, ſeated themſelves likewiſe in the Happy and Deſert Arabia, as appears from the cities Saboia, Rhegana, Rhegama or Rhegma, Saba, Saue, Saptha or Saptah, Dedan, and the country of the Sabæi, whoſe metropolis was the great city Saba; all of which preſerved very ſenſible footſteps of the names of the firſt planters of thoſe two provinces or kingdoms. However, it ſeems to us moſt probable, for the reaſons already given, that the bulk of the Cuſhites made ſettlements in

[d] Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. Ptol. & Ælian. ubi. ſup.

other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be obſerved, that the eaſtern writers take little or no notice of them [e].

Caſlûhhim, Caphtorim, Hhorites, &c.

As for the Caſlûhhim, Caphtorim, and Hhorites, occupying the hilly diſtrict about mount Seir, though very antient, they never made any conſiderable figure. The poſterity of Edom, who after their exciſion ſeized upon the tract they inhabited, in proceſs of time intermixing with the proper Arabs, formed one people with them. But neither do the preſent Arabs look upon Eſau or Edom as one of the proper founders of their nation [f].

We have already obſerved, that the Arraceni and Saraceni of the antients were the ſame people. From the ſituation aſſigned them by the old geographers, it can ſcarce be doubted but that the Arra of Pliny and Ptolemy was the capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. Strabo, deſcribing Ælius Gallus's expedition into Arabia, intimates, that the province of Ararena was thirty days journey from Petra, and fifty from the city of the Negrani, or Negara Metropolis of Ptolemy, i. e. the modern Nag'ran; that it was for the moſt part deſert, and inhabited by the Nomades, or Arabes Scenitæ; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathleſs region, interſperſed in ſome parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itſelf, clearly evince this province to be the country of the Arraceni or Saraceni, which had the above-mentioned Arra for its capital city. From ſeveral circumſtances in the deſcription of the expeditions into Arabia made by Trajan and Severus, to be met with in Dio, it appears that the Arraceni or Saraceni were likewiſe ſometimes in the eaſt denominated Agareni, and their chief town Arra Atra, or, as Herodian calls it, Atræ. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient Saracens were ſtyled Hagarenes, either from the diſpoſition of the tract they inhabited, or, from Hagar the mother of Iſhmael [g].

In

[e] Univer. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 88, 89, 110, 111, & alib. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Hyde hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. p. 37, & alib. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 9. [f] Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c. xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam Cl. Gagn. diatrib. ſect. 4. [g] Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 185. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Strab. l. xvi. p. 781. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 855. Herodian. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that Stephanus mentions a country called Saraca, inhabited by the Saraceni (N), as contiguous to that of the Nabathæans; and that the Arab geographer Yâkût takes notice of the town 'Al-' Arakh ſeated on Agja, one of the two celebrated mountains of the Taïtes, or tribe of Taï, the Taueni of Pliny, and Ταϊνοὶ Taini of Bardeſanes in Euſebius, who joins them with the Saracens. From hence, in conjunction with the reaſons alledged by the learned Mr. Gagnier, we may conclude, that Pliny called this nation Arraceni; and that Dioſcorides was the firſt of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hiſſing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent Salmaſius [h].

The Jeruſalem Targum takes the names Iſhmaelites and Saracens to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the ſame nation. This not only included the Arabes Scenitæ, bordering upon Paleſtine, Syria, and Chaldæa, but likewiſe thoſe ſeparated by the Red Sea from Ethiopia; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of Arabians. That the word Saraceni cannot be derived from any of the following ſources, notwithſtanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow [i].

[h] Steph. Byzant. in voc. Σάρακα. Ptol. ubi ſup. Yakutus geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. Plin. ubi ſup. Bardeſanes apud. Euſeb. de præp. evang. p. 277. Vide etiam Harduin. in Plin. ubi ſup. Gagn. diatr. ſect. 9. & Salmaſ. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. ſub init. [i] Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. c. xvii. ver. 1. &. c. xxi. ver. 16. Iſai. c. xiii, ver. 20. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 4. ſub fin.

(N) Mr. Gagnier thinks, that the Saracens of Arabia Felix and Arabia Petræa were two different nations; and that the latter received their name Araceni from the city of Arke, Arakeme, or Petra, their metropolis. But in the firſt article we humbly conceive, he ſeems to contradict himſelf; ſince in the former part of the Diatriba ſo often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the Iſhmaelites ſpread themſelves gradually over Arabia Felix as well as Arabia Petræa; and that the Iſhmaelites, Arabes Scenitæ, and Saracens, were frequently taken for the ſame people. This notion we own ourſelves inclined to eſpouſe,

1. Joannes Damascenus, Nicetas Choniates, and others, ſuppoſe this word to have been of Greek extraction, alluding to Sarah's ſending away Hagar empty, without any ſort of neceſſaries or accommodations. But this is too abſurd to merit any attention. 2. Scaliger deduces the name Saraceni from the Arabic سرق ſarak, i. e. "He ſtole privately," alluding, as that great critic obſerves, to their anceſtor Iſhmael, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it muſt be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, ſince 'tis much more probable that the word ſhould be of an Arab than a Greek origin. But the misfortune is, that Iſhmael was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرق ſarak by no means comes up to the ſignification of Saraceni as determined even by this author himſelf. 3. Dr. Pocock aſſerts Saraceni to import Oriental, or "people of "the eaſt." But as Mr. Gagnier has demonſtrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the Chaldæans, Perſians, Indians, and Chineſe, they prove too much, and therefore we think not the leaſt regard is due unto them. The etymon of Saraceni we have given muſt therefore be allowed to approach the neareſt to truth. As the Saracens were ſo celebrated a nation, and ſuch different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may poſſibly think us guilty of on this occaſion [k].

If

[k] Joannes Damaſcenus de hæreſ. apud, Cotelerium in lib. de monument. eccleſ. Græc. p. 326. Nicet. Choniat. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. Hieronym. comment. in Ezech. l. viii. c. 25. Fuller. in Miſcel. ſacr. c. 12. Joſ. Scalig. ap. Fuller. ibid. Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab p. 33. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. xi. p. 62, 63. Mohammed. Al-Firauzabadius, & Safioddin. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 35.

ſpouſe, as being not only ſupported by the proofs brought by Mr. Gagnier for that purpoſe, but likewiſe by Scripture, all thoſe authors who have ſo juſtly repreſented the Saracens as a moſt numerous and powerful nation, Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, and other eaſtern writers (13).

(13) Gagn. diatrib. ſect. 11. Vide etiam ſect. 1, 4, 6. Iſai. c. xxi. ver. 13. Jer. c. xlix. ver. 28. Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Mohammed. Al Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab.. p. 110. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid.

Two claſſes of the Arabs.

IF we follow the Oriental writers, we muſt divide the Arabs into two claſſes, viz. "the old loſt Arabians, and "the preſent." The moſt famous tribes amongſt the former were Ad, Thamûd, Taſm, Jadîs, the firſt Jorham, Amalek, Amtem, Haſbem, Abil, and Bar. Though thoſe were very numerous, yet they are now either all deſtroyed, or loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of ſome very remarkable events, that happened amongſt them, and the cataſtrophe of ſome of theſe tribes have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the Koran, we think it not improper to give our readers a ſuccinct and conciſe account of them [1].

Ad.

THE tribe of Ad deduced their origin from Ad, the ſon of Aws, or Uz, the ſon of Aram, the ſon of Shem, the ſon of Noah, who after the confuſion of tongues ſettled in Al Ahkâf, or "the winding ſands" in the province of Hadramaut, upon the confines of Omân and Yaman, where his poſterity greatly multiplied. The firſt prince that reigned over them was Sheddâd the ſon of Ad, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eaſtern writers. Some of theſe however tell us, that Ad had two ſons Sheddâd and Sheddîd, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre after his deceaſe, and extended their dominions from the ſands of Alâj to the trees of Oman. Sheddîd dying firſt, his brother became ſole monarch, and having built a ſumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deſerts of Aden, in imitation of the celeſtial paradiſe, which he called Irem, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finiſhed, he ſet out with a great retinue in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within a day's journey of it, they were all deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe from heaven. However, according to them, the city ſtill remains, though inviſible, being preſerved by Providence as a monument of divine juſtice, Sheddâd propoſing by this impious imitation to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a god. Al Beidawi adds, that one Abdallah Ebn Kelabah, or, as D' Herbelot calls him, Colabah, in the reign of the khalîf Moâwiyah, accidentally had Irem diſcovered to him, as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt; but ſeeing no creature there, he was ſo terrified, that he ſtayed no longer than to take

[1] Greg. Abulfarag. p. 159. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 5. Jallalo 'ddin. in lib. Meſhar. Vide & Pocockium ubi ſup. p. 38, 39.

with him from thence some fine stones, which he shewed the khalîf [m].

After the death of Sheddâd, the kingdom of Ad was governed by a long series of princes, of whom the Oriental historians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The Adites in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd, supposed to be the same with Heber, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days without intermission, and entering at their nostrils, past through their bodies, and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had listened to Hûd, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible destruction they had been previously chastised with a three years drought; and therefore sent Kail Ebn Ithar, and Morthed Ebn Saad, with seventy other principal men, to Mecca, then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whose prince was Moâwiyah Ebn Becr, to obtain of God some rain. Kail, continue these authors, having begged of God, that He would send rain to the people of Ad, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to chuse which he would. Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be loaden with the most rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that Lokmân king of the Adites, after his subjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of Hûd, and brought to the very brink of destruction, went with sixty others to Mecca to beg rain; which they not obtaining, Lokmân with some of the company stayed there, and by this means escaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this Lokmân, that his life was extended by God to the length of those of seven eagles, each of the six last of which was hatched the instant its predecessor expired. The few Adites with Lokmân that survived their countrymen, gave rise to a tribe called "the "latter

[m] Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. 89. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 51, 498. Al-Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, ubi sup. Pocock. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 35, 36.

" latter Ad, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. Hûd returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Haſec, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called Kabr Hûd, or " the ſepulchre of Hûd." When the Arabs would ſignify the high antiquity of any thing, they ſay " as old as " king Ad, in like manner as the Greeks, when they would expreſs any thing extremely antient, made it coæval with Chronus, or Saturn, and Ogyges [n].

Thamûd.

THE tribe of Thamûd were the poſterity of Thamûd the ſon of Gather or Gether, the ſon of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sâleh was ſent to bring them back to the worſhip of the true GOD. M. Bochart takes this prophet to be Phaleg, and M. D' Herbelot Salah the ſon of Arphaxad, and father of Heber or Hûd. The learned Mr. Sale determines in favour of M. Bochart, becauſe, ſays he, the prophet Sâleh lived between the time of Hûd and of Abraham. On the contrary, we own ourſelves of M. D' Herbelot's opinion, becauſe the identity of names is a ſtronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any ſmall inaccuracy in chronology of the Arab hiſtorians can be againſt it. Beſides, it does not appear from any Oriental author, that the prophet Sâleh did actually live between the times of Hûd and Abraham, as Mr. Sale ſuggeſts; nay, Mr. Sale himſelf diſproves this, when he cites with approbation an eaſtern author making him later than Abraham. Some few of the Thamudites received Sâleh as a true prophet, but the reſt, as a proof of his miſſion, required that he ſhould cauſe a ſhe-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their preſence; which having obtained of GOD, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But inſtead of believing, the Thamudites cut the ham-ſtrings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety GOD being highly diſpleaſed, three days after ſtruck them dead in their houſes by an earthquake, and a terrible noiſe from heaven, which, ſome ſay, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, " Die all of you." Jonda Ebn Amru, prince of the Thamudites, propoſed this miracle to Sâleh, promiſing, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly Jonda acknowledged the prophet's miſſion, but the

[n] Pocock. ibid. Al-Beidawi, D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. art. Houd. Iſm. Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yuſep. & Al-Jannabius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 36.

the greateſt part of his ſubjects periſhed in their infidelity, as above obſerved. Sâleh, with thoſe reformed by him, was ſaved from this deſtruction. The prophet afterwards went to Paleſtine, and from thence to Mecca, where he ended his days. This tribe firſt dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar the ſon of Saba, they ſettled in the territory of Hejr, in the province of Hejaz, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Koran, are ſtill to be ſeen, and alſo the crack of the rock whence the camel iſſued, which, as an eye-witneſs hath declared, is ſixty cubits wide. Theſe houſes of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are uſed as an argument to convince thoſe of a miſtake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic ſtature. They will likewiſe confute thoſe commentators on the Koran, who affirm that the largeſt of the old Adites were an hundred cubits high, and the leaſt of them ſixty. By comparing the eaſtern writers with thoſe of the antient Greeks and Romans, we ſhall find, that the tribe of Thamûd correſponded exactly with the Thamudeni or Thamydeni of Diodorus, Pliny, and Ptolemy[o].

Taſm and Jadîs.

THE tribe of Taſm were the deſcendents of Lûd the ſon of Shem, and that of Jadîs a branch of the poſterity of Gether, as we learn from Abulfeda. Both theſe tribes lived promiſcuouſly together under the government of Taſm, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of Jadîs ſhould not marry, unleſs firſt deflowered by him; which the Jadiſians not enduring, formed a conſpiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of Taſm to an entertainment, privately hid their ſwords in the ſand, and in the midſt of their mirth fell on them, ſlew them all, and extirpated the greateſt part of that tribe. However, the few who eſcaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, Dhu Habſhân Ebn Akrân, aſſaulted Jadîs, and utterly deſtroyed them, there being ſcarce any mention made from that time of either of thoſe tribes. As all the traditions relating to Taſm are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to ſupport it, the Arabs call it a ſtory of Taſm.

[o] Gen. c. x. ver. 23. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. 366, 740. Abulfeda, Al-Zamakhſhari. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. vii. & c. xv. Bochart. geogr. ſac. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 7. & note upon the Koran, c. vii. p. 124. Ebn. Shonah. Abu Muſa al Aſhari. Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 37, 57. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Alb. Schult. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ſub voc. Errakim.

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs descended from Kahtan or Joktan.

KAH= =TAN — Reigned in HEJAZ

Reigned in YAMAN

Jorham — Abd Yalil — Jor= =sham — Abdol Madan — Nogai= =iah — Abdol Masih — Modad — Amru — Modad — A Daughter Married to Ismael

Yaarab — Yashhab — Abd Shems surnamed Saba

Cahlan — Amru — Ashar — Amelah

Tay — Of this tribe of Tay was Hatem a person Extremely Celebrated in the Arab history for his boundless liberality.

The Tayites were driven out of Yaman by an inundation, and forced to settle in Najd, near the Mounts Aja & Salma. Hence came Amru Ebn Moshik a famous Archer.

Al Azd — Jadilah — Nabhan — Bawlan — Salaman — Hana — Jodis — Thoal

Madhaj — Hamaan — Kindah — Morad — Anmar

This Tribe was very much hampered with their Neighbours the Modarites after the Yamanites.

Lakhm — Jodham

Hamyar — Ghassan — Al Aws — Al Khazraj — Khozaah — Barek — Dans — Atic — Ghafek — Jolanda — Bohtar

Ghassan came the kings of Ghassan, who for many ages reigned in Syria.

From hence proceed the kings of Oman.

This tribe was obliged by a dreadful inundation, to leave their first Seat, and retire to a district near Mecca where they ruled and kept the keys of the Caaba. — The people of this tribe were also called Al Ansary, from their assisting Mohammed in his Flight.

This tribe possessed a territory on the confines of Irak.

Chawlan — Janb — Awd — Saad — Al Nachaa — Ans

Who was attended in his life time by 300 horse all his descendants from whence he received the appellation of Saad al Ashirah, i. e. Saad the happy.

Josi — Zobeid

Seeasic — Sacun

Among the descendants of Kendah are found Al Kendi a famous philosopher, and Al Motanabbi a celebrated poet.

Bajilah — Khathaam

From Lakhm came the family of the Kings of Hira surnamed Mondar.

Al Dar — Josham — Joram

From Josham deduced his origin Anb Ebn Adnan famous all over the east for the Arabic Proverbs according to Al Jauharius and Al Firauzabadius.

Kodaah — Shaaban — Al Mostalak

Kelb — Bahra — Johainah — Bali — Tonukh — Salih — Odhrah — Nahd

This tribe was rendered famous by the poet Abul'ola Al Moarri one of its sons, whose life was written by Ebn Khalican.

This tribe inhabited the deserts of Syria, but was conquered and utterly Exterminated by the Kings of Ghassan.

A numerous tribe seated in the Northern part of Hejaz.

His posterity were seated in Duma or Daumat al Jandal and Tabuc, upon the frontiers of Syria Damascena.

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

Taſm. The notion many of the Orientals have of Taſm's grand-daughter Yamama, our readers will find in the former ſection, where we give a ſhort deſcription of the province of the ſame name[p].

Jorham. ALL that we find delivered by the Arabs of the former tribe of Jorham is, that their anceſtor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty perſons, who, according to a Mahommedan tradition, were ſaved with Noah in the ark[q]. This tribe was cotemporary with that of Ad, and utterly periſhed, in a manner to us unknown.

Amalek. SOME of the Oriental authors inform us, that Amalek, the progenitor of the tribe of the ſame name, was the ſon of Eliphaz the ſon of Eſau, though others make him the ſon of Ham the ſon of Noah. This tribe under their king Walîd, the firſt who aſſumed the name of Pharaoh, before the time of Joſeph, conquered Eygpt, according to the eaſtern writers, who ſeem to confound the Amalekites with the Phœnician ſhepherds of Manetho. After they had poſſeſſed the throne of Egypt for a conſiderable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at laſt totally deſtroyed by the Iſraelites[r].

Amtem, Haſhem, Abil, and Bar. As for the tribes of Amtem, Haſhem, Abil, and Bar, all that the Orientals know of them is, that by ſome means or other they became extinct, moſt of them being cut off, and the reſt incorporating with the other tribes[s].

The preſent Arabs deſcended from Kahtan and Adnan. ACCORDING to their own hiſtorians, the preſent Arabs are ſprung from two ſtocks, Kahtân, the ſame with Joktan the ſon of Eber, and Adnân deſcended in a direct line from Iſhmael the ſon of Abraham and Hagar (O). The poſterity of

[p] Poc. ubi ſup. p. 37, 38, 60. Abulfed. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 95. Univ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 210. [q] Abulfed. Poc. ubi ſup. Ebn Shonah. [r] Gen. c. xxxvi. ver. 12. D'Herbel. p. 110. Ebn Shonah. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. Mirat Caïnat. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 Sam. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver. 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43. [s] Jallalo'ddin. apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 39. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid.

(O) As the genealogy of theſe tribes is of great uſe to illuſtrate the Arabian hiſtory, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inſerted the two genealogical tables of the deſcendents of Kahtan and Iſhmael, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. Sale from the moſt approved Oriental authors. In order to render that of the deſcendents of

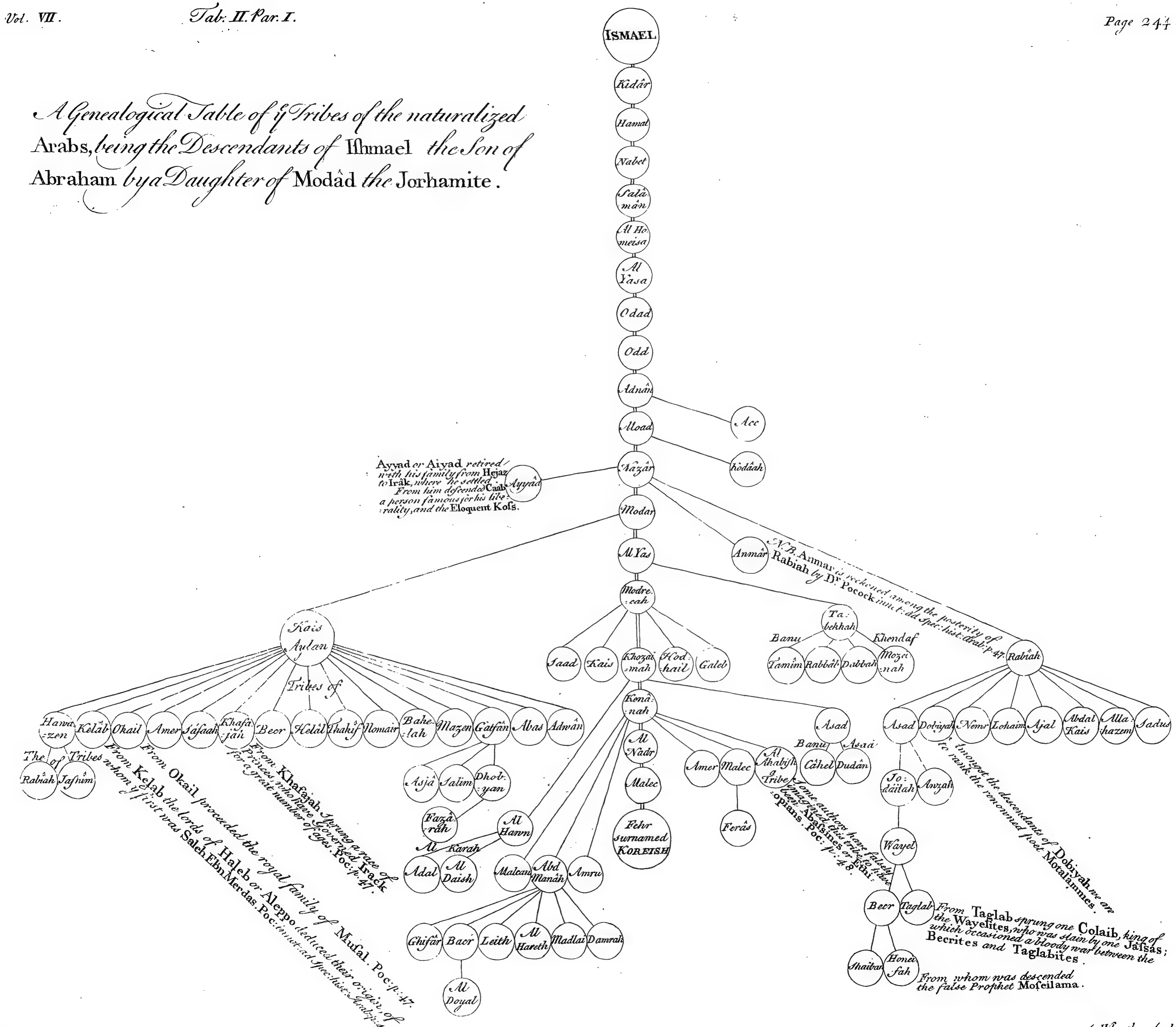
Iſhmael

of the former they call al Arab al Ariba, i. e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and thoſe of the latter al Arab al Moſtáreba, i. e. naturalized or inſititious Arabs, though ſome reckon the antient loſt tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the deſcendents of Kahtan alſo Mótareba, which word likewiſe ſignifies inſititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Moſtáreba; thoſe acknowledging Adnân for their great anceſtor, being the more diſtant graff. As Iſhmael was by origin and language a Hebrew, it is no wonder thoſe ſuppoſed to be deſcended from him ſhould have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs; however, ſince he contracted an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modâd, accuſtomed himſelf to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be conſidered as Moſtáreba. The uncertainty of the deſcents between Iſhmael and Adnân is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eaſtern writers ſcarce take any notice at all of Abraham's progeny by Keturah, though they undoubtedly made up a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of Arabia. Their names were, Zimran, Jokſhan, Medan, Midian or Madian, Iſbak, and Shuah. Notwithſtanding the Arabs affirm Iſhmael's wife to have been a genuine Arabian, the Scripture ſays ſhe was an Egyptian; which greatly ſhakes the authority of their hiſtorians,

Iſhmael the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between Iſhmael and Adnân, which is the moſt approved ſeries of deſcents between them; though this, as here obſerved, cannot be abſolutely depended upon; for Al Beihaki reckons one generation leſs, differing alſo in the names, in the following manner: Iſhmael, Nabet, Yaſhab, Yárab, Yârah, Yâhur, al Mokawwam, Odad, Odd, Adnân, and Mohammed himſelf, according to a tradition of his wife Omm Salma, counted but three perſons between Iſhmael and Adnân, viz. Berâ, Zeid, and Odad. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed ſome few additional obſervations, that may tend either to illuſtrate or correct them, as our readers will find, by comparing them with the originals in Mr. Sale's excellent preliminary diſcourſe. We muſt not forget to remark, that in the firſt ſeries of deſcents between Iſhmael and Adnân Mr. Sale has omitted Odd, which makes him run counter to the beſt Oriental writers, and therefore in that particular we have diſſented from him.

A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes o
Arabs [illegible]

A Genealogical Table of ij Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd the Jorhamite.



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rians, except it ſhould be admitted, that he had a ſecond wife, or ſeveral at once. His ſons were Nebaioth, Kedar, Adeel, Mibſam, Miſhma, Dumah, Maſſa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphiſh, and Kedemah ; beſides which he had a daughter called Mahalath and Baſhemath, whom Edom took to wife. Some writers make Kahtân a deſcendent of Iſhmael ; but among the Orientals this is not the moſt received opinion. However, it agrees the beſt with the Chaldee and Arabic paraphraſts, who believed the name of Iſhmaelites to be as general and extenſive as that of Arabs[t].

Govrenment of the Scenite Arabs.

We have already obſerved, that the cuſtoms, manners, and genius, of the Arabs, except in matters of religion, are in effect the ſame at this day that they were betwixt three and four thouſand years ago ; and therefore we may preſume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be conſidered as agreeing in almoſt all particulars. The Arabes Scenitæ, therefore, as their ſucceſſors the preſent Bedoweens, were governed by Shekhs and Emirs. The Shekhs ſuperintended only particular Dou-wars, that is, collections of tents called Hhymas, anſwering to villages or towns, already deſcribed. Every one of theſe Dow-wars, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greateſt name, ſubſtance, and reputation, amongſt the Arabs that compoſed it. The Emirs or Emeers, the Phylarchs of the Greeks, ruled over a whole tribe, and conſequently their authority extended to many of the abovementioned Dow-wars. It is probable, that they were ſometimes dignified with the title of (P) Shekh al Kibeer, as ſome of their ſucceſſors are at this day. And laſtly, from what has been obſerved of the Phylarchs of the Nomades, agreeing

[t] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxv. ver. 1, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al-Jauhar. Al-Firauzabadius, Abulfed. Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, &c. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi ſup. 49--52.

(P) Shekh or Sheikh شيخ according to Golius, is equivalent to the Latin ſenex, ſenior, doctor; or auctoritate, principatu, pietate & arte conſpicuus. Emir or Emeer امير according to the ſame author, is to be deduced from the verb امر mandavit, juſſit, præcepit, &c. (15).

(15) Gol in vocib.

ing in moſt points with the Arabes Scenitæ, we may conclude, that the Emirs were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the ſovereign of theſe Arabs, or at leaſt diſtinguiſhed from the other Emirs by the title of the Grand Emir, conſonant to the form of government ſtill prevailing amongſt the modern Bedoweens. However, we take this prince not to have been entirely deſpotic, but conſidered by his ſubjects only as their ſupreme magiſtrate, who maintained them in the poſſeſſion of their private laws, privileges, and cuſtoms[t].

Of thoſe that dwelt in cities and towns.

THE Arabs that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the ſame manner as the Bedoweens. That many cities of Arabia Felix, particularly thoſe of the Adramitæ or Chatramotitæ, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from Eratoſthenes in Strabo. That author likewiſe informs us, that the order of ſucceſſion in theſe cities was not hereditary, but that the firſt child born in any of the noble families after the king's acceſſion was deemed the preſumptive heir to the crown. As ſoon, therefore, as any prince aſcended the throne, a liſt was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a ſon, who always received an education ſuitable to his high birth. However, Artemidorus in the ſame author intimates, that the Sabæan nation had only one ſovereign; which manifeſtly implies, that all the little princes or Emirs above-mentioned had a ſupreme head preſiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here as deſcribed by Artemidorus and Eratoſthenes, ſeems confirmed by Scripture, when the Pſalmiſt mentions the KINGS OF ARABIA *and* SABA. The Arabians were for ſome centuries under the government of the deſcendents of Kâhtan; Yárab, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hejâz. The kings of Hamyar, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of Yaman, or at leaſt the beſt part of it, had the general title of Tobba, which ſignifies ſucceſſor, and was affected by theſe princes as that of Cæſar was by the Roman emperors, and Khalîf by the ſucceſſors of Mohammed. There were ſeveral leſſer princes, who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were

[t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvii. book 4. chap. 1. ſect. 2. not. (B). Shaw ubi ſup. p. 286, 287, 288, 300, 310. Univ. hiſt. vol. xvii. ibid. & Vol. 18. p. 25. Appian. in Libyc. 67. Les mœurs & les coûtumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116, à Paris, 1717.

were moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king; but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. "May you avert all malediction," or "May GOD be propitious to you," was the form in which the antient Arabs uſed to addreſs themſelves to their king [u].

Laws of the Arabs.

THE principal civil inſtitutions among the Arabs, that ſeemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That eſtabliſhing the above-mentioned order of ſucceſſion. 2. That in force among the Sabæans, whereby the king was ſolemnly inveſted with his prerogative by an aſſembly of the people. 3. That enjoining the ſaid king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his ſubjects to ſtone him to death, in caſe he ſhould be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an abſolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, conſiſtent with the aforeſaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the Arabs obſerved may be conſidered as coinciding with their cuſtoms, there is no neceſſity of touching upon them here [w].

Religion.

THE religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the "ſtate of ignorance," was chiefly groſs idolatry; the Sabian religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, though there were alſo great numbers of Chriſtians, Jews, and Magians, amongſt them. The idolatry of the Arabs, as Sabians, chiefly conſiſted in worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged, as their mediators with GOD. For they acknowledged one ſupreme GOD, the creator and lord of the univerſe, whom they called Allah Taâla, "the moſt high "GOD;" and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply Al Ilahât, i. e. the goddeſſes. "Theſe words," ſays Mr. Sale," the Greeks not under-"ſtanding, and it being their conſtant cuſtom to reſolve "the religion of every other nation into their own, and "find

[u] Eratoſthenes & Artemidorus apud Strabon. l. xvi. LXX. in Pſal. lxxii. ver. x. Al-Motarezzi in lib. Mogreb. Al-Jauharius, Abulfeda, Ebn al Athir, & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 65, 66, ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. [w] Agatharchides Cnidius de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 50. apud Photium, p. 1374. Eratoſthenes apud Strabon. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid.

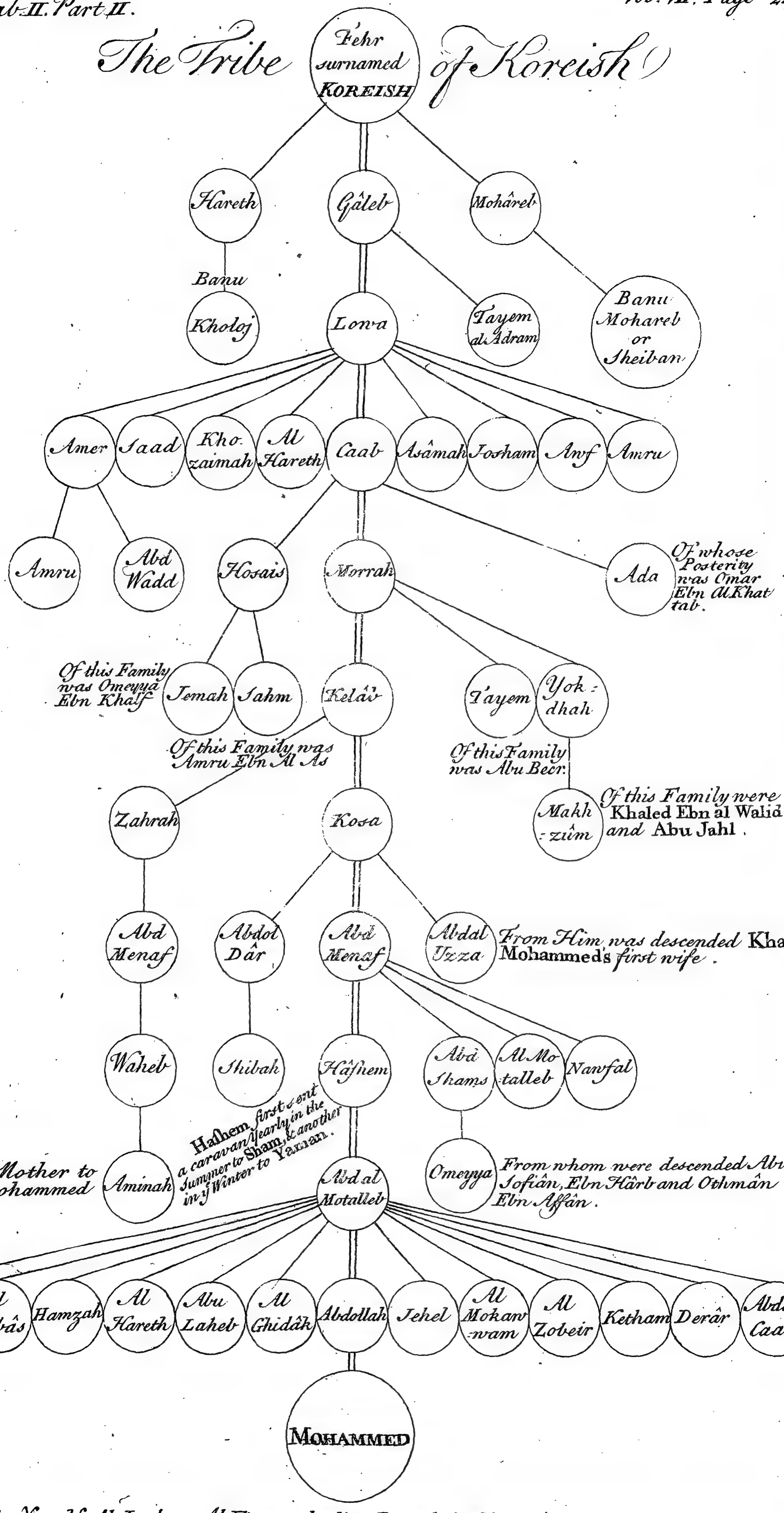
" find out gods of their's to match the others, they pre-
" tended the Arabs worſhipped only two deities, Orotalt
" and Alilat, as thoſe names are corruptly written, whom they
" will have to be the ſame with Bacchus and Urania; pitch-
" ing on the former as one of the greateſt of their own gods,
" and educated in Arabia; and on the other, becauſe of
" the veneration ſhewn by the Arabs to the ſtars." But the impertinence of this obſervation will be touched upon immediately [x].

Moſt of the Arabs Sabians.

THAT the Arabs ſhould eaſily be led into the worſhip of the ſtars, is not at all ſurpriſing, ſince by obſerving the changes of the weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them for a conſiderable period, they might eaſily be induced to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country. Hence poſſibly it came to paſs, that they had ſeven celebrated temples dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of theſe, in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of Al Zoharah, or the planet Venus, and was demoliſhed by the khalîf Othman. By the murder of this khalîf was fulfilled, as the Mohammedans pretend, the prophetical inſcription, ſet, as is reported, over this temple, viz. Ghomdân, " He
" who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain." The temple of Mecca is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to Zohal, or Saturn. That planetary worſhip was the firſt ſpecies of idolatry, we have already obſerved; and therefore it is no wonder the Arabs, at preſent the moſt antient nation in the world, ſhould have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we ſhall here beg leave to add the teſtimony of Pauſanias, who intimates, that the worſhip of the planets was earlier than the firſt arrival of the Pelaſgi in Greece; and that before this time they had ſtatues erected in their honour. This obſervation will

[x] Poc. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 138. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonid. in moreh nevochim, par. iii. c. 29. Hottingeri hiſt. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. Hyde hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Prideaux in connect. p. 1. b. 3. Herodot. l. iii. c. 8. Arrian. p. 161, 162. Strab. l. xvi. Greg. Abulpharag. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 281, &c. Al-Shaherſtanius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 108. ut & ipſe Pocockius ibid. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 15, 16.

The Tribe of Koreish



Ahmed Ebn Yuself, Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabadius, Ismael Abulfeda, Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahia, &c.
Vide etiam Cl. Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. — 52. & Sale Ubi Sup. p. 8, 9.

J. Wheatley sculp.

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Tab. II.

Koreish



will not only illuſtrate, but likewiſe bring a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength to what has been advanced in a former note [y].

Worſhip the fixed ſtars, as well as the planets.

BUT beſides thoſe ſtars which were the general objects of worſhip throughout Arabia, there were ſome more peculiarly reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the Hamyarites chiefly worſhipped the Sun; Miſam, al Debarân, or "the bull's eye;" Lakhm and Jodâm, al Moſhtari, or Jupiter; Tay, Sohail, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius, or "the dog-ſtar;" and Aſad, Otâred, or Mercury. Abu Cabſha, a worſhipper of Sirius, whom ſome will have to be the ſame with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather on the mother's ſide, though others make him of the tribe of Khozâah, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Koreiſh to leave their images, and worſhip this ſtar. For which reaſon, when Mohammed endeavoured alſo to draw them off from image-worſhip, they nicknamed him the ſon of Abu Cabſha. However, the Arabs, together with the Indians in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed ſtars, than to the planets; which diſtinguiſhed the Sabians amongſt them from thoſe amongſt the Greeks, who directed their worſhip to the planets. The Arabs did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed ſtars, but likewiſe their winds, ſtorms, tempeſts, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmoſphere. They differed, however, amongſt themſelves in this, that ſome aſcribed the influence producing all the meteorological phænomena to the riſing, and others to the ſetting, of the conſtellations known amongſt them by the name of Al-Anwa [z].

As likewiſe angels, or intelligences.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worſhipped, we find only three mentioned in the Korân, viz. Allat, Al-Uzza, and Manah; theſe they called "goddeſſes," and "the daughters of GOD;" an appellation they gave not only to angels, but alſo to their images, which they believed either to be inſpired with life by GOD, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, becauſe they believed them

[y] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 163. Al-Jannabi. Shahreſtani. Pauſan. Laconic. p. 202. Univ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 614. not. (R).
[z] Abulpharag. ubi ſupra. p. 160. Al Shahreſtani. Abulfed. Al Jauharius, Ebn'ol Athir, & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 163, 164. ut & ipſe Pocock. p. 130, 132.

them to intercede for their votaries with God. The Arab Sabians likewise, in common with those of other nations, imagined, that the Sun, Moon, and fixed stars, were habitations of intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body does the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between God and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as God's mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshipped them by their tabernacles, i. e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this defect, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and that all addresses to them were rendered as effectual before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image-worship. All other material particulars relating to the Sabians, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or the forth volume of this history [a].

Allat,

[a] Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. liii. Poc. p. 138. Gol. Maimonid. Hotting. Hyde, Prideaux, ubi supra, Shahrestanius apud Hyde, c. v. p. 124. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 726. Housaïn Vaez comment Pers. in Al-Koran, c. 2. Lib. Phar. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi supra. Kalkashend. apud Hyde, ubi supra, p. 125. Ebn al Athir apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(Q) The Sabian, Jewish, and Christian religions, are the only religions tolerated by the Korân. We are told, that the eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best of them. The Sabians produce many strong arguments for the unity of God, and address themselves to Him in the following terms: "I dedicate my self to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast "no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art "absolute master, and of whatever is his." From whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be sui juris, though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God,

ALLAT, whom ſome of the Arabs called Allah, was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf, who dwelt at Tayef, and had a Allat.

 temple

GOD, "who was alſo formerly often put off with the leaſt por-"tion," as Mohammed upbraids them. The reaſon aſſigned by them for this was, that "the idol wanted what was GOD's, but "GOD HIMSELF wanted nothing." A ſort of baptiſt they admit, and profeſs a great veneration for St. John Baptiſt, ſtyling themſelves, in their language, which is compoſed of the Chaldee and Syriac, Mendai Jahia, i. e. "Diſciples of St. John;" and by this name they go amongſt the chriſtians of the Levant. Beſides the book of Pſalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have another ſuppoſed to have been wrote by Adam, which they regard as their bibles, whoſe language almoſt entirely agrees with the Chaldee, but the characters differ from thoſe of all other nations. Ebn Shonah makes them the deſcendents of the moſt antient people in the world, and intimates, that beſides the books juſt mentioned, they have others eſteemed equally ſacred, particularly one full of moral diſcourſes, denominated by them the book of Seth and Enoch, or, as they name him, Edris. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, ſeven times a day; the firſt half an hour, or leſs, before ſun-riſe, ordering it ſo that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations: the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins to decline, in ſaying of which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former: and the ſame they do the third time, concluding juſt as the ſun ſets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They faſt three times a year, the firſt time thirty days, the next nine, and the laſt ſeven. They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlick, and ſome other pulſe and vegetables. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the ſouth, a third Mecca, and a fourth the ſtar to which they pay their devotions. They have a great reſpect for the temple of Mecca, as alſo the pyramids, in the third of which they believe Sabi, the author of their religion, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to Harran, either out of regard to the memory of Abraham, or of Sabi Ebn Mari, who lived in Abraham's time, and is looked upon by ſome as the firſt propagator of their religion. Ebn Hazem aſſerts Sabianiſm to have been the univerſal religion till the age of Abraham, from whence all the ſucceeding ſects were derived. According to Al-Shareſtani, the Sabians ſay, that the difference betwixt them and the Mohammedans conſiſts in this, that among creatures they give the preference to ſpirits, angels, or

intelligences

temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. We shall

intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the Mohammedans chuse to pay the greatest honour to body and matter, i. e. "men;" as prophets, patriarchs, &c. Housiain Vaez, in his Persic commentary on the Koran, says, that they were a sort of Sadducees, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that at the pyramids they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. Ebn Khalecan, in his life of Ibrahim al Sabi, affirms, that the Sabians are as antient as the Magians, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from Abraham, whom they confounded with Zerdusht. The same author relates, that the word Sabi in the Arabic tongues denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the Koreish, by way of reproach, called Mohammed Sabi, or Sabian. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that Constantine the great himself professed Sabianism before he became a convert to Christianity. Shahrestani divides the Sabians into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that God created the world, but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents informing them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters Aries, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from Noah himself. The Sabians of mount Lebanon seem to pay a greater regard to Seth, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from צבא Saba, or Tsaba, the host of heaven, which they worship. Before the

growth

ſhall ſee more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern hiſtory of Arabia, eſpecially that of it which relates to the tranſactions wherein Mohammed was more immediately concerned [b].

AL-UZZA, or Al-Ozza, was the idol of the tribes of Koreiſh and Kenanah, and part of the tribe of Salim, as ſome affirm; but a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worſhipped by the tribe of Ghatſan, firſt conſecrated by one Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it named Boſs, ſo contrived, as to give a ſound when any one entered, according to others. When Khâled Ebn Walîd, by Mohammed's order, had demoliſhed the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and ſlain the prieſteſs of Al Uzza, Mohammed, alluding to the death of the prieſteſs, ſaid, ſhe was Al Uzza, who therefore will never hereafter be worſhipped. The name Uzza is derived from the root azza, and ſignifies "the "moſt mighty [c]." Al-Uzza.

MANAH was the object of worſhip of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah, poſſibly the Caſſanitæ of Ptolemy, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as ſome ſay, of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakîf alſo. Dr. Pocock renders it highly probable, that the Manah of the Arabs was the Meni of the prophet Iſaiah. This idol was a large ſtone, demoliſhed by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, ſo fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name ſeems derived from mana, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims ſacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of Mina, near Mecca, had alſo its name, where the pilgrims at this day ſlay their ſacrifices. Some take Meni, or Manah, to be the name of a conſtellation, which notion is favoured Manah.

 by

[b] Abulpharag. p. 160. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 90. [c] Al-Jauhar. Al-Shahreſtan. & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. ibid.

growth of Chriſtianity and Mohammedaniſm, the greateſt part of the world profeſſed the Sabian religion. The other particulars, relating to this ſect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (16).

(16) D'Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd. Hotting. aliique auctor. hic laudat.

by the moſt obvious ſignification of the word Manah in the Arabic tongue [d].

Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yäuk, and Naſr.

BESIDES theſe, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the Arabian writers, viz. Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yäûk, and Naſr. They are ſaid to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whoſe ſtatues the Arabs at firſt reverenced with a civil honour only, which in proceſs of time became heightened to a divine worſhip [e].

Wadd.

WADD was ſuppoſed to repreſent the heaven, and was worſhipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb, in Dawmat al Jandal. For a further account of him, we muſt refer our readers to the authors here cited [f].

Sawâ.

SAWA was adored under the ſhape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water for ſome time after the deluge, was at length, as the Arab writers aſſert, diſcovered by the devil, and worſhipped by thoſe of Hodhail, who inſtituted pilgrimages to it [g].

Yaghûth.

YAGUTH was an idol in the ſhape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj, and others, who dwelt in Yaman. Its name ſeems to be derived from ghatha, which ſignifies to help. [h].

Yäûk.

YAUK the tribe of Morâd eſteemed as their proper object of worſhip, or, according to others, that of Hamadan, under the figure of a horſe. The name Yäûk probably comes from their verb âka, to prevent, or avert [i] (R).

NASR

[d] Al-Jauhar. Al-Beidawi, Al-Shahreſt. Abulfed. Al-Zamakhſharius, & Al-Firauzabadius. Iſai. c. lxv. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. ſpec. p. 90, 91, 92. [e] Al-Koran. Mohammed. c. 71. Comment. Perſic. Vide etiam Hyd. de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 133. [f] Al-Jauhar. Al Shahreſtan. [g] Iidem apud Pocock. p. 93. Al-Firauzabadius & Safioddin. ibid. [h] Al-Shahreſtani. ibid. [i] Al-Firauzabadius. Al-Jauhar. Ebn Chalecan in vit. Al-Battanu. Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 101, 338, 389, 390.

(R) It is ſaid Yäûk was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to repreſent him to the life, perſuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples,

NASR ſeems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of Hamyar, whom we may conſider either as the Homeritæ or Hamiræi of Pliny, or adored at Dhû'l Khalaah in their territories in the image of an eagle, which the name ſignifies[k]. Naſr.

THE four deities Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeda and Salema, were peculiar to the tribe of Ad. The firſt ſupplied them with rain, the ſecond preſerved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their ſuſtenance, and the fourth reſtored them to health when afflicted with ſickneſs; according to the ſignification of their ſeveral names. To theſe may be added Al-Daizan, or Saturn, a moſt antient Arab idol, Hhehar, Al-Auf, &c, mentioned by Al-Jauharius, Al-Firauzabadius, and others[l]. Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeka, and Salema.

AS image-worſhip in ſome meaſure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of ſome ſignal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or elſe greatly famed for their conqueſts, as well as the cauſe above-mentioned, it is no wonder the Arabs, as well as other nations, ſhould fall into it. Sir Iſaac Newton takes hero worſhip, or the worſhip of deified men, to have been no older than the age of Seſac, the great Egyptian conqueror ſo often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and among the reſt a good part of the Arabians at leaſt, to pay divine honours to his father Ammenenes, or Ammon, under the name of Jupiter, or Jupiter Ammon. This therefore was the great hero-god of the Arabs; as well as of the Egyptians, Garamantes, Ethiopians, Indians, &c. and his ſun and ſucceſſor, Seſac, who enjoined this worſhip, the Bacchus, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, of the antients, little inferior to him. The Arabs, it is probable, ſet up oracles to Ammon, who reduced at leaſt a good part of their country, as well as the Libyans and Egyptians; and Seſac, on account of his having coaſted Arabia Felix, ſailed to the Perſian gulph, penetrated afterwards into India, where he e- Jupiter Ammon and Bacchus worſhipped by the Arabs.

rected temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and ſeven others of extraordinary merit, had the ſame honours ſhewn them, till at length their poſterity made idols of them in earneſt (17).

[k] Al-Jauhar. Shahreſtan. & Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 93. [l] Abulfed. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in art. Houd.

(17) Poc. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 94

rected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the Ganges, and another at Dire, a promontory of Ethiopia, was, according to very good authors, eſteemed as his father's colleague in Arabia, as well as the other regions ſubjugated by him. This, conſidering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much ſtronger proof in favour of the Arabs really worſhipping Jupiter and Bacchus, or Ammon and Seſac, than what Mr. Sale has offered, from the ſuppoſed vanity and ignorance of the Greeks, is to evince the Arab worſhip of thoſe deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that could he have produced a whole volume of Arab traditions, ſtuffed as they are with fables and abſurdities, in ſupport of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; eſpecially as he gives up the main point by allowing Bacchus to have been educated in Arabia. For this conceſſion, though the thing granted is falſe, muſt be deemed a ſufficient reaſon, on his part, for the Arabs to have paid divine honours to ſo celebrated a perſonage as Bacchus, as well as his father Jupiter, or Jupiter Uranius [m] (S).

Arabs call their children after the names of their idols.

WE muſt not omit obſerving here, that the antient Arabs, in order to ſhew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their ſervants and votaries; which they demonſtrated by the names given to their children, viz, Abd Wadd, Abd Yaghûth, Abd Manah, Abdol Uzza, &c. i. e. the ſervant of Wadd, the ſervant of Yaghûth, the ſervant of Manah, the ſervant of Uzzah, &c. [n]

Have a great variety of idols.

BESIDES the idols already mentioned, the Arabs worſhipped many others, the chief of whom was Hobal, brought from Belka in Syria to Arabia by Emra Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to Safioddin, Hobal was placed without the Caaba, under the figure of a man. His ſtatue was made of red agate, which having, by ſome accident, loſt a hand, the Koreiſh repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the Arabs uſed in divination. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the

image

[m] Newt. chronol. paſſ. Herodot. l. iii. Diod. Sic. l. i. Dionyſ. perieg. v. 623. Pocock. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 106, 107. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 15, 16. [n] Al-Koran Mohammed. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(S) The Arabs alſo worſhipped Mars, according to Suidas (18).

(18) Suid. in voc. Ἄρης.

image of Abraham, found and deſtroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca, and ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was Iſhmael, with divining arrows in his hand, Hobal, according to Al-Jannabius, was the chief of three hundred and ſixty idols, a freſh one of which the Arabs might, if they thought proper, worſhip every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the Caaba was a wooden pigeon, as likewiſe another above that ſtructure, to deſtroy which, Mohammed lifted Ali upon his ſhoulders. Aſâf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed, the one on mount Safâ, and the other on mount Merwa. They tell us, Aſâf was the ſon of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahâl, both of the tribe of Jorſham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into ſtone, and afterwards worſhipped by the Koreiſh, and ſo much reverenced by them, that tho' this ſuperſtition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of the divine juſtice. We are told, that theſe idols were firſt fixed on the mounts Safâ and Merwa by one Amru in the reign of Sapor or Sabur ſurnamed Dil Ectaf, king of Perſia; but this notion has been overthrown by Abulfeda. As for the idols Saad, an oblong ſtone on the ſhore near Giodda, Soair or Sair worſhipped by the tribe of Anza, Aud adored by the tribe of Becr Wayel, Naſb or Noſb, Al-Sharek, from thence the Arab name Abdol-Sharek was derived, Dar, whence Abdol-Dar, Madan, Yalil, Awal peculiar to the tribes of Becr and Taglab, Dul Caffain the deity of the tribe of Daus, Bajar or Bajer that of the tribe of Azd, Al-Okaiſar worſhipped in the eaſtern part of Syria, Bag or Bagh, from whence Abulfeda deduces the name of the city Baghdad, Al-Chalaſah, Duſhſhara, the Dyſares of the Greeks and Romans, &c. it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them. Beſides theſe, according to the Oriental authors, every houſekeeper had his houſhold god, which he laſt took leave of, and firſt ſaluted, at his going abroad, and returning home [o].

Several

[o] Abulfed. Al-Shahreſtan. Safioddin. & auct. lib. Moſtatraf. Vid. etiam Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 95, 97, 98. Ebn al Athir. Al-Jannabius. Al-Koran. Mohammed. c. ii. Mohammed. Al-Firauzabardius apud Pocock. p. 97. Al-Jauhar. Suid. in voc. Δυσαρης. Poc. p. 98---106.

Some of these idols stones.

SEVERAL of the Arab idols, besides Saad above-mentioned, and Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ishmael first introduced, according to Al-Jannabius. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship among the Arabs, on which they poured wine and oil, as Jacob did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw the vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the Phœnicians, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that when the territory of Mecca grew too streight for the Ishmaelites, so that great numbers found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed from Mecca took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said Ishmaelites forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of Hanîfa, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine [p].

Magian religion in Arabia.

THE Persians, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with, the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim, a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own institutions. The professors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by GOD, as their successors do at this day: but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good Dæmon or GOD, and an evil one. The first they supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or GOD they named Yezad or Yezdân, and Ormozd or Hormizda, which the Greeks wrote Oromazes; and the evil Dæmon they called Ahârîman or Ahrîman, and the Greeks Arimanius.

[p] Al Jauhar. Al-Beidawi, & Al-Zamakhsharius. Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 635. Al-Mostatraf. Al-Jauharius apud Pocock. p. 110.

us. Though one ſect of the Magi aſſerted, as the Manichæans and other heretics did, both thoſe principles to have exiſted from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or GOD only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from Zoroaſtres's deſcription of the ſupreme BEING. Amongſt other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter inſtigating them to all kinds of wickedneſs. They alſo believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the inſtruments of their puniſhment; and that theſe angels were continually meditating the ruin and deſtruction of mankind. As for Zoroaſtres, or Zerduſht, as the Perſians called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the Magian religion, but only aboliſhed ſome ſuperſtitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongſt the profeſſors of it, who, according to Dr. Hyde, conſtantly adhered to the worſhip of the true GOD, as they received it from their great anceſtors Shem and Elam. But, as ſo ample an account has already been given of the Magi, and their ſyſtem of religion, we ſhall expatiate no farther on this head; but conclude it with obſerving, that whether we conſider the Arabs as Sabians or followers of Zerduſht, it muſt be allowed, that they held the exiſtence of Dæmons, Genii, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extenſive as the belief of a GOD, and acknowledged by the antient heathen of almoſt all denominations [q].

The notions ſome of the Arabs had of a future ſtate.

HOWEVER, ſome of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were thoſe, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very ſcandalous. Some believed a metempſychoſis, and that of the blood, near the dead

[q] Al Moſtatraf. Lord's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5. Diog. Laert. in proœm. p. 6. Plut. de Iſid. & in Dio. Lib. Sad-der apud. Hyd. hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Damaſcus, Plutarch. & Shahreſtani. apud Hyd. ubi ſup. c. 22. Prideaux in connect. p. i. v. 3. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 131, 180. & ſeq. & vol. v. p. 34, & ſeq. & alib. Vid. etiam Pocockium in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 146---150.

dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named Hâmah, which once in an hundred years viſited the ſepulchre; though others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries Oſcûni, Oſcûni, i. e. Give me to drink, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the antient Arabs ſeem to have been addicted to augury, ſince they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended ſomething bad. The camel above-mentioned furniſhed the Arabs with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miſerable end. Thoſe, who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that they might be hereby induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from ſome paſſages of the Korân, and the commentators on thoſe paſſages, that the antient Arabs under the word Jin or Genii, comprehended both angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate ſpecies of rational inviſible beings going amongſt the preſent Orientals by the ſame name. From the ſame paſſages and commentators we may likewiſe infer, that moſt of the Arabians before Mohammed's time, in conformity to the Sabian ſcheme, paid religious honours to theſe Genii. The Mohammedans call the evil principle of the Magi, the Satan of the Scripture, and Sammaël of the Jews, Eblis, which ſeems to be a corruption of the Διάβολος or Diabolus of the New Teſtament [r].

The Jewiſh religion embraced by ſome of the Arab tribes.

- Abu Carb Asad king of Yaman, about ſeven hundred years before Mohammed, is ſaid to have introduced Judaiſm among the idolatrous Hamyarites. The Jews likewiſe, who fled in great numbers into Arabia after the deſtruction of their country by the Romans, made proſelytes of ſeveral tribes, thoſe of Kenânah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes. At laſt one Yuſef, ſurnamed Dhu Nowâs, king of Yaman, having raiſed a terrible perſecution againſt all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the Arabs gave him the opprobrious title of the lord of the pit, Caleb or Eleſbaan king of Ethiopia, to revenge the maſſacre of the chriſtians at Najrân, put an end to

[r] Al-Shareſtani. Al-Jauhari. Ebn al Athir. Al-Damirius. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 134---136. Al-Koran. Mohammed. c. 6, 7, 72, & alib.

to Judaiſm, and the kingdom of the Hamyarites, in Yaman, at the ſame time. This happened in the reign of the emperor Juſtin, as has been already related in the hiſtory of the Ethiopians, and will be more fully ſet forth in the following ſection [s].

And likewiſe chriſtianity.

WHETHER St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly ſo called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the chriſtian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a diſpute. The Arabians we find ranked amongſt thoſe nations, ſome of whoſe members firſt had the happineſs of being made converts to chriſtianity, ſeveral of them being preſent when the HOLY GHOST firſt deſcended upon the apoſtles. When the eaſtern church, ſoon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly haraſſed by diſorders and perſecutions, vaſt numbers of chriſtians ſought for ſhelter in Arabia; who being for the moſt part of the Jacobite communion, that ſect generally prevailed among the Arabs. The principal tribes that embraced chriſtianity were Hamyar, Ghaſſân, Rabiâ, Taghlab, Bahrâ, Tonûch, part of thoſe of Tay and Kodâa, the inhabitants of Najrân, and the Arabs of Hira. The people of Najrân became converts to chriſtianity in the time of Dhu Nowâs above-mentioned, and thoſe of Hira received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of that prince. How Al-Nooman, ſurnamed Abu-Kabûs, king of Hira, who was ſlain a few months before Mohammed's birth, came to profeſs himſelf a chriſtian, and brought off with him from paganiſm the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to Abulfeda, his grandfather Mondar embraced chriſtianity, and built ſeveral churches for the chriſtians in Hira. Safioddin ſays, that Najrân was a biſhop's ſee, and remarkable for having a chriſtian church in early times. From Shahreſtani we learn, that Mondar king of the Arabs declared war againſt the emperor Juſtinian, becauſe he had treated ill thoſe who aſſerted only one nature in Chriſt, ſince the Arab chriſtians at that time were of the Jacobite perſuaſion. This is a ſufficient proof, that chriſtianity had got footing in Arabia before the reign of that prince. The Jacobites give out, and M. Aſſeman thinks it probable, that the Syrian biſhop Jacobus Baradæus,

[s] Al-Koran Mohammed. c. 50, & 85. Baronii annal. ad ſec. 6. Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 363---385. Metaphraſtes apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936, & alib. Niceph. Calliſt. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam Abulfed. Shahreſtani. & Safioddin. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 137, 138.

Baradæus, who, according to Abulpharagius, visited all the regions adjacent to Syria, and ordained there bishops, presbyters, &c. of the Jacobite sect, first infected the Arabian christians with Monophysism. How our Saviour appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the Jews of Hamyar, who had challenged some neighbouring christians to a public disputation about Dhu Nowâs's time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the close of this history [t].

Bishopricks in Arabia.

It is natural to suppose, that as the christians were so numerous in Arabia before the age of Mohammed, they had several bishops there, when that impostor first began to form a new system of religion. Accordingly we find, that the Jacobites had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafriân, or "metropolitan of the east". One of these was styled absolutely "the bishop of the Arabs", whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some authors make the same with Cufâ, others a different town near Baghdâd. The other had the title of "the bishop of the Scenite Arabs", of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, and seated in that city. Gregentius, who held a famous dispute sub dio for three days with Herbanus the Jew, before the king of Hamyar, was bishop or archbishop of Dhafâr or Tephra, as it is called by the Greek authors, in the century preceding Mohammed; and that Najrân also was a bishop's see at the same time, has been already observed from Safioddin. We find likewise, a prelate of this country styled the bishop of the Tayites, though the extent and limits of his dioceses cannot so easily be defined. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both the dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch. Arabia was in the earliest ages famous for heresies, which might, as Mr. Sale observes, be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The specification of these heresies will more properly fall under our province in the modern history of the Arabs, when we shall enumerate the principal cause,

[t] Gal. c. i. ver. 17. Act. c. ii. ver. 11. Abulpharag. p. 93, 149. Asseman. dissert. de Monophysitis, & bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. Al Mostatraf. Abulfed. Shahrestan. & Safioddin. apud Pocockium. ubi sup. Al-Jannabius. ibid. p. 63. Ebn. Chalican in vit. Abnlol. poet. Gregent. disput. cum Heban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Parisiens. tom. i. Pagius ad an. 523. à num. 10. Vid. etiam Cl. Lambecium. l. v. p. 131. & Asseman. not. ad Simeon. Beth-Arsamens. episc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

cauſes, that concurred to favour the propagation of the Mohammedan religion [u].

Other ſects in Arabia different from thoſe already mentioned.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the antient Arabs, we muſt obſerve, that ſome of them attributed a power to the fixed ſtars ſuperior to what even the Sabians themſelves allowed; inſomuch that they would not take the leaſt ſtep without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them alſo not only worſhipped Dæmons or Genii, but likewiſe aſſerted them to be the daughters of GOD. The Koreiſh were infected with Zendiciſm, an error nearly related to that of the Sadducees among the Jews. We are told, that ſeveral of this tribe worſhipped one GOD, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of Mohammed [w].

Language.

As the Arabs are one of the moſt antient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at preſent poſſeſs almoſt from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being ſubjugated by any foreign power, their language muſt have been formed ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of Babel. The two principal dialects of it were that ſpoken by the Hamyarites and other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreiſh, in which Mohammed wrote the Korân. The firſt is ſtyled by the Oriental writers the Arabic of Hamyar, and the other the pure or defecated Arabic. As Yarab, grandfather to Hamyar, is ſuppoſed by the Oriental writers to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic, the Hamyaritic dialect, according to them, muſt have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, and conſequently have been more remote from the true genius of the Arabic, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the Koreiſh, termed by the Korân "the perſpicuous and clear "Arabic", is referred to Iſhmael as its author, who, ſay the above-mentioned writers, firſt ſpoke it, and, as Dr. Pocock believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of Jorham by marriage, formed it of their language and the original

[u] Safioddin. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. Abulpharag. in chron. Syriac. MS. Abulfeda in deſcript. Iracæ. Gregent diſp. cum Herban. ubi ſup. Socrat. l. iii. c. 27. Aſſeman. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in diſſert. de Monophyſit. & p. 459. Lambecius ubi ſup. Sale's prelim. diſc. ſect. 2. p. 34, 35.

[w] Shahreſtani. Al-Koran Mohammed. c. vi. Al Moſtatraf, apud Pocockium, p. 136. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 270. & Millius de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed. p. 31-1. Sale's prelim. diſc. ſect. 1. p. 24.

original Hebrew. As therefore the Hamyaritic dialect partook principally of the Syriac, so that of the Koreish was supposed to consist chiefly of the Hebrew. But, according to Jallalo'ddin, the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remotest antiquity, the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia. For by this situation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourse with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewise frequented by the Arabs of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabs are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expressive, and, as they say, so immensely copious, that no man uninspired can be a perfect master of it, in its utmost extent. How much in this last article it is superior to the Greek and Latin tongues, in some measure appears from hence, that sometimes a bare enumeration of the Arabic names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a considerable volume. Thus we are told, that Ebn Khalawih, one of the most learned of the Arab grammarians, wrote a whole treatise, which consisted entirely of an interpretation of five hundred words signifying a lion; and another whose only subject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a serpent. Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, author of the great Arabic lexicon called Kamus, or the Ocean, relates, that he composed a piece, containing a description of the nature and advantages of honey, together with an explication of eighty different terms by which it was styled; and yet that it had several other names. He likewise mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thousand words expressive only of a sword. Notwithstanding which, the Arabs believe the greatest part of their language to be lost; which will not seem improbable, when we consider how late the art of writing became generally practised amongst them. For though it was known to Job, their countryman, to the Edomites, as well as the other Arabian nations bordering upon Egypt and Phœnicia, and to the Hamyarites many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some antient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, unless such of them as were either Jews or Christians,

were

were to the time of Morâmer perfectly ignorant of it. It was the antient Arabic language preceding the reign of Juſtinian which ſo nearly reſembled the Ethiopic; for ſince that time, and eſpecially ſince the age of Mohammed, all the Arabic dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned language of the Mohammedans, who ſtudy it as the European Chriſtians do the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin [x].

A great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic.

A VERY great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic muſt, however, be allowed; ſo great an affinity, that in ſubſtance we may pronounce them the ſame. Many conſiderable advantages flow from a knowledge of the Arabic tongue, all which may be conſidered as ſo many inducements to the ſtudy of it: but amongſt theſe, the chief ſeems to be, an inveſtigation of the true meaning of many Hebrew words, whoſe radices cannot be diſcovered in the Hebrew original of the Old Teſtament, though they are ſtill preſerved in the Arabic. This we might prove by an induction of particulars, did not the diſcuſſion of ſuch a point more properly belong to the modern hiſtory of Arabia. For a complete hiſtory of the language we are now upon, as well as a full diſplay of the elegancy, beauties, and utility of it, we muſt refer our readers to a curious and learned piece publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. Hunt, profeſſor of Arabic in the univerſity of Oxford, a gentleman as well verſed in the whole circle of Oriental literature as any of the preſent age [y].

Letters.

WE have juſt obſerved, that the Hamyarites were not ſtrangers to the art of writing. The character uſed by them, the moſt antient of any peculiar to the Arabs, wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, went by the appellation of Al Moſnad, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed, without permiſſion firſt obtained. Could we depend upon what Al-Firauzabadius relates from Ebn Haſhem, this character muſt have been of a very high antiquity; ſince an inſcription in it, according to the laſt author, was found in Yaman, as old as the time of Joſeph. Be that as it will,

[x] Pocock, ubi ſupra, p. 150---154. Jallalo'ddin. in lib. Mezhar, c. i. p. 9, 22, 27. Al-Jauharius & Moham. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. Job. c. xix. ver. 23, 24. Job Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. n. 19. p. 60. Cl. Hunt, in orat. Oxon. habit. de ant. elegant. utilit. ling. Arab. p. 4---7, &c. edit. Oxon. 1739. [y] Hunt ubi ſupra, p. 48, & ſeq. Vide etiam auctor. ibid. laudat.

will, Marâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the present Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian, who married the sister of Abu Sofiân, is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca, but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. Morâmer's alphabet the Oriental authors agree to have been very different from the antient one of the Hamyarites, since they distinguish the Hamyaritic and Arabic pens. In Mohammed's time the Morameric alphabet had made so small a progress, that not a soul in Yaman could either write or read it; nay, Mohammed himself was incapable of doing either; for which reason he was called the illiterate prophet. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the same with, or very much like the Cuphic, which character is still found in inscriptions, and the titles of antient books; nay, for many years it was the only one used by the Arabs, the Korân itself being at first written therein. According to Khalican, the present Arabic character was first formed from the Cuphic by Ebn Moklah, Wazîr, or Visir, to Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Al Râdi, khâlifs of Baghdad, who lived about three hundred years after Mohammed; and brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowab, who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan; and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amîd al Kâteb, after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd' Alhamîd. But the best authors contradict the last of these notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that Yakût al Mostasemi, secretary to Al Mostasem, the last of the khâlifs of the family of Abbas, gave the finishing hand to it, for which reason he was surnamed Al Khattat, or the scribe. In order to perpetuate the memory of Morâmer's invention, some authors call the Arabic letters al Morâmer, i. e. "the progeny of Morâmer." The most remarkable specimens of the Cuphic character, so denominated from Cupha, or Cusa, a city of Irâk, where some of the first copies of the Korân were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from Egypt by Mr. Greaves; some other fragments of the same book in it published by Sir John Chardin; certain passages of a MS. in the Bodleian library; the legends on several Saracenic coins dug

up

up about twenty years ago on the coaſt of the Baltic, not far from Dantzic; and, according to Mr. profeſſor Hunt, thoſe noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be ſeen in Mr. Joſeph Ames's valuable collection of antique curioſities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern Arabic alphabets, we muſt own ourſelves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound orientaliſt Mr. Schultens, ſeems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they conſiſt, from the moſt antient Hebrew or Aſſyrian [z].

Antient and modern alphabets, as likewiſe thoſe of the African Saracens, and Perſians.

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we ſhall here inſert both the antient and modern Arabic alphabets, together with that of the African Saracens publiſhed by Kircher, which ſeems to be the old Hamyaritic character mentioned by Al-Firauzabadius, Al-Jannabius, Ebn Khalicân, and Georgius Ebn Amid, under the title of Al Moſnad. As the Perſians were neighbours to the Arabs, and of the ſame religion with part of them, before the time of Mohammed, we have thought proper here likewiſe to give them the old Perſic alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curioſity [a].

[z] Ebn Khalican. Ebn Haſhem. Al-Firauzabadius. Al-Jannabius Georg. Ebn Amid. Job c. xix. ver. 23, 24. Prideaux's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. Chardin's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. Gravius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 158. Hunt, ubi ſupra, p. 12. Vide & Monarch. Aſiatico-Saracen. ſtat. a M. Geor. Jacob. Kehr Sleuſinga-Franco Oriental. Lipſiæ, 1724. Alb. Schult. inſtitut. ad fundament. ling. Hebr. p. 20. ed. Lugd. Batav, 1737. [a] Loeſch. de cauſ. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706. Schult. ubi ſup Athan. Kirch. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. Romæ, 1636. Al-Firauzabad. Al-Jannab. Ebn Khalican, & Georg. Ebn Amid. Vide etiam Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to the Reverend Mr. Coſtard, fellow of Wadham college, Oxford, a gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his ſkill in the Oriental tongues.

The modern Arabic alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1	A or E.	Elif.	ا	ا	ا	ا
2	B.	Be.	ب	ب	ب	ب
3	T.	Te.	ت	ت	ت	ت
4	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ث	ث	ث	ث
5	G.	Gjim.	ج	ج	ج	ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	ح	ح	ح	ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خ	خ	خ	خ
8	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12	S.	Sin.	س	س	س	س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	ش	ش	ش	ش
14	S.	Sad.	ص	ص	ص	ص
15	D.	Dad.	ض	ض	ض	ض
16	T.	Ta.	ط	ط	ط	ط
17	D.	Da.	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
18	The Hebrew ע.	Ain.	ع	ع	ع	ع
19	G. Latin.	Gain.	غ	غ	غ	غ
20	F.	Fe.	ف	ف	ف	ف
21	K.	Kaf.	ق	ق	ق	ق
22	C.	Kef.	ك	ك	ك	ك
23	L.	Lam.	ل	ل	ل	ل
24	M.	Mim.	م	م	م	م
25	N.	Nun.	ن	ن	ن	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و	و	و	و
27	H.	He.	ه	ه	ه	ه
28	I.	Ie.	ى	ى	ى	ى

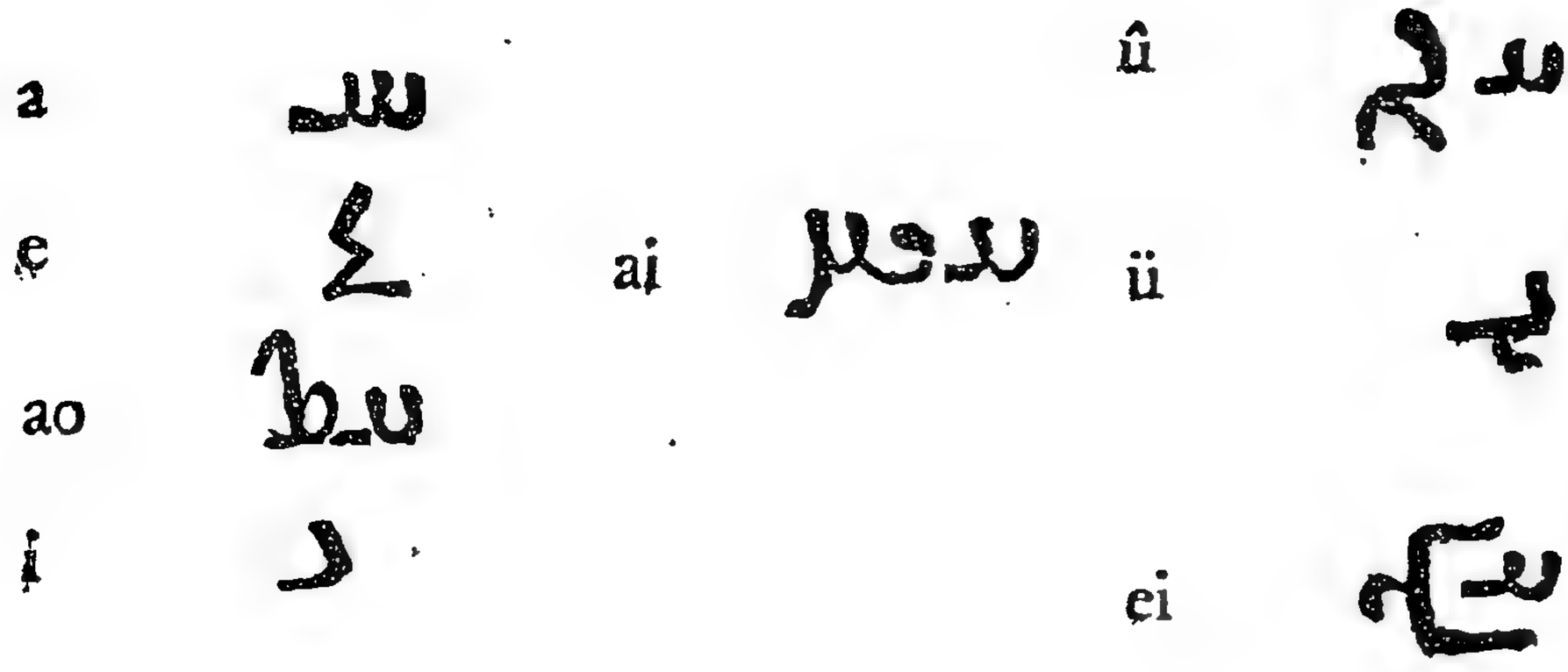
The

The old Arabic alphabet.			The old Perſic alphabet.	
ا	ا	Elif.	ا	
ب	ب	Be.	ب	
غ	غ	Gain.	ع	غ
د	د	Dal.	د	
ذ	ذ	Dſal.	ذ	
ه	ه	He.	ه	
و	و	Waw.	و	Like the Engliſh U. Like the Engliſh V, and at the end of a word ـو.
ج	ج	Gim.	ج	
ح	ح	Hha.	ح	خ
ط	ط	Ta.		
ي	ي	Ye.	ى	
ك	ك	Caf.	ك	

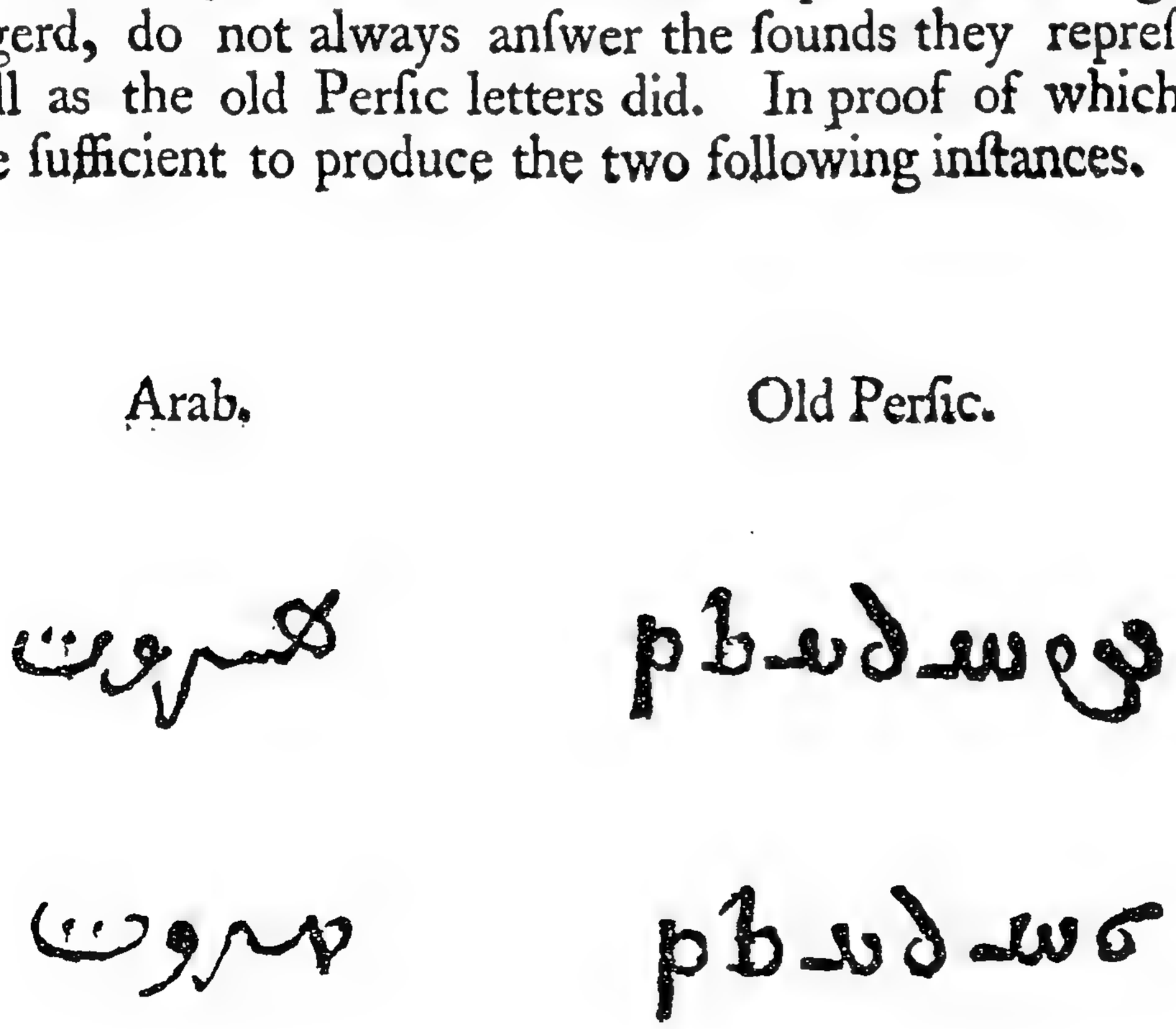
The old Arabic alphabet continued.			The old Perſic alphabet continued.	
ل	ل	Lam.	ل	
م	م	Mem.	م	
ن	ن	Nun.	ن ﻧ ﻨ ﻦ	
ص	ص	Sad.		
ع	ع	Ain.	ﻋ ﻌ	
ف	ف	Fe.	ﭪ ﭫ	Like the Engliſh F.
ز	ز	Ze.	ﮊ ﮋ	Like the Engliſh P.
ق	ق	Kaf.		
ر	ر	Re.	ر ﺮ	at the end of a word.
س	س	Sin.	ﺳ	
ش	ش	Shin.	ﺷ	
ت	ت	Te.	ﺗ	
			ﭻ	Tch.
			ﮍ	Td.

The

The old Perſic vowels and diphthongs.



It appears, from comparing the old Perſic and modern Arabic alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, viz. ث ح ص ض ط ظ ع غ ق. Now Ludovicus de Dieu, in his Perſic grammar, obſerves, that the true Perſic words have ſcarce ever any of theſe letters in them. It is obſerveable, likewiſe, that the Arabic characters, which the Perſians adopted in the reign of Jezdegerd, do not always anſwer the ſounds they repreſent, ſo well as the old Perſic letters did. In proof of which, it will be ſufficient to produce the two following inſtances.



The African Saracenic alphabet, probably the ſame as the antient Hamyaritic, given us by Kircher.

Dh D Sh S Sc S Z R Dh D Ch Hh G Th T B A

I I I L L H&L V H H N N M M L L K C Ph Gh Gh Ai

The learning, &c. of the antient Arabs.

THOUGH by far the greateſt part of the Arabs before Mohammed could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of Al Ommio; yet ſeveral of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue. Herein they exerciſed themſelves by compoſing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical and proſaic, the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an aſſembly to perſuade the people to a great enterprize, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholeſome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of ſome glorious atchievements, delivered from the roſtra, Khôtbah, according to Al-Barezi, a word of the ſame origin with Khâteb above-mentioned. From what we find in ſeveral authors, they purſued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their ſentences being like looſe gems, without connection; ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings (T). So perſuaded were they of their excelling

(T) Now we are ſpeaking of the Arab literature, our readers will expect ſome account of the fabuliſt Lokmân, ſo famous over all the eaſt. Lokmân, ſurnamed al Hakim, i. e. the wiſe, or the ſage, according to Saddi, Akramas, and Schaab, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by ſucceſſion, he having been the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of Job. The author of Taiaſſir makes him the ſon of Baura, or Bêor, the ſon of Nahor, the ſon of Terah, and conſequently related to Abraham. Abouléits gives Lockmân the ſurname of Abou Anam, i. e. the father of Anam, though others call his ſon Mathan. The author of the book intituled Ain al mâni ſays, he was born in the time of David, and lived till the age of Jonah; but this exceeds all belief. According to the deſcription of his perſon by the Arab writers, he muſt have been deformed enough; for they ſay he was an Ethiopian or Nubian ſlave, and conſequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and ſplay feet. But in return he received from GOD wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree, which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Mohammedans therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a ſage or wiſe

excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves and the Persians; which last were reckoned much inferior in that

wise man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward his transcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he chose rather to remain in the condition of a slave, though with an entire resignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all His orders, in case He thought proper to fix him in so sublime a post. This, continue the same authors, so exceedingly pleased God, that he made him superior to all other men in wisdom; insomuch that he wrote ten thousand proverbs and fables, for the instruction of mankind. From several authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of David and Solomon, and that by nation he was an Ethiopian, sold to the Israelites, but by religion a Jew. The author of Tarikh Montakhab affirms, that the sepulchre of Lokmân was to be seen in his time at Ramlah or Ramah, near Jerusalem; and that he was interred near seventy prophets, who had been starved by the Jews, and all died in one day. He is said to have obtained his liberty on the following occasion: His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his master being surprised, asked him how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder, that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand, from which he had received so many favours. Our readers will naturally observe, that Lokmân, who lived in the time of the prophet Hud, or Heber, could not be the same person with the fabulist here mentioned.

As most of the particulars relating to the person of Lokmân here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the Korân, agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Æsop, these two sages are generally thought to have been the same person. The great resemblance the fables of Lokmân bear to those of Æsop is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Æsop from the traditions he met with in the east concerning Lokmân, and concluded these two persons to have been the same from the circumstances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to Æsop were of Oriental extraction, cannot well be denied, since they savour much more of the genius of the Orientals than of that of the Greeks. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the east, and even the countries bordering on Arabia, if not in Arabia itself; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of Jotham to the men of Shechem,

that reſpect to the Arabians. Two of the antient Arabs, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were Koſs and Sabban, of the tribe of Wayel. Hence came the proverbs, "More expert in the art of ſpeaking than Koss," and "More eloquent than SABBAN." To their poetry they ſeem to have been chiefly indebted, for the poliſhing, and even preſervation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongſt them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe, ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves

Shechem, which was made near two hundred years before the time of Lokmân, ſuppoſing him to have been cotemporary with David. In fine, we are diſpoſed to think, that the Arab traditions concerning the wiſdom of Lokmân were only corruptions of ſome paſſages of Scripture relating to Solomon king of Iſrael, eſpecially if we admit the queen of Sheba to have been a Nubian or Ethiopian. This will appear at leaſt probable, from 1 Kings c. iii. ver. 9---13. c. iv. ver. 30---34. compared with what has been already obſerved of Lokmân from the eaſtern writers. The generality of theſe writers make Lokmân cotemporary with David and Solomon, and of the ſame religion with thoſe princes; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his perſon, that might have been introduced by them, in order to ſet off to the greater advantage, by ſuch a contraſt, the excellency of his wiſdom. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the thirty-firſt chapter of the Korân, from whence ſeveral hints relating to our ſage may be drawn, is intituled LOKMAN; nor that ſome fables going under his name have been publiſhed by Golius, at the end of his edition of Erpenius's Arabic grammar. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have conſulted Mr. D'Herbelot in the article Lokmân (19).

(19) Al-Zamakhſh. Al Beidawi, &c. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. 31. Jud. c. ix. ver. 7. Maraccius in Alc. p. 547. ed. Patavii, 1698. Saddi, Akramas, Schaab, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vit. Æſop. Vaheb. in comment. Turcic. ad Al-Korân. Mohammed. Poc. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 36. La vie d'Eſope, par M. de Meziriac, Bayle in dict. hiſt. art. Eſope. Var. auctor. apud D'Herbel. in art. Lokmân. Vide etiam Lokmânni fab. in calce gram. Arab. Thom. Erpenii, a Golio ed. Lugd. Bat. 1656.

themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing, to the sound of timbrels, the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. For this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge, and instructions, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in such esteem among them, that they looked upon it as a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. As the Arabs considered an elegant and instructive poem as the summit of human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up amongst their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at Ocadh, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called Al Moallakât, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold; on which account they had also the name of Al Modhahabât, or the golden verses. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation as has been already mentioned was made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three great points of felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity amongst the Arabs, they did not at first use to write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Mohammed; for this was done, as it is said, by Al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdi, who lived in the reign of the khalîf Harûn al Rashîd. The first author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or Al-Kasidah, was Mohalhel. According to Al-Khalîl, there are fifteen different kinds of Arabic verse; Zamakhsharius makes them sixteen, and

and others only eleven or twelve. Mohammed ſuppreſſed the fair and aſſembly at Ocadh, which occaſioned poetry to decline in his time, and for ſome years after, the Arabs being then employed in extending their conqueſts; which having done, upon the return of peace this ſtudy was revived, and almoſt all ſorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occaſioned the loſs of moſt of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preſerved by memory. The Arabian poetry agrees with the Greek and Roman in this, that it conſiſts of Ajzac, parts correſponding with their feet; and theſe differ, according to the different number and quantity of ſyllables, as the Greek and Roman feet did. The whole art of the Arab verſification conſiſts in the due poſition of letters called moveable and quieſcent. A moveable letter has its proper vowel; a quieſcent letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one ſyllable. Thus, for inſtance, in حرف harfon, ح (H) has its vowel (a), and therefore is moveable; but ر (R) is deſtitute of one, and therefore joined to the preceding ح (H), with which, it forms but one ſyllable. We muſt not here omit taking notice of the quick tranſitions from ſubject to ſubject in the Arab poetry, nor of the moſt celebrated antient Arab poets, whoſe works were hung up in the Caaba, adorned in the above-mentioned manner: viz. 1. Amriol Kais. 2. Tarafah. 3. Zohair. 4. Labid. 5. Antarah. 6. Al-Hareth. 7. Amru Ebn Kalthum. Some authors, in the room of Antarah and Al-Hareth, ſubſtitute Al-Aaſha and Al-Nabega. The title affixed to every copy of verſes in the Caaba was, Modhahhabato Fohlan, i. e. "the golden verſes of a certain poet, which are the beſt he "ever wrote[b]."

BEFORE

[b] Al-Motarezzi, in lib. Mogreb. Ebn al Athir. Jallalo'ddin. in lib. Mezhar, c. 29, & alib. Mohammed. Ebn Salain, Al-Jauhar. & Al-Firauzabad. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 159---162. ut & ipſe Pocockius ibid. Ibrahim al Barezi in ſchol. ad ſermon. Nobatii. Poc. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10, 11. & not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 162, 348. Ebn Raſhik apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 160, 381. Al-Khalil & Al-Zamakhſhar. Vide etiam Jallalo'ddin al Soyûti, ibid. & p. 159. Geogr. Nubienſ. Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 233. & Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 27, 28.

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the antient Arabs.

BEFORE we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper to take notice of some few particulars relating to the chronology of the Arabs. They divided the year into twelve months, whose antient names were, 1. Mutemer. 2. Nagir. 3. Chavan. 4. Savan. 5. Ritma. 6. Ida. 7. Asam. 8. Adil. 9. Natil. 10. Vail. 11. Varna. 12. Burec. But Kelâb, the son of Morrah, from whom Mohammed was lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the Koreish; and afterwards, by the authority of Mohammed, when he had brought all the rest of the Arab tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of Arabia. As Mohammed made the use of the modern names one of the distinguishing characteristics of his followers, it is no wonder they should still prevail amongst the Mohammedans. The first day of Mutemer, or Muharram, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of Yaman with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the Persians, and other eastern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year also into six seasons. 1. The season of herbs, flowers, &c. 2. Summer. 3. The hot season. 4. The season of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient Arab year was lunisolar, has been already observed; but the custom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon to agree with that of the sun, was abolished by Mohammed. The Arabs, like the Egyptians, Indians, Greeks, Romans, &c. antiently computed their time by weeks, or periods of seven days, as we learn from a very antient Arab poet, who died many ages before the publication of the Korân. The old names of these days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. Euvel. 2. Bahûn. 3. Gebâr. 4. Debâr. 5. Mûnis. 6. Aruba. 7. Xijâr. We have already delivered our sentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may possibly say something farther of it, when we come to the history of the Indians [b].

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[b] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 3---16. Al Jauhar. Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. Mohammed. pass. Mesud. & Noveir. apud Golium, ubi sup. Philos. Xirasit. Poet. antiquiss. apud Golium, ubi sup. Vide etiam Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 614. not. (R); & p. 674.

The ſciences they chiefly cultivated.

THE ſciences chiefly cultivated by the antient Arabians were three; that of their hiſtory and genealogies, ſuch a knowledge of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themſelves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. Their knowledge of the ſtars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical rules. The Arabians and Indians, as has been already hinted, applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The ſtars or aſteriſms they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call Anwâ, or the houſes of the moon. Theſe are 28 in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon paſſes every night. As ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their riſing and ſetting, the Arabs, by long experience, obſerved what changes happened in the air; and at length came to aſcribe divine power to them, ſaying, that their rain was from ſuch or ſuch a ſtar. This expreſſion Mohammed abſolutely forbad them to uſe in the old ſenſe, unleſs qualified in ſuch a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find Al-Rayeſh, one of the kings of Yaman, ſurnamed "the philoſopher," not ſo much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence, and intellectual endowments. That the Arabs underſtood ſomething of phyſic before the time of Mohammed, appears from hence, that the famous Arabian phyſician Al Harith Ebn Khalda, ſo celebrated amongſt his countrymen, was older than that impoſtor. They ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and applauſe, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reaſon of their paſtoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they impoſed on the ſtars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the Arabic. For though they have ſince borrowed the names of ſeveral conſtellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part

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are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks. Some of the chief of these are Auwâ in Virgo, Benât Al Nash in Ursa major, Aiyûk and Al Gjedyân in Auriga, Ma'laph and Al Himarein in Cancer, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of several stars and asterisms amongst the Arabs, it will be sufficient to observe, that some of these names were prior to the time of Job; nay that, in all probability, they were coeval with the first peopling of Arabia, since from the beginning the Arabs led a pastoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks and the stars; from whence it came to pass, that the first appellations given to some of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we absolutely reject what has been hinted by Ricciolus, viz. that some degree of attention is due to those who believe astronomy to be as antient as Adam, and consequently that several names of stars and constellations now in use amongst the Arabs, may be supposed to precede even the deluge itself. Onirocritic, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the Egyptians, Chaldæans, &c. as likewise divination by arrows, and, as is probable, something of genethliacal astrology [c].

They had some knowledge of the mechanical arts, &c.

THAT some of the Arabs had a good degree of knowledge in several mechanical arts, appears from Strabo, who informs us, that the people of Tamna and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houses, built in the Egyptian taste. The same author likewise relates, that in Arabia Felix, besides the husbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongst others those who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much used by the Arabs. As for the exercise of arms and horsemenship, they looked upon this as one of their principal accomplishments, being obliged to practise and encourage it by reason of the independency of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual amongst them, which for the most part ended

[c] Al Shareстan apud Pocockium, in orat. ubi supra, p. 9. & not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 164. Al Jauhar, Al Firauzabad. & Ebn Al Athir, ibid. p. 163, 164. Greg. Abulfarag. p. 161. Hyde, in not. ad tabulas stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. Ricciolus apud Hyde, ibid. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 31, 32. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20.

ended in field battles. Hence it became an usual saying amongst them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, viz. turbans instead of diadems, tents instead of walls and houses, swords instead of entrenchments, and poems instead of written laws. The principal arms used by the antient Arabs were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad swords or cymeters. The bows and arrows were the most antient of these, being used by Ishmael himself, according to Scripture. It is probable also, that some of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the Egyptians, Syrians, and Phænicians [d].

The disposition of the antient Arabs.

With regard to the disposition of the antient Arabs, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hospitality was so habitual to them, that in this they seem to have exceeded all their neighbours. Agatharchides represents them as the most hospitable people in the world to all nations, but particularly some of the Greeks. Hatem of the tribe of Tay, and Hasn of that of Fezârah, were principally famous on this account: the latter of these, we are told, fell into as great a transport of joy, when he conferred any signal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received such a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was so much in contempt amongst the Arabs, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waset, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hospitable disposition, the Arabs used to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and assured them of a kind reption. Every one of these fires they called the fire of hospitality, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the person or persons concerned in lighting it. The highest compliment that could be paid a man was, to pass an encomium upon his munificence; as that most acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parsimony, and her beauty. The antients likewise commend the Arabs for being exact to their words, and respectful to their kindred; and they have

[d] Strabo, l. xvi. Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. Sephadius in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 161. Sale, ubi supra, p. 29.

have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion, and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; eſpecially thoſe of the deſert [e].

On the other hand, that the Arabs had a natural inclination to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels fleſh, that creature being moſt malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the Arabs of the deſert, who eat little elſe, are obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices; which account, according to Mr. Sale, ſuggeſts a good reaſon for a diſtinction of meats [f].

Scenite Arabs lived chiefly upon plunder.

That the antient Scenite Arabs, Iſhmaelites, or Nabathæans, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, harraſſing their neighbours by continual robberies and excurſions, we learn from Diodorus Siculus. That author obſerves, that it was in a manner impoſſible either to ſubdue or attack this nation of robbers; becauſe they had wells digged at proper diſtances in their dry and barren country, known only to themſelves: ſo that if any body of foreigners ever purſued or invaded them, they for the moſt part either died of thirſt, or were conſumed by the fatigues they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain. Neither are their poſterity leſs infamous at preſent, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves, by alledging the hard uſage of their father Iſhmael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deſerts given him by God for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. This therefore, they think, authorizes them to indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of Iſaac, but alſo on every body elſe; always

[e] Gentius in not. ad Guliſtan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab p. 48. Abu Iſhac & Ebno'l Hobar. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. & p. 111---113. Vide etiam Herodot. l. iii. c. 8. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. Strabo, l xvi. D Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 121 & Sale ubi ſupra, p. 29, 30.

[f] Poc. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 87,88, Bochart. Hierozoic. l.ii. c. 1. Sale ubi ſupra, p. 30.

ways ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and, inſtead of, I robbed a man of ſuch and ſuch a thing, to ſay, I gained it. We muſt not, however, imagine, that they are the leſs honeſt for this among themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtollen. The Iſhmaelites alſo employed themſelves in paſturage, as well as pillaging of paſſengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, ſome of them uſed horſe's fleſh, as well as that of camels, according to the Arab poet Tograi. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of paſture for their cattle invited them, ſtaying in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of another. They generally wintered in Irâk, and the confines of Syria. Before the Romans ſubdued Syria, the Scenite Arabs made dreadful excurſions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from Strabo [g].

BESIDES theſe free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of Arabs, who dwelt in cities and towns. Theſe lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreiſh were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſtomary for the Arabians to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents did, according to Strabo. Neither ought it to appear ſurpriſing, that the Arabs ſhould have had ſuch a genius for traffick, if their country produced ſuch immenſe quantities of the moſt precious commodities, as ſome authors ſuggeſt. Balſam, cinnamon, and Caſſia, the Happy Arabia abounded with, as likewiſe myrrh, frankincenſe, and all the moſt noble ſpices and perfumes. Cattle likewiſe its inhabitants had ſufficient to ſupply all their neighbours with,

The more civilized Arabs dwelt in towns, &c.

[g] Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 92. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 12. Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220, &c. Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 6. & alib. Sale ubi ſupra, p. 25, 30. 31. Tograi. ver. 24. Agatharchid. Cnid. & Strabo, ubi ſupra.

and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been repreſented by Agatharchides and Strabo to be ſo copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the Aliſæi and Caſſandrini, in the ſouthern parts of Arabia, had gold in that plenty amongſt them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for braſs, and ten times its weight for ſilver. In digging the earth they found ſome pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive ſtones, others as big as medlers, and laſtly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to paſs, that all the furniture of their houſes, even their chairs, beds, cups, and veſſels of all kinds, conſiſted of gold and ſilver. Nay, according to Agatharchides, they alone enriched Syria to a great degree under the Ptolemies, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the Phœnicians. Contiguous to the Aliſæi and Caſſandrini were the Dedebæ or Debæ, through whoſe country paſſed a river ſo abounding with ſmall gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it ſeemed to conſiſt entirely of that metal. Diodorus relates, that this gold was of ſo bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding luſtre and beauty to the moſt valuable gems ſet in it. In ſhort, continues the laſt author, Arabia Felix, at leaſt the region of the Sabæi, was ſo immenſly rich, that all the treaſures of the world ſeemed to centre there; all the commodities of Aſia and Europe being brought thither, as to an univerſal mart. But, notwithſtanding the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches, Strabo intimates, that Arabia was aggrandized ſolely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the antients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came from the Indies and the coaſt of Africa. For, the Egyptians, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themſelves, induſtriouſly concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports ſhut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the the one ſide, and the deſerts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers on the other, were the reaſon why Arabia was ſo little known to the Greeks and Romans. Amongſt other veſſels the Arabs uſed on the Red Sea, to carry on their commerce with Egypt and Ethiopia, were ſome made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that ſea ſuggeſted to them [h].

AMONGST

[h] Agatharchid. Cnid. Diod. Sic. Strab. ubi ſup. Gen. c. xxxvii.

AMONGST the principal cuſtoms of the antient Arabs, beſides thoſe couched under ſome of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

1. THE antient Arabs uſed circumciſion, either on the eighth day, according to Philoſtorgius, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age when Iſhmael was circumciſed, as Joſephus aſſerts. Al-Gazalin intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumciſion when all their teeth were completely formed, and Ebn al Athir betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which ſeems to correſpond pretty well with what we find advanced by Joſephus. The Arab writers affirm Mohammed to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which conſiſted of the inteſtines of camels filled with their blood, which they called moſwadd. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them ſet out upon a journey, he obſerved the firſt bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he purſued his journey, but if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a perſon, diſtruſting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together ſome of the boughs of a tree called Al-Ratam, and if upon his return he found them in the ſame poſition, he judged ſhe had been faithful to him, otherwiſe not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. Pocock's ſpecimen hiſtoriæ Arabum. All the ſpecies of augury and divination were forbid by Mohammed; as likewiſe the plays of cheſs, dice, cards, &c. which in the Korân are comprehended under the name of Al Maiſer. 4. When a ſhe-camel or ewe had brought forth twins ten times, ſhe had an ear cut off, and was afterwards ſent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taſte of her fleſh. 5. According to ſome authors, many of the idolatrous Koreiſh buried their daughters alive as ſoon as they were born, upon a mountain near Mecca, called Abu-Dalamah. 6. It was not uncommon for the Arabs to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldeſt ſon, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the moſt virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and ſhocking crime, and ſtyled the perſon guilty of it Al-Daizan. 7. Some of them married two ſiſters; which Shahreſtani looks upon as one of the worſt things they were guil-

Cuſtoms of the antient Arabs.

xxxvii. ver. 25. La Roque, voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 109, & alib. Vid. etiam Sale, ubi ſup. p. 25.

ty of. 8. Moſt of them went a pilgrimage to the Caaba, obſerving ſome particular ceremonies, which our readers will find deſcribed by Abulfeda. 9. The Caaba, their great temple or place of religious worſhip from the remoteſt antiquity, was their Keblah, or place towards which they turned themſelves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their year conſiſting of lunar months, as already obſerved. 11. They frequently waſhed their mouth and noſtrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other uſages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right-hand. 12. They addreſſed themſelves to their kings in theſe terms, "May you avert all "malediction," or, according to Dr. Pocock, in order to ſhew their profound reſpect and reverence for, as well as ſubmiſſion to, his perſon, "He hath averted all malediction;" i. e. "May GOD be propitious to you," or, "May GOD "prolong your life." This form of ſalutation was firſt uſed to Yarab the ſon of Kahtan, whoſe memory is held in great veneration by the Arabs to this day. 13. In Arabia Petræa a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and ſerved by a perſon ſtyled the king's brother. 14. In Arabia Felix the king's brothers preceded his ſons, and had greater reſpect ſhewn them, as being more advanced in years. 15. The Troglodytes, in the neighbourhood of Arabia, lived a paſtoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by ſeveral tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their ſubjects muſt lie with under the penalty of a ſheep. The women hung a fiſh-ſhell about their necks, which they believed to be a preſervative againſt all kinds of faſcination. 16. Strabo ſeems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongſt ſome tribes of the Arabs, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilſt one was engaged with her, a ſtaff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a ſignal to prevent another's approach. But the ſenior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. adultery they puniſhed with death; but eſteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 17. The Nabathæans were good œconomiſts, and therefore inflicted puniſhment publicly on ſuch as ſquandered away their ſubſtance; but paid great reſpect to ſuch as encreaſed it. 18. As they had very few ſlaves amongſt them, relations either ſerved at meals, and on other occaſions, or they aſſiſted one another, or, laſtly, ſerved themſelves; which uſage likewiſe

wiſe extended to their phylarchs. 19. At their feaſts they generally admitted only thirteen perſons; and had always two muſicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 20. Their phylarchs had ſo little power, that they were almoſt upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inſpected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in perſon to a public aſſembly of their reſpective tribes. 21. Their cities were not walled round, ſcarce any foreign invader ever attempting to diſturb them. 22. It was a common practice among the Saracens or Scenite Arabs to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered ſince the admiſſion of divorces; on the contrary, amongſt many of them it is in all reſpects the ſame. 23. According to ſome authors, the antient Arabs circumciſed their daughters as well as their ſons. 24. When the Sabæans found themſelves near overcome by the ſtrong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourſe to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard ſet on fire under the noſe of the patient, which recovered them. 25. They reaped twice a year, having two harveſts as well as the Indians and Ethiopians. 26. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers ſitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppoſe the enemy both in rear and in front at the ſame time. Several other cuſtoms prevailing amongſt the antient Arabs, depending upon the authority of the Korân, will be touched upon hereafter occaſionally, when we come to conſider the tenets and doctrines of that book [i].

[i] Agatharchid, Cnid. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. ii. & l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. Philoſtorg. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. iii. Joſeph. antiquit. l. i. c. 23. Al Gazalius & Ebn al Athir apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 319. Al Zamakhſhar. Al Beidawi in c. v. Al-Korân. Mohammed. Al Moſtatraf. Mohammedes Alfirauzabadius & Al-Damirius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 321, 322, 323, & ſeq. Korân Mohammed. paſſ. Al-Shariz. Al-Iallalan. & Al-Jauhar. apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 324---339. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Hadrian. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 79, 94, 117, 118. Al-Motarezzi apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 55, 56, 57. ut & Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Ebn Al Athir, & ipſe Pocock. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4. & l. xxiii. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. Heideg. hiſt. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7. ſect. 29. p. 241. Hadr. Reland, de relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 75. Vid. etiam Al-Korân. Mohammed. Abulfed. alioſq; ſcript. Orient. paſſ.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory of the Arabs, to the time of Mohammed.

Joktan and his family ſettle in Arabia ſoon after the confuſion of languages.

JOKTAN the ſon of Eber, whom the Arabs call Kahtân, had thirteen ſons, who, ſome time after the confuſion of languages at Babel, ſettled in Arabia, extending themſelves from Meſha to Sephar, a mountainous diſtrict in the ſouth-eaſtern part of that peninſula. To this diſtrict, in all probability, part of the provinces of Hadramaut and Shihr correſponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of Dhafâr or Saphâr, in which ſome traces of Moſes's Sephar ſeem ſtill to be preſerved. The names of theſe thirteen planters were, Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab. As for Hadramaut, Seba, Ofir, and Kawilah, the ſons of Kahtan, mentioned by M. D'Herbelot, they were undoubtedly the ſame with Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewiſe the order in which the three laſt are placed. According to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Kahtân had thirty-one ſons by the ſame mother, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia, went and ſettled in India. Yarab, the elder of thoſe two, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, giving name, if we will believe the Arab writers, both to their country and language, as has been already obſerved: Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejâz, where his poſterity kept the throne till the time of Iſhmael. That Jarab and Jorham are the Jerah and Hadoram of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from inſiſting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the ſecond king of Yaman was called Jerah or Yareah, not Yarab; and conſequently, that the peninſula of Arabia (A), and

(A) It is at leaſt equally improbable, that the peninſula of Arabia ſhould have been ſo denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it: for the Arabs agree, that they had only two principal planters, viz. Kahtân and Iſhmael,

and the Arabic tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the Arabs pretend. But whether Yarab and Jorham be the ſame perſons with Jerah and Hadoram or not, we cannot infer from the diſagreement betwixt their names, as M. Gagnier ſeems to have done, that every thing related by the Arabs of the former is a downright fiction; becauſe, as the language differed gradually more and more from the Hebrew, the Arabs undoubtedly altered the moſt antient proper names. Of this Hazarmaveth and Hadramaut, Joktan and Kahtân, which confeſſedly denote the ſame perſons, are a ſufficient proof. Elmacinus ſays, that Kahtân was the father of the Arabs, and that he begat many children, who choſe for their princes or leaders Saba, Ophir, and Gjawilah, i. e. Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; which runs counter to what we find advanced by Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda, and others. And this diſagreement between the moſt celebrated eaſtern writers, with regard to the firſt kings of Arabia, clearly evinces, that none of them, at leaſt in this point, can be entirely depended upon [a].

ISHMAEL,

[a] Abulfed. hiſt. cap. 4. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Gen. c. x. ver. 25---31. Safioddin. in lex. geographic. R. Saadias in verſion. Arab. pentat. R. Abraham. Zachut. in Sefer Iuchaſin. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 83. Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 40, 45, 78, 151. D'Herbel. bibl. Oriental. art. Saba & Hegiaz. Gagn. in diatrib. ſect. 1, 2. Georg. 'Ebn'ol-'Amid 'Elmacin in cod. MS. apud Gagn. ibid. Vid. etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 380, 381.

mael, whoſe families by intermarriages became one and the ſame. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a leſs mixture with foreigners than the Arabs, nor have preſerved their antient cuſtoms and manners more invariably the ſame than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign cuſtoms amongſt them likely to be effected, ſince neither the Perſians, Greeks, or Romans, could ever ſubdue them; and as for the Egyptians, though Seſac obliged a good part of Arabia to ſubmit to him, his ſucceſſors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of Arabia, except that we have already given, are ſo apparently remote from truth, that not the leaſt regard is due unto them (1).

(1) Gagn. diatrib. ſect. 1. Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn. Yuſef apud Pocock. &c.

As does Ishmael the son of Abraham.

ISHMAEL, and his mother Hagar, having been dismissed by Abraham in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of Paran, where they were supported by the Divine favour and assistance. GOD had assured Hagar in his distress, before the birth of Ishmael, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendents should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction to demonstration appears, from the manner of life, disposition, power, government, &c. of the Scenite Arabs, or, as they are frequently now styled, the wild Arabs, from the age of Ishmael to this very day. For, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have visited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the same manner their father Ishmael did, and have always done so from his time to the present. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, "their hand "has been against every man," and consequently, "every "man's hand against them;" since they always have, and still do, for the most part, live by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in, a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal antient historians mentioning them, and their present almost absolute independence on the Turk; which gives us an idea of their power and government, sufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the Divine prediction, relating to Ishmael and his posterity. The vast puissance and conquests of the Saracens, the descendents of Ishmael, as well as the similitude of their manners and those of the Ishmaelites, as foretold by GOD himself in the Mosaic history, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find set in a just and proper light, by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion [b].

ISHMAEL,

[b] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14---22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 405, &c. Diod. Sic. Strab. Ammian. Marcellin. ubi sup. La Roque, voyage dans Palestine, p 213, 220, &c. Dr. Jackson's works, vol. ii. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. dissert. iv. p. 114---152.

Ishmael forms an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marriage.

Ishmael, as we learn from the ſacred hiſtorian, held his reſidence in the wilderneſs of Paran, and married an Egyptian. In conformity to the Divine prediction to Abraham, he had twelve ſons, the heads of ſo many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whoſe names we have already given. The Arab writers ſay, that he took to wife the daughter of Modâd king of Hejâz, deſcended lineally from Jorham the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-ſeven years of age, probably not far from the borders of Egypt. As the Arabs have always conſidered him, and ſtill do conſider him, as the father of the greateſt part of their nation, and this notion is ſtrongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and Joktan as the principal planters of Arabia. This ſeems an additional proof to thoſe already offered, that the (B) Cuſhites did not ſettle in any great numbers here, or at leaſt, that their ſettlement was not of any long continuance, but that they paſſed, either through Egypt, or on the eaſtern coaſt of the Red Sea, and over the ſtreights of Bab al Mandab, into Ethiopia. The ſilence of the Orientals, with regard to ſuch a ſettlement, ſeems to confirm what is here advanced. We muſt not imagine, that the Scenite Arabs were the only deſcendents of Iſhmael, though probably they might be the bulk of them; ſince Moſes gives us to underſtand, that ſome Iſhmaelites had caſtles and towns. For all other particulars relating to Iſhmael, our readers may have recourſe to the Jewiſh hiſtory [c].

Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.

In order to render our hiſtory of the antient Arabs as complete as poſſible, we ſhall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of Hamyar, or Yaman, Hira, Ghaſſân, and Hejâz, extracted from the beſt Oriental hiſtorians.

[c] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20, 21. c. xvii. ver. 20. Al-Jannabius, Vid. etiam Pocock. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver 17. Abulfed. Al-Firauzabad. alioſq; ſcriptor. Arabic. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 110, 111. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16.

(B) The ſcripture ſeems to diſtinguiſh the Arabs from the Cuſhites, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter. The paſſage here referred to will give great ſtrength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the firſt ſettlements of the Cuſhites (2).

(2) 2 Chron. c. xxi. ver. 16. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xviii. paſſ.

As the kings of Hamyar were the moſt conſiderable princes in Arabia, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, ſome particulars relating to them muſt be premiſed. The kingdom of Yaman, or at leaſt the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, the ſon of Saba, the great-grandſon of Kahtân, though at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendents of Cahlân his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar. The Hamyarites were called Homerites by the latter Greek and Latin authors, and Immirenians by Theodorus Lector; all their princes had the general title of Tobba, which ſignifies ſucceſſor, as the Egyptian kings had that of Pharaoh, the Roman emperors that of Cæſar, and the ſucceſſors of Mohammed that of Khalif. Several leſſer princes reigned in other parts of Yaman, but they were chiefly, if not entirely, ſubject to the king of Hamyar, who was ſtyled the great king. But, as hiſtory has recorded nothing of theſe reguli, that deſerves the leaſt attention, we ſhall drop them, and immediately proceed to the ſeries of the kings of Yaman or Hamyar [d].

Kahtân. 1. KAHTAN, or Joktan, the ſon of Eber, is ſaid to have firſt reigned, and wore a diadem, in Yaman; but how long he ſat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn [e].

Yarab. 2. YARAB, the ſon of Kahtân, was a prince greatly celebrated by the Arab hiſtorians; but as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we ſhall proceed to his ſucceſſor [f].

Yaſhab. 3. YASHAB, ſon to the preceding prince, has had only his name tranſmitted down to us [g].

Abd Shems. 4. ABD SHEMS, i. e. "the ſervant of the ſun," ſurnamed Saba, the ſon of Yaſhab, next aſcended the throne; who,

[d] Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, Ebn Athir, Abulfed. Al-Jauhar. Vide etiam Pocock. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 65, 66. & Sale ubi ſupra, p 9, 10. Theodor. Lect. l. ii. p. 567. Vide etiam Aſſeman. not. in Sim. epiſc. Beth. Arſamenſ. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. [e] Abulfed. hiſt. c. 4. Scholiaſt. in poem Ebn Abduni. Georg. Ebno'l Amid Elmac. ubi ſup. [f] Al Motarezzi in lib. Mogr. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, ſub init. & alib. Ebn Shohnah. Vide etiam Abulfed ubi ſup. [g] Pocockius, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 57.

who, the Arab historians tell us, was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off great spoils, and took many of them prisoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his surname, which to us seems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was used before in his family, since the Scripture mentions Sheba, or Saba, one of the sons of Joktan. He is said to have built the city of Saba or Mâreb, as likewise that stupendous mound or building, which formed the vast reservoir above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman did not only supply the inhabitants of Saba, and their lands, with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe; since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. Abd Shems had many sons, but the most noted of them were Hamyar, Amru, Cahlân, and Asshaar [h].

5. HAMYAR, the son of Abd Shems or Saba, according to the Oriental authors, was so called from the red cloaths he wore. This seems a plain indication, that Hamyar was only a surname. He expelled Thamûd from Yaman, who took refuge in Hejâz. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of Hamyar deduced its name. Some assert, that not Kahtân, but Hamyar, was the first king of Yaman that wore a diadem [i]. Hamyar.

6. WAYEL, the son of Hamyar, according to Abulfeda, succeeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother Cahlân his successor [k]. Wayel.

7. AFTER Wayel reigned his son Alsacsac [l]. Alsacsac.

8. YAAFAR, the son of Alsacsac, next mounted the throne [m]. Yaafar.

9. To him succeeded Dhu Riyash [n]. Dhu Riyash.

10. AFTER him Al Nooman, the son of Yaafar, swayed the sceptre of Yaman [o]. Al Nooman.

11. THEN came Asmah, the son of Nooman [p]. Asmah.

4. SHADDAD,

[h] Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam Sale ubi supra, p. 10. [i] Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jannabius, Golii notæ ad Alfragan. ubi sup. Pocock. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57. [k] Abulfed. apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58. [l] Al Jauhar. [m] Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibib. [p] Poc. ubi sup.

Shaddâd. 12. SHADDAD, the ſon of Ad, the ſon of Al Matata, the ſon of Saba, a very potent prince, ſucceeded Aſmah [q].

Lokmân. 13. LOKMAN, the brother of Shaddâd, was the next king, according to the moſt received opinion, though ſome authors are of a different ſentiment [r].

Dhu Sadâd. 14. HE was ſucceeded by his brother Dhu Sadâd [s].

Al Hareth. 15. AL HARETH, the ſon of Dhu Sadâd, next aſcended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of Yaman, and was the firſt who had the title or ſurname of Tobba above-mentioned given him by his ſubjects [t].

Dhu'l Karnain. 16. DHU'L KARNAIN ASSAAB, the next king, was the ſon of Rayeſh. This was the two-horned prince mentioned in the Korân, and not Alexander the great, as we learn from Ebn Abbas [u].

Dhu'l Manar. 17. DHU'L MANAR ABRAHAH, the ſon of Dhu'l Karnain, ſucceeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign [w].

Africus. 18. AFRICUS, the ſon of Dhu'l Manar Abrahah, from whence that part of the world called Africa was ſo denominated, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, next took the reigns of government upon him [x].

Dhu'l Adhaar Amru. 19. DHU'L ADHAAR AMRU, the ſon of Africus, who reigned after his father, received the name or ſurname of "lord of terrors," from the terror with which his ſubjects were ſtruck at the ſight of certain monſtrous men, or ſatyrs, or apes, as ſome will have it, whom he had taken priſoners in war, and brought into Yaman [y].

Sharhabil. 20. THE Hamyarites placed upon the throne Sharhabil, of the poſterity of Alſacſac, in the room of Dhu'l Adhaar Amru, whom for ſome enormity they expelled from thence [z].

Al Hodhad. 21. AL HODHAD, the ſon of Sharhabil, ſucceeded his father [a].

Balkis. 22. BALKIS, the ſon of Hodhad, is ſaid to have reigned twenty years. According to ſome authors, Al Hodhad was ſucceeded

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Al Jannabius, Al Firauzabadius, &c. [s] Poc. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Al Korân Mohammed. c. 18. Ebn Abbas. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi ſup. [w] Pocock. ubi ſup. Scholiaſt. in poem. ſupra, p. 59. [x] Al Jannabius, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Ebn Abnuni, &c. [y] Pocockius, ubi ſupra. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid.

ſucceeded by a daughter named Balkis or Belkis, whom they aſſert to be the famous queen of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, king of Iſrael, at Jeruſalem [b].

23. NASHEROL'NEAM, ſo called from his ſurpriſing magnificence and liberality, was likewiſe ſtyled ſimply Malec, or king. Having had bad ſucceſs in an expedition, wherein his army was overwelmed by torrents of ſand, he cauſed a brazen ſtatue to be erected, with this inſcription, in the old Hamyaritic character, engraven upon it; "There is "no paſſage behind me; no moving further; the ſon of "Sharhabil [c]." Nasherol'neam.

24. SHAMER YARAASH, the ſon of Naſher, ſwayed the ſceptre after Naſherol'neam. We are told, that he was ſo denominated from the tremor that always poſſeſſed him, and that he gave name to the city of Samarcand. That Samarcand was built by one of the Hamyaritic kings, ſurnamed Tobba, ſeems to be a point agreed upon by the beſt of the eaſtern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inſcription in the old Hamyaritic character was found under one of the gates of Samarcand; though what this inſcription imported, we are no-where informed. It is poſſible the authors that relate this may miſtake the old Cufic character for the Hamyaritic, ſince in the time of Arabſhah conſiderable quantities of dirhems, and a ſmall coin called a falous, with Cufic letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old Samarcand. That the Hamyaritic, Cufic, and modern Arabic alphabets were derived from that of the Hebrews, as the excellent Loeſcher and Schultens with great reaſon ſuppoſe, ſeems farther to appear from hence, that the Arabs, in order to help the memory, diſtribute their letters into ſix words, Abjad, Howaz, Hotai, Calman, Saaphas, and Karſhat; wherein the order of the Hebrew alphabet is exactly preſerved. This, in conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what Loeſcher and Schultens have advanced [d]. Shamer Yaraaſh.

25. ABU MALEC the ſon of Shamer, after his father's death, took poſſeſſion of the throne [e]. Abu Malec.

26. AMRAN,

[b] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. 1. par. 6. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. Balkis. [c] Pocockius, ubi ſup. [d] Idem ibid. p. 60. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. Tobba. Arabſhah in vit. Timur. Poc. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4. [e] Idem ibid.

Amran. 26. AMRAN, the ſon of Amer, a deſcendent of Cahlân, the brother of Hamyar, to whoſe family the kingdom of Hamyar was now tranſlated, was inveſted with the regal power upon the deceaſe of Abu Malec. The Orientals repreſent this prince as a wiſe man, or ſooth-ſayer [f].

Amru. 27. AMRU, the ſon of Amer, ſurnamed Mazikia, or Dilacerator, becauſe every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, ſucceeded the former king [g].

Al Alkran. 28. AL ALKRAN, the ſon of Abimalec, governed Yaman after Amru [i].

Dhu Habſhan. 29. DHU HABSHAN, the ſon of Akkran, upon the laſt prince's demiſe, took poſſeſſion of the government. This prince put to death Taſm and Jadis [k].

Tobba. 30. TOBBA, or Tobbaa, the ſon of Alkran, ſucceeded Dha Habſhan [l].

Colaicarb. 31. COLAICARB, or, according to ſome, Molaic Yacrab, aſcended the throne of Hamyar after the death of the laſt prince [m].

Abu Carb. Aſaad. 32. ABU CARB ASAAD, the ſucceeding king, we find mentioned in the Korân. He lived ſeven hundred years before Mohammed, adorned the Caab with hangings or tapeſtry, and firſt introduced Judaiſm amongſt the Hamyarites. The Oriental writers ſay, that he was put to death by his ſubjects, probably on the ſcore of religion [n].

Haſſan Tobbai. 33. HASSAN TOBBAI, his ſon, cut off all his father's murderers, and was at laſt ſlain by his brother [o].

Amru Tobbai. 34. AMRU TOBBAI, the ſon of Haſſan Tobbai, was ſurnamed dominus lignorum, or "Lord of wood", becauſe through the whole courſe of his reign he was ſo infirm and indiſpoſed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair [p].

Abd Celal. 35. ABD CELAL, the ſon of Dul'awad, entered upon the government after Amru Tobbai [q].

Tobba. 36. TOBBA, the ſon of Haſſan, the ſon of Colaicarb, ſurnamed Tobba minor, ſucceeded Abd Celal [r].

37. NEXT

[f] Poc. ubi ſup. [g] Al Jauharius, Al Firauzabadius, &c. [i] Poc. ubi ſup. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannabius, &c. [n] Al Korân. Mohammed. c. 50. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannabius, Scholiaſt. Ebn Abduni, &c. [o] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 61. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Abulfed. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup.

37. NEXT came Al Hareth, who embraced Judaiſm [s]. Al Hareth.

38. The thirty-eighth king of Yaman was Morthed, the ſon of Celal [t]. Morthed.

39. WACIAA, the ſon of Morthed, was declared king after his father's deceaſe [u]. Waciaa.

40. ABRAHAH, the ſon of Alſabah, reigned after Waciaa [w]. Abrahah.

41. SABBAN mounted the throne upon Abrahah's death, or, according to ſome of the Oriental writers, Ebn Dakikan. Ebn Dakikan had that famous ſword of Ebn Maad Cerb called Samſama; this ſword came afterwards into the hands of the khâlif Râſhid, who with it cut in two ſeveral noble ſwords, ſent him as a preſent by the Greek emperor, in the preſence of that prince's embaſſadors, who brought them, without doing it the leaſt damage. How far this ſtory may be depended upon, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [x]. Sabban.

42. DHU SHANATER, according to Al Firauzabadius, had ſix fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the Hamyarites for being abandoned to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, and abuſing ſeveral youths of ſome of the nobleſt families amongſt them [y]. Dhu Shanater.

43. YUSEF, ſurnamed Dhu Nowas, from his flowing curls, lived about ſeventy years before Mohammed. He perſecuted all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was, throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of "the lord of the pit." This perſecution we find mentioned in the Korân [z]. Yuſef.

44. DHU JADAN, i. e. "the perſon with a ſweet voice," ſucceeded Dhu Nowas, and was the laſt of the Hamyaritic monarchs, according to Abulfeda; but Ahmed Ebn Yuſef and Al Jannabius make Dhu Nowas the laſt prince of the true Hamyaritic line, reigning in a continual ſucceſſion. He was a bigotted Jew, as juſt obſerved, and treated his Chriſtian ſubjects with ſuch barbarity, that Eleſbaas, or Eleſbaan, king of Ethiopia, ſent over forces to aſſiſt them. Dhu Nowas, not being Dhu Jadan.

[s] Pocock. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Pocock. ubi ſup. [x] Abulfeda, Al Jannabius. [y] Al Firauzabadius. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 62. [z] Baronius in annal. ad ſec. 6. Theophan. Niceph. Calliſt. Sim. Metaphraſt. Pag. &c. Vide etiam Aſſaman. bibliothec. Orient. vol. i. p. 359--- 385.

being able to make head againſt the Ethiopians, was at laſt drove to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and loſt both his crown and life together. According to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef above-mentioned, he reigned ſixty-ſix years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by Al Jannabius. The Najâſhi, or king of Ethiopia, after this, eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion in Yaman, and fixed upon the throne there.

Aryat. 45. ARYAT, an Ethiopian [a].

Abraha al Aſhram. 46. ABRAHA EBN AL SABAH, ſurnamed Al Aſhram, i. e. "the ſlit-noſed," from a ſlaſh in his face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the ſecond Ethiopian king, or rather viceroy to the Najâſhi, in Yaman. He was ſtyled "the lord of the elephant;" the reaſon of which appellation appears from the following ſtory, handed down to us by the commentators upon the Korân. Abraha built a magnificent church for the Chriſtians in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, with a deſign to draw the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, inſtead of viſiting Mecca, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their converſion to Chriſtianity: for he doubted not aboliſhing paganiſm, could he deſtroy the veneration of the Arabs for the Caaba, by bringing them to a place more ſumptuous and grand, and which would more ſtrongly attract their curioſity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had ſoon ſuch an effect, that the devotion and concourſe of the pilgrims at the Caaba began conſiderably to diminiſh; which being obſerved by the Koreiſh, who were ſuperſtitiouſly fond of that place, they ſent one Nofail, as he is named by ſome, of the tribe of Kenânah, to offer an indignity to the Chriſtian church at Sanaa, in order to leſſen that religious regard, which the Arabs began to have for it. Nofail therefore getting into it by night, upon a ſolemn feſtival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his eſcape by favour of the night, publiſhed every-where what he had done. At this profanation Abraha being highly incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the Caaba, and to that end aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen; though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards Mecca. The Meccans, unable to

[a] Abulfed, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, & Al Jannabius. Prideaux's life of Mahom. p. 61.

to defend their temple and city, and terrified at Abraha's approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been ſeen in Arabia, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they entrenched themſelves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interpoſed in an extraordinary manner: for when the Ethiopian drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named Mahmud, refuſed to advance any nigher to the town, but kneeled down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would riſe, and march briſkly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reaſon of his ſize and whiteneſs, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, ſo that Abraha could not ſo much as reconnoitre the town. The Meccans, obſerving this from their retrenchment, were at a loſs to what to attribute ſo unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time, whilſt matters were in this ſituation, a large flock of birds, called Ababil, like ſwallows, came flying on a ſudden from the ſea-coaſt, every one of which carried three ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle ſize betwixt a ſmall lentil and a vetch, but ſo ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to ſome, the elephants likewiſe, which they threw down upon Abraha's ſoldiers, certainly killing every one they ſtruck. Then GOD ſent a flood, which ſwept the dead bodies, and ſome of them who had not been ſtruck by the ſtones, into the ſea: the reſt fled towards Yaman, but periſhed by the way, none of them reaching Sanaa, except only Abraha himſelf, who died ſoon after his arrival there, being ſtruck with a ſort of plague, or putrefaction, ſo that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is ſaid, that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yacſum, or, according to others, Abraha himſelf, eſcaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical ſtory. Upon which, that prince aſked him what ſort of birds they were, that had occaſioned ſuch a deſtruction; in anſwer to which queſtion he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no ſooner done, than the bird let fall the ſtone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the Mohammedan writers ſay, that the names of all the perſons to be deſtroyed were inſcribed on the ſtones that deſtroyed them;

them; that this flock of birds conſiſted of two ſorts, one whoſe feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their ſtones at once upon the Ethiopians. This memorable event, according to the Mohammedans, is ſaid to have happened in the time of Abd al Motalleb, the grand-father of Mohammed, and the very year in which that impoſtor was born [b].

THAT this piece of hiſtory has all the air of one of thoſe fictions with which the Arab writings in general, and the Korân in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. Prideaux, rather take the fact therein aſſerted to be a creature of Mohammed's brain, than a feat of evil ſpirits, as is ſuggeſted by father Marracci; and yet, ſuppoſing it a real fact, we ſee no abſurdity in this laſt notion. The very learned Mr. Sale, to our no ſmall ſurprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous ſtory, for ſo we cannot help terming it, is not without ſome foundation, ſince "it ſeems to him, that there was ſomething extra-"ordinary in the matter." The reaſons he alledges in ſupport of this opinion, are the two following. 1. The event is ſaid to have happened not above fifty-four years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore had it been a fiction, ſeveral living witneſſes could have diſproved it; which we find never was done, and conſequently may preſume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. Mohammed had no occaſion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of Mecca any greater veneration, the people of Mecca being already ſo religiouſly attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worſhip. In anſwer to the firſt reaſon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, according to Mr. Sale himſelf, after Abu Becr had vouched for Mohammed's veracity, in the twelfth year of his miſſion, which falls within the time mentioned, his diſciples were ready to ſwallow whatever he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them; that the ſtory, as told in the Korân, is ſuppoſed a revelation, and

[b] Al Korân. Mohammed. c. 105. Al Zamakhſhar. Al Beidawi, Jallalan. Al Ceſhaf, Abulfed. hiſt. Gen. Al Jannab. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Ebno'l Athir apud Abulfed. Al Gjuzius, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. Khondemir, Houſſain Vaez com. in Al Kor. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. Abraha. Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam Pocockium ubi ſupra, p. 64.

and therefore might only deſcribe the ſupernatural unknown cauſe of a noted defeat; that Mr. Sale himſelf allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which it muſt be owned, none of the preceding Arabs had ſo excellent a knack as Mohammed; and, laſtly, that the ſame turn and genius appear in this as in the moſt extravagant abſurdities of that impoſtor. To the ſecond reaſon it may be replied, that we are under no neceſſity to allow, though Dr. Prideaux ſuppoſes it, that the gaining a veneration to the Caaba amongſt the pagan Arabs was the motive to the forging ſuch a ſtory; on the contrary, it appears that this could not poſſibly be the motive, even from Mr. Sale's own obſervation, viz, becauſe the Meccans, or pagan Arabs, held their temple in the higheſt veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithſtanding this, Mohammed might coin a miracle, either to draw the chriſtian Arabs to Mecca, and mâke them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other Arabs; which, from the whole tenour of the ſtory, appears to have been his deſign. But as what Mr. Sale has offered on this occaſion ſeems rather to proceed from a deſire of ſhewing ſome diſreſpect to Dr. Prideaux, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full perſuaſion of the truth of what he ſeems to advance, we ſhall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately reſume the thread of our hiſtory [c].

47. YACSUM, the ſon of Abraha, ſucceeded him; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any antient hiſtorians [d]. Yacſum.

48. MASRUK, another ſon of Abraha, and the laſt of the Ethiopian princes in Yaman, came to the throne after Yacſum. The Ethiopians, according to ſome eaſtern writers, occupied the kingdom of Hamyar about ſeventy-two years [e]. Maſruk.

49. SEIF EBN DHU YAZAN, of the old royal family of Hamyar, having obtained ſuccours of Khoſrû Anuſhirwân, king of Perſia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himſelf ſlain by ſome of them, who were left behind. The Perſians appointed the ſucceeding princes, Wahzar, Marzaban, Sihan, Jorjis or Georgius, and Bazan, Seif Ebn Duh Yazan.

[c] Sale's tranſlation of the Korân, ch. cv. p. 501, 502. & not. Prid. ubi ſupra, & ſeq. Ludovicus Marraccius, in refut. Alcoran. p. 823. Patavii, 1698. [d] Pocock. ubi ſup. [e] Al Jannabius.

till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhân the laſt of them, ſubmitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced Mohammed to give Shahr, the ſon of Bazan, part of his father's dominions [f].

Duration of the kingdom of Hamyar.

THUS ſtands the ſeries of the kings of Hamyar, which we wiſh was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of Hamyar, were ſtyled Al Kail, and the governors of provinces Al Makawel. According to Abulfeda, this monarchy continued 2020, years or above 3000, if we will believe Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, and Al Jannabius. The length of the reign of each prince muſt be allowed to be very uncertain. The hiſtory of the kings of Hamyar, ſurnamed Tobba or Tobbai, which the Arabs pronounce Tababêah, and Tabbâïah, has been wrote by Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahab; Al Bekri, Al Teïmi, Al Kendi, ſurnamed Nouaïri, author of an univerſal hiſtory, which he dedicated to Naſſer Mohammed Ebn Calaoun, ſultan of the Mamalukes. For an account of this work, we muſt refer our readers to M. D'Herbelot. Nouaïri died in the year of the Hejra 732 [g].

The inundation of Al Arem.

IT has been already obſerved, that Saba made a vaſt mound or dam, to ſerve as a baſon or reſervoir, to ſupply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it conſtantly received from the mountains, as alſo to keep the country his predeceſſors had ſubdued in greater awe, by rendering him maſter of the water. This building ſtood like a mountain above the city, and was by the Sabæans eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that they were under no apprehenſion of its ever failing. The water roſe to the height of almoſt twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every ſide by a work ſo ſolid, that many of them had their houſes built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water diſtributed by aqueducts. But at length GOD, being highly diſpleaſed at their pride and inſolence, and reſolving to humble and diſperſe them, ſent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were aſleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is ſtyled in the Koràn the inundation of Al Arem, and occaſioned ſo terrible a deſtruction, that from thence it became a proverbial ſaying, to expreſs a total diſperſion, that they

[f] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 64, 65. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ibid.
[g] Al Jauharius, Abulfeda, Al Firâuzabadius. Vide etiam Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, & Al Jannabium, apud Pocockium ubi ſupra, p. 62, 63. D'Herbel. in voc. Nouairi, p. 674, 675. & voc. Tobba, p. 889.

they were gone and ſcattered like Saba. Al Beidawi ſuppoſes the aforeſaid mound to have been the work of queen Balkîs, and that the above-mentioned cataſtrophe happened after the time of JESUS CHRIST. But both theſe notions run counter to the moſt received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to Saba, and fixes its deſtruction about the time of Alexander the great. Be that as it will, no leſs than eight tribes, viz. thoſe of Anmâr, Jodhâm, Al Azd, Tay, Khozâab, Banu Amela, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occaſion, ſome of which gave riſe to the kingdoms of Hira and Ghaſſân [h] (B).

Foundation of the kingdom of Hira.

THE kingdom of Hira was founded by Malec, a deſcendent of Cahlân, in Chaldæa or Irâk; but after three deſcents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians. Theſe princes, whoſe general name was Mondar, preſerved their dominion, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall interruption by the Perſians, till the khalifat of Abubecr, when Al Mondar Maghrûr, the laſt of them, loſt his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd. The kingdom of the Mondars, ſuppoſed to be the deſcendents of Nadar Ebn Rabia, continued, according to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ſix hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Perſia, whoſe lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghaſſân were for the Roman emperors over thoſe of Syria. The Lakhmians were deſcended from Lakhm the ſon of Amru, the ſon of Saba. If the kingdom of the Lakhmians or Mondars was not of any longer duration than ſix hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, Al Beidawi ſeems not to be much miſtaken, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of CHRIST, notwithſtanding the authority of thoſe who carry it above three centuries higher. This

[h] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr Nubienſ. clim. 2. par. 6. Al Korân. Mohammed. c. 34. Al Beidawi. Jallal. Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66.

(B) At this time likewiſe, probably happened the migration of thoſe tribes or colonies which were led into Meſopotamia by three different chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabîa; from whence the three provinces of that country are ſtill named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa (2).

(2) Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 232.

ſpace was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the beſt Oriental hiſtorians [i].

Malec. 1. MALEC, who, ſay ſome of the eaſtern writers, flouriſhed in the time of the kings of the provinces, that is, of the governors Alexander the great appointed to preſide over the provinces of Perſia [k].

Amru. 2. AMRU, Malec's brother [l].

Jodaimah. 3. JODAIMAH, the ſon of Malec, ſurnamed Al Abraſh, who firſt uſed amongſt the Arabs that military engine called a balliſta. He defeated Amru, an Arab prince of the tribe of Amalek, who reigned in Meſopotamia, and put him to the ſword; but was afterwards himſelf aſſaſſinated, by the contrivance of Zoba, Amru's daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured [m].

Amru. 4. AMRU, the ſon of Ad and Rakaſh the ſiſter of Jodaimah, by the aſſiſtance of one Koſair, who had been ſervant to Jodaimah, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following ſtratagem: Koſair, at his own deſire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a moſt cruel manner, by Amru's order; after which he fled to Zoba, making the heavieſt complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he ſoon became a confident of Zoba, who permitted him to convey into her caſtle ſome large cheſts, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately diſpatched her. The memory of Amru is ſtill preſerved amongſt the Arabs by ſeveral proverbs which particularly allude to him [n].

Amrio'l Kais. 5. AMRIO'L KAIS, the ſon of Amru, ſurnamed Albada, ſucceeded his father [o].

Amru. 6. AMRU, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais, flouriſhed in the time of Sabur, or Sapor, Dil Actaf, king of Perſia. This Perſian monarch, whoſe ſurname imports as much, according to Abulfeda, cut off the ſhoulders of all the Arabs he took priſoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was Mary, whoſe ear-rings occaſioned a proverb amongſt the Arabs. If this piece of hiſtory may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what Al Beidawi has advanced in relation to the time when the innundation of Al Arem happened [p].

7. AUS,

[i] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 66, 74. Procop. in Perſ. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Beidawi, &c. [k] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 66. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Mohammedes Al Firauzabadius, Al Jannabius, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [n] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 67, 68. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Abulfeda, Al Beidawi.

7. AUS, the ſon of Kalam, an Amalekite[q]. Aus.

8. ANOTHER Amalekite prince, whoſe name is not known, ſucceeded Aus; after whoſe deceaſe the crown reverted to the family of the Lakhmians, after an interruption of two deſcents[r]. An anonymous king.

9. AMRIO'L KAIS, the ſon of Amru, next aſcended the throne. He was ſurnamed Almohrek, or the burner, becauſe he firſt tortured criminals with fire[s]. Amrio'l Kais.

10. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais, ſurnamed Alawar, or the blinkard, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, ſaying, "What ſignifies a kingdom that will certainly have "an end?" Al Nooman built thoſe caſtles or towers called Khaouarnak and Al Sadir, ſo celebrated by the Arab poets and proverbs. Senemmar, the builder of Khaouarnak, was thrown head-long from thence by Al Nooman's order, which gave occaſion to the proverb, "The reward of Senemmar." We are told, that Al Nooman became a convert to the Chriſtian religion, and in conſequence thereof thought fit to reſign the reins of government to his ſon Hendu, as juſt hinted. Jezdegerd, king of Perſia, committed the care of his ſon's education, and the eſtabliſhment of his conſtitution, to Al Nooman, who was afterwards very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his anceſtors. The cauſe of Senemmar's tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the hiſtory of the Perſians[t]. Al Nooman.

11. AL MONDAR EBN NOOMAH, the Hendu of the Perſian hiſtorians, attended Baharam, the ſon of Jezdegerd, into Perſia, with an army of 40000 men, to enable him to dethrone one Kerſa, an uſurper whom the Magi had elected king. The ſucceſs and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they moſt properly belong[u]. Al Mondar Ebn Noomah.

12. AL ASWAD, ſon to Al Mondar, overthrew the king of Ghaſſân, and took many of his relations priſoners, according to ſome of the Oriental hiſtorians; but Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Aſwad.

[q] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 68. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.
[t] Al Firauzabadius, Safioddin. Al Meidan. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. Khondemir. &c. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 202, &c. [u] Lebtarik. Mirk. Khondem. ubi ſupra. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra.

Yuſef relates, that the king of Ghaſſân prevailed againſt him, and ſlew him, after a ſhort reign [w].

An anonymous king.

13. He was ſucceeded by his brother Al Mondar, whoſe true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilſt this prince ſat on the throne, ſince the eaſtern writers ſay little of him [x].

Al Kamah.

14. Al Kamah, ſucceſſor to the laſt king, was ſtyled Al Damyali, from the family of Damyal, of which he was a member. All the tranſactions that happened during his reign, are likewiſe buried in oblivion [y].

Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Nooman.

15. Amrio'l Kais, the ſon of Nooman, the ſon of Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek, next ſwayed the ſceptre of Hira. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef aſſerts, that it was he who threw Senammar headlong from the top of the caſtle of Khaouarnak, with whom agree herein Abulfeda and Al Jannabius [z].

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

16. Al Mondar, the ſon of the laſt king and Mawiah the daughter of Aus, a lady of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that ſhe was called Maiſſamai, i. e. water of heaven, governed after his father in Hira. From his mother he and his poſterity were likewiſe ſurnamed Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai; which appellation they had in common with the kings of Ghaſſân, according to Al Jauharius. For theſe laſt princes were ſo denominated from Abu Amer, of the tribe of Azd, the father of Amru Mazikia, who by his ſurpriſing liberality and beneficence ſupplied the want of rain, furniſhing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it ſo dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was depoſed by Khoſrû Kobâd, king of Perſia [a].

Al Hareth.

17. Al Hareth Ebn Amru, of the tribe of Kenda, was placed on the throne of Hira by Khoſrû Kobâd, in the room of Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, whom he had depoſed. However, Kobâd's ſon and ſucceſſor Anuſhirwân, ſurnamed the juſt, in whoſe reign Mohammed was born, reſtored the lawful king to his dominions, and drove away the uſurper Al Hareth Ebn Amru. Kobâd embraced the tenets of an impoſtor called Mazdak, who pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from God to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were deſcended from the ſame common parents; and in moſt points agreed with Manes. By rendering wealth and women common, he propoſed taking away

[w] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [x] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 69.
[y] Idem ibid. [z] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda, & Al Jannabius.
[a] Al Jauharius.

away the luſt of both ; from whence, he inſinuated, generally aroſe the feuds, quarrels, and animoſities, that diſturbed the repoſe and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well ſuiting the diſpoſition of Kobâd, he not only profeſſed himſelf a convert to Mazdak's religion, but likewiſe obliged all his dependents to do the ſame ; and therefore, when Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais refuſed this, he ſtripped him of his dominions, and appointed Al Hareth, who had declared himſelf a zealous follower of Mazdak, to preſide over them in his ſtead. But Anuſhirwân, called Nouſchirvan by the Perſian hiſtorians, in conſequence of a vow he had made before his acceſſion, reſtored the Mondar family to the throne of Hira, put Mazdak to death, and aboliſhed the profeſſion of his impious opinions. It is ſaid, when Mazdak knew his fate, he told Anuſhirwân, "that GOD had raiſed him to the throne of "Perſia to protect his ſubjects, and not to deſtroy them." To which that monarch anſwered, "True, abandoned vil- "lain ; but doſt thou not remember, that with the utmoſt "difficulty, even by kiſſing thy loathſome feet, I prevailed "upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at "thy impudent requeſt, had given thee a permiſſion ſo to do?" "Yes," replied Mazdak. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and eſtabliſhed once more amongſt his ſubjects the antient Magian religion [b].

18. AL MONDAR EBN AMRIO'L KAIS was ſucceeded by his ſon Al Mondar, ſtyled, according to Al Jauharius, Modret ol' Hajarah, from his ſurpriſing ſtrength, and unparallelled bravery. Other authors, from his mother Henda, give him the ſurname of Ebn Henda. In the eighth year of his reign the falſe prophet Mohammed was born [c]. Al Mondar, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Henda.

19. KABUS, the brother of Amru, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eaſtern writers [d]. Kabus.

20. AL MONDAR, brother to the former prince, ſucceeded him [e]. His brother, Al Mondar.

21. AL NOOMAN, ſurnamed Abu Kabus, was the twenty-firſt king of Hira, and became a convert to Chriſtianity on the following occaſion : In a drunken fit he had ordered two Al Nooman Abu Kabus.

of

[b] Abulfed. in vit. Anuſhirwân. Shareſtan. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 70. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ibid. p. 71. Mirkh. Khond. & Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 214, 218. [c] Al Jauharius. [d] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 72. [e] Idem ibid.

of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the unfortunate, and the other the fortunate, day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day, should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but he that met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabs religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and Al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who professed himself a convert to the Christian religion; Al Mondar, the son of Amrio'l Kais, his grandfather, declared himself a Christian, and built large churches in his capital. As Al Nooman took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit

mit them to grow in all gardens, the Arabs, from him, call them "the variegated flowers of Al Nooman." After a reign of twenty-two years, Al Nooman was ſlain by Khoſrû Parwiz, by whom the kingdom of Hira was tranſlated from the family of the Lakhmians to Ayas the Tayite [f].

22. MOHAMMED's miſſion commenced in the ſixth month of Ayas's reign [g]. Ayas.

23. ZADAWAIH, the ſon of Mahan of Hamadan, ſucceeded Ayas [h]. Zadawaih.

24. AL MONDAR, Ebn Nooman, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Maiſſamai, ſurnamed Al Maghrûr, governed Hira, from the death of Zadawaih to the conqueſt of the kingdom of Hira by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd. The four royal families of Perſia, governing that kingdom before this period, were the Piſhdadian, the Caianian, the Aſhganian, and that of Khoſrû; which, as Hira was a ſtate dependent on the Perſians, we thought not improper to be obſerved [i]. Al Mondar. Ebn Nooman. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maiſſamai. Al Maghrur.

THE kingdom of Ghaſſân, as well as that of Hira, owed its origin to the inundation of Al Arem. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, according to ſome, ſettling in Syria Damaſcena, near a water called Ghaſſân, thence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left Yaman. Having driven out the Dajaamian Arabs, of the tribe of Salîh, who before poſſeſſed the country, they made themſelves maſters of a very conſiderable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, as others ſay, ſix hundred, or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, ſix hundred and ſixteen. If Ghaſſân was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the Caſſanitæ of Ptolemy. Be that as it will, five of the kings of Ghaſſân were named Hâreth, which the Greeks and Latins wrote Aretas; and one of them it was, whoſe governor ordered the gates of Damaſcus to be watched to take St. Paul. Dr. Pocock gives us the following liſt of the kings of Ghaſſân, extracted from the Oriental hiſtorians [k]. The kingdom of Ghaſſân.

1. JAFNAH

[f] Al Meidani, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfed, &c. Vide etiam Sale ubi ſupra, p. 23, 24. [g] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Procop. de bell. Perſ. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannab. Abulfed. Al-Firauzabadius, & Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 74, 75. [k] Al Beidawi. Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.

Jafnah. 1. JAFNAH EBN AMRU, Ebn Thaalibah, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mazikia, to whom, after the exciſion of the royal family of Salîh, the Kodaenſian Arabs, and the Greeks in Syria Damaſcena, ſubmitted themſelves.

Amru. 2. AMRU, the ſon of Jafnah, who is ſaid to have built many monaſteries in Syria.

Amru. 3. AMRU, the ſon of Thaalibah.

Al Hâreth. 4. AL HARETH, or Aretas, the ſon of Thaalibah.

Jabalah. 5. JABALAH, the ſon of Al Hâreth.

Al Hâreth. 6. AL HARETH, the ſon of Jabalah.

Al Mondar. 7. AL MONDAR AL ACBAR, that is, "the great," the ſon of Al Hâreth.

Al Nooman. 8. AL NOOMAN, the brother of Al Mondar.

Jabalah. 9. JABALAH, the brother of Al Nooman.

Al Ayham. 10. AL AYHAM, brother to the laſt two princes.

Amru. 11. AMRU, who was brother to his three laſt predeceſſors.

Jafnah Alaſgar. 12. JAFNAH, ſurnamed Al Aſgar, the ſon of Mondar Al Acbar, who ſet the city of Hira on fire; whence his poſterity were ſaid to be of the family of the incendiary.

Al Nooman. 13. AL NOOMAN AL ASGAR, brother to JAFNAH.

Al Nooman. 14. AL NOOMAN, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar.

Jabalah. 15. JABALAH, Ebn Nooman, who waged war with Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai.

Al Nooman. 16. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of Al Ayham.

Al Hâreth. 17. AL HARETH, brother to Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham.

Al Nooman. 18. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of Al Hareth.

Al Mondar. 19. AL MONDAR, the ſon of Al Nooman.

Amru. 20. AMRU, Al Mondar's brother.

Hajar. 21. HAJAR, brother to Al Mondar and Amru.

Al Hâreth. 22. AL HARETH, the ſon of Hajar.

Jabalah. 23. JABALAH, the ſon of Al Hâreth.

Al Hâreth. 24. AL HARETH, the ſon of JABALAH.

Al Nooman. 25. AL NOOMAN, the ſon of Al Hâreth, who is called by ſome eaſtern writers Abu Carb, and Kotam.

Al Ayham. 26. AL AYHAM, the ſon of Jabalah, who was likewiſe lord of Tadmor.

Al Mondar. 27. AL MONDAR, brother to Al Ayham.

Sharahil. 28. SHARAHIL, brother to the two laſt princes.

Amru. 29. AMRU, another of their brothers.

Jabalah. 30. JABALAH, Ebn al Hâreth, Ebn Jabalah.

31. JABALAH

31. JABALAH, the ſon of Al Ayham, and the laſt of the kings of Ghaſſân, who, on the great ſucceſſes of the Arabs in Syria, under the khalif Omar, profeſſed Mohammediſm; but, receiving afterwards a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Conſtantinople. As in the regal line of Hamyar, Hejâz, and Kenda, we find the name of Hâreth, or Al Hâreth, we think Scaliger had ſome colour of reaſon, when he aſſerted this to be a general name amongſt the Arab emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. Pocock is of another opinion. The ſcholiaſt on the poem of Ebn Abduni differs ſomething from Abulfeda in his account of the kings of Hira. For he tells us, that Al Hâreth Ebn Amru, Ebn Amer, Ebn Hâreth, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Mazen, Ebn Al Azd, ſurnamed Ebn Abi Shâmer, was the firſt king; and that the whole ſeries of theſe princes contained thirty-ſeven kings, the laſt of which was Jabalah, who embraced Chriſtianity in the khalifat of Omar: which if we admit, and that St. Paul was at Damaſcus A. C. 34. as Calviſius will have it, the Aretas mentioned by that apoſtle was in all likelihood one of the moſt antient kings of Ghaſſân (C), and probably the firſt of them. From whence it will follow, that Al Beidawi has probability on his Jabalah.

(C) In oppoſition to this it may be urged, that we find ſeveral princes called Aretas, kings of the Arabs, ſeated in Syria, or, at leaſt, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the Maccabees, as likewiſe in Joſephus, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that theſe princes might preſide over the Dajaamian Arabs, expelled by thoſe of the tribe of Azd above-mentioned, or reign in Arabia Petræa and Deſerta, eſpecially if we admit Hâreth to have been a general name amongſt the Arab emirs or phylarchs. And, in ſupport of the laſt notion, it may be obſerved, that Petra was the metropolis of the Aretan princes mentioned by Joſephus. But we leave our readers to determine for themſelves, in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of Hira and Ghaſſân. The tranſactions ſpecified in the paſſages here referred to, in which the Arabs were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the hiſtory of the Jews, to which they properly belong (3).

(3) 1 Maccab. c. v. ver. 39. c. xi. ver. 16, 37. c. xii. ver 31. 2 Maccab. c. v. ver. 8. c. xii. ver. 10, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 2. l. xvi. c. 9, 10. l. xvii. c. 3. de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 7. & alib. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 219, 231, 233, 432, & alib.

his side, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of Christ; since the kingdom of Ghassân commenced immediately after that inundation. And some sort of sanction is given to this notion even by Abulfeda himself, when he intimates, that Amru the son of Jafnah, the second king of Hira, founded many monasteries in Syria. Be that as it will, had the Arab historians not been so defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deserved a much greater degree of credit, than at present the learned are willing to allow them [l].

The kingdom of Hejâz.

It has been already observed, that Jorham, the son of Kahtân, founded the kingdom of Hejâz, where princes of his line reigned till the time of Ishmael, who married the daughter of Modâd, one of those princes. Some authors relate, that Kidâr, one of Ishmael's sons, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites; but, according to others, the descendents of Ishmael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of Hejâz, taken from Dr. Pocock, is the best that has been hitherto exhibited to the public [m].

Jorham. 1. JORHAM, the brother of Yaarab.
Abd Yalil. 2. ABD YALIL, the son of Jorham.
Jorsham. 3. JORSHAM, the son of Abd Yalil.
Abdo'l Madan. 4. ABDO'L MADAN, the son of Jorsham.
Nogailah. 5. NOGAILAH, the son of Abdo'l Madan.
Abdo'l Masih 6. ABDO'L MASIH, the son of Nogailah.
Modâd. 7. MODAD, the son of Abdo'l Masih
Amru. 8. AMRU, the son of Modad.
Al Hâreth. 9. AL HARETH, brother to Amru.
Amru. 10. AMRU, the son of Al Hâreth.
Basher. 11. BASHER, brother to Amru.
Modâd. 12. MODAD, the son of Amru, the son of Modâd.
Anonym. 13. ------ ANONYM.

14. KIDAR,

[l] Scalig. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 77. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. & p. 78. Abulfeda, Scholiast in poëm. Ebn Abduni. 2 Cor. c. xi. ver. 32. Seth. Calvis. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 78. Al Beidawi. Vide etiam Sale's notes on the Koran, p. 354. & Ockley's hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 174. [m] Al Jannabius. Poc. ubi supra, p. 38, 78, 79. Vide etiam Sale's prelim. disc. p. 11, 12.

14. KIDAR, the ſon of Iſhmael, whoſe mother, according to the Oriental hiſtorians, was of the houſe of Jorham. Kidâr.

AFTER the expulſion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejâz ſeems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almoſt in the ſame manner as the Arabs of the deſert are governed at this day. The tribe of Khozâah, deſcended from Cahlân, the ſon of Saba, after the inundation of Al Arem, fled into the kingdom of Hejâz, and ſettled themſelves in a valley called Marri, near Mecca; in which territory they founded an ariſtocracy, aſſuming to themſelves both the government of the city of Mecca, and the cuſtody of the Caaba or temple there. Their name they derived from their being cut off or ſeparated from the other tribes of Yaman by the accident above-mentioned. They continued maſters of the city and territory of Mecca, as well as preſidents of the Caaba, for ſeveral ages; till at length one Koſa (C), of the tribe of Koreiſh, circumvented Form of government in Hejâz.

(C) Koſa was the ſon of Kelâb, who firſt gave the months of the year thoſe names by which the Arabs ever ſince have called them, even to this day. The antient names were Mutemer, Nagir, Chavan, Savan, Ritma, Ida, Aſam, Adil, Natil, Vaïl, Varna, and Burec. The preſent names Kelâb derived from ſome contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a ſanction from Mohammed's authority, who made them one of the diſtinguiſhing marks of his followers, have been continued ever ſince they were firſt impoſed. It will not be improper to obſerve here, that the Arabs had antiently four ſacred months, in which they could not carry on any war, eſpecially amongſt themſelves. Something of this kind was obſerved amongſt the Greeks; ſince, according to Pauſanias, they had always a reſpite from war, during the time of the celebration of the Olympic games. Some authors intimate, that the antient Arabs abſtained from war only in that month which is at preſent called Muharrem or Moharrem (3).

(3) Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 3, 4, 5. Cazvinius in lib. de admirandis creatar. rer. Alkodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 272, 273, 274. Jauhar. in theſaur. ling. Arab. Pauſan. p. 293. Vid. etiam Meſûdem & Nowaïrium, apud Gol. ubi ſup.

ed Abu Gabſhan, a weak and ſilly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and cuſtody of the Caaba, for a bottle of wine. But when Abu Gabſhan grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he ſufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the Arbs: "More vexed with late repentance "than Abu Gabſhan; More fooliſh than Abu Gabſhan:" which are applied to thoſe perſons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards ſorry for what they have done. The tribe of Khozâah endeavoured afterwards to give ſome diſturbance to the Koreiſh in the poſſeſſion of what Koſa had purchaſed; which furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of deveſting the former of the civil government of Mecca. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is not certain, whether the tribe of Khozâah were the deſcendents of Iſhmael or Joktan. We find Amru, one of their kings, a deſcendent of Cahlân, frequently mentioned by the Arab hiſtorians; but as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his ſon Caab, we ſhall take no further notice of them. After the Koreiſh had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mecca, they kept up there the ſame form of government that before had prevailed [n].

Besides the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note. The tribe of Kenda in particular had ſeveral kings, of which the three following were the principal [o]:

Hojr. 1. Hojr, ſurnamed Acelo'l Morar, i. e. "the eater of "Morar," a fruit of a bitter taſte, on which camels feed. That ſurname was given him by his wife, who had an averſion to him, becauſe his lips were ſo contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him reſemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforeſaid ſhrub. Kenda, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was alſo called Thaur. Abulfeda aſſerts, that before the time of Hojr the people of Kenda were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences enſued; which induced them to chuſe him for their king [p].

2. Amru,

[n] Pocockius, ubi ſup. p. 42, 50, 342. Ecchelens. hiſt. Arab. p. i. c. 3. Fortal. Fidei, l. iv. conſid. 1. Abulfeda Vide etiam Prid. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. [o] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 79, 80. [p] Abulfeda. Al-Jauharius. Al-Firauzabadius.

2. AMRU, the son of Hojr, surnamed Al Maksur, i. e. "contracted or confined," because he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father [q]. Amru.

3. AL HARETH, the son of Amru, was by Khosrû Kobâd elevated to the throne of Hira, and deposed by Anushirwân, for the reasons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to Diyar Calb, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. Al Hâreth placed his son Hojr over the Bani Asad, and his other sons over other tribes. Hojr was the father of Amrio'l Kais, a celebrated poet. The Bani Asad endeavouring to take off Hojr by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and severity; which occasioned his meeting with a violent death. Amrio'l Kais, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces out of the tribes of Becr and Taglab, with which he defeated the Bani Asad. But afterwards, his troops being dispersed through the fear of Al Mondar, he found himself obliged to fly to the Romans, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near Ancyra. Some authors say, that Cæsar gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but Abulfeda looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of Kenda here mentioned we find one Ebn Ommil' Kotam added by Al-Firauzabadius [r]. Al Hâreth.

THE following princes, or chiefs of tribes, deserve likewise a place in the history of the antient Arabs:

1. ZOHAIR EBNOL HABAB, who presided over the tribe of Kelab, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed "the wise." He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the Bani Gatfan with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the Caaba, and entered into an alliance with Abrahah al Ashram, styled "master of the elephant." Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking [s]. Zohair.

2. COLAIB EBN RABIAH governed the Bani Maad, the Saraceni Maadeni of Procopius, and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, Colaib.

[q] Pocock. ubi sup. p. 79.

[r] Abulfeda in vit. Anushirwân, & alib. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 80. ut & ipse Pocock ibid.

[s] Poc. ubi sup. p. 81.

nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by one Jassas, for shooting a camel named Sarab, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an Arab, who had been entertained by Basus, a near relation of Jassas. The murder of Ebn Rabiah occasioned a forty years war, whence came the Arab proverbs: "A worse omen than Sarab; More ominous than "Basus." It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the Arabs generally forbad others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures, which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves (D).[t]

Mohalhel. 3. MOHALHEL EBN RABIAH, brother to Colaib, formed an army out of the families of Taglab, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with those of Becr, in order to revenge his brother's death [u].

Zohair. 4. ZOHAIR EBN JODAIMAH, who received a certain toll or tribute from the Arabs, that frequented the celebrated fair of Ocadh above-mentioned, was assassinated by one Khaled, who afterwards fled to Al Nooman king of Hira. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately

[t] Procop. de bell. Pers. c. 19, 20. Al-Jauhar. Al-Firauzabad. Ebno'l Athir. Pocockius in not. ad carmen. Tograi. p. 80, & ubi sup. p. 82. [u] Poc. ubi sup. p. 82.

(D) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground, which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. Mohammed abolished this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (4).

(4) Poc. not. in carm. Tograi, p. 81. & not. ad. spec. hist. Arab. p. 333.

vately murdered by one Al Hâreth, who had purſued him, which occaſioned long and bloody broils [w].

5. KAIS, the ſon of Zohair Ebn Jodaimah, had two fa- Kais.
mous horſes, called Dahes and Gabrah, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one Hadifa, for a prize of an hundred camels. This event gave riſe to that bloody war called by the Arab hiſtorians the war of Dahes and Gabrah, which continued, without intermiſſion, forty years. King Kais, in order to atone for ſo great an effuſion of blood, is ſaid to have embraced the chriſtian religion, and even entered upon the monaſtic ſtate [x].

THUS have we gone through the hiſtory of the antient Arabs before Mohammed, as far as it can be collected from the moſt noted of the Arab hiſtorians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we ſhall give a brief account of the principal tranſactions the antient Arabs were concerned in with the Egyptians, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, extracted from the moſt approved writers of the two laſt nations.

ACCORDING to Diodorus Siculus, Seſoſtris, that is, as Joſephus and Sir Iſaac Newton will have it, Seſac, in his father's life-time, ſubdued Arabia. However, that the Arabs were never thoroughly ſubjugated, nor even long paid any ſort of homage to the kings of Egypt, appears from hence, that, according to the ſame author, Seſac himſelf was obliged to draw a line from Heliopolis to Peluſium, in order to ſecure Egypt from the excurſions of the Arabs and Syrians. The Scenite Arabs contiguous to Paleſtine and Syria, therefore, at leaſt, muſt have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from Diodorus, that he ever traverſed Arabia Felix, though he had a fleet of four hundred ſail upon the Red Sea, but only coaſted it, or at fartheſt ſeized upon ſome of its maritime provinces in his voyage to India. As the words Arabia ſometimes denotes only Arabia Deſerta, at other times Arabia Petræa, and ſometimes Arabia Felix, or a part of that country, in the Greek and Latin authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninſula of the Arabs ever was, at leaſt for any conſiderable time, in a ſtate of ſervitude to the Egyptians. But the contrary ſeems to appear, even from Diodorus Siculus himſelf, who gives us the moſt pompous account of the conqueſts of Seſoſtris or Seſac [y].

The Arabs never, at leaſt for any long time, ſubject to the Egyptians.

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 83. [y] Diod. Sic. l. i. Joſeph. in antiquit. Newt. in chronol. aliiq; ſcript. plurim. paſſ.

Neither the Medes, Persians, nor Assyrians, could ever get any considerable footing amongst them.

We learn from the same author, that neither the Assyrians, Medes, nor Persians, could ever get any considerable footing amongst them. The Persian monarchs, indeed, were their friends, and so far respected by them, as to have an annual present of frankincense: yet they could never make them tributary; and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories. This we learn from Herodotus; nor does any other antient author, that we know of, contradict him herein [z].

They were not afraid of Alexander.

When Alexander the Great had subdued the Persian empire, notwithstanding his exorbitant power, the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no embassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a design against them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might possibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happiness of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conquest of Arabia, in order to fix there his royal seat, after his return from his Indian expedition. But, according to Strabo, he had another motive likewise to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the Arabs had only two divinities, Jupiter and Bacchus, whom they worshipped, because they supplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewise desirous, that they should esteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deserve this, he proposed first to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full possession of their antient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours, as much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in Phœnice, Cyprus, and Babylonia, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince [a].

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops sent against them by Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of Syria and Phœnicia, advanced into that part of Arabia bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the Arabs were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached Athenæus, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot and six hundred horse,

[z] Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 131. Herodot. l. iii. c. 91, 97.
[a] Strab. l. xvi. Arrian. 161.

horſe, to ravage and lay waſte the territories of the Nabathæans. That general marched to Petra without oppoſition, which finding in no poſture of defence, the Nabathæans, then under no apprehenſion of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, ſick, and aged in Petra, with an inconſiderable garriſon, he ſeized upon it, put to the ſword, or took priſoners, all the ſoldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of ſilver, together with a vaſt quantity of frankincenſe and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and ſurprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traverſed two thouſand two hundred ſtadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being appriſed of his deſign; ſo that no diſpoſitions could poſſibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the Arabs, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, purſued the Greeks with great celerity. They found them aſleep about two hundred ſtadia from Petra, without any guards poſted to appriſe them of any impending danger, not imagining it poſſible for the Arabs to come up with them ſo ſoon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and deſtroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horſe, that made their eſcape to Antigonus, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received [b].

Demetrius undertakes a ſecond expedition againſt them without ſucceſs.

HOWEVER, the Nabathæans, dreading the reſentment of Antigonus, ſent a letter to him written in the Syriac (E) character, to complain of Athenæus, and to excuſe what had happened. That prince, finding it impoſſible to deal with men inhabiting a deſert by pure force, diſſembled his reſentment,

[b] Diod. Sic. l. xxi.

(E) It is evident from this curious paſſage, that the Nabathæans, or Iſhmaelites, uſed letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra. Theſe letters probably were the ſame with thoſe we ſee on ſeveral of the antient Syriac coins, ſtruck in the times of Alexander's ſucceſſors, which reſemble the Phœnician, if they were not that character. They likewiſe bear ſome reſemblance to the moſt antient Syriac character called the Eſtrangelo, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more antient than the birth of Chriſt. This paſſage, in conjunction with the above-mentioned coins, ſeems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the moſt antient Syriac and Arabic alphabets from hence likewiſe plainly appears;

ment, and diſowned the orders he had given Athenæus, telling their embaſſadors, that he was well ſerved for his unjuſt invaſion of their country. This gave great ſatisfaction to the Arabs; though, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt any unforeſeen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any ſudden incurſion. Antigonus, finding them upon their guard, for ſome time continued in a ſtate of friendſhip with them; but at laſt imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late diſgrace offered, he ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a choice detachment of four thouſand foot and as many horſe, to chaſtiſe them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a ſufficient garriſon into Petra, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. However, Demetrius arrived before Petra, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulſed and obliged to draw off. The next day, when he began to renew the attack, an Arab from the walls ſpoke to him in the following terms: "King Demetrius, what would you have? "What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the "wilderneſs, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other "things you cannot ſubſiſt without, are to be found? We "inhabit theſe deſolate plains for the ſake of liberty, and ſub-"mit to ſuch inconveniences as no other people can bear, in "order to enjoy it. You can never force us to change our "ſentiments, nor way of life, neither can you, for want of "neceſſaries, ſtay long here: therefore we deſire you to re-"tire out of our country, as we have never injured you, to "accept

appears; and that they both, as well as the Phœnician, were deduced from the antient Hebrew or Aſſyrian letters, we have elſewhere obſerved. The preſent Arabic letters derive their origin from the ſame ſource. The alphabet of the Mendæans or Nabathæans, at preſent in uſe amongſt the poſterity of the old Aſſyrians and Chaldæans, given us by Dr. Hyde, is only a corruption of the old Syriac letters. In ſhort, this paſſage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to ſeveral curious diſcoveries, equally entertaining and uſeful (5).

(5) Diod. Sic. in loc. cit. Bernard. tab. alph. Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 298. & vol. xvi. p. 653. Hyde hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p. 524. Monarch. Aſiatico-Saracen. a Georg. Jacob. Kehr. edit. Lipſiæ, 1724. p. 3——6.

" accept of ſome preſents from us, and to prevail upon your " father Antigonus to rank the Nabathæan Arabs amongſt his " friends." Demetrius, having received ſuch preſents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hoſtages for their future good behaviour, raiſed the ſiege, and marched with his army to the lake of Aſphaltitis, where he encamped. Plutarch relates, that Demetrius's ſurpriſing intrepidity in the moſt imminent dangers ſo aſtoniſhed the Arabs, that they not only ſuffered him to retire quietly out of their territories, but alſo to carry off with him an immenſe booty, and, among other things, ſeven hundred camels [c].

They did not ſuffer Antigonus to collect bitumen on the lake Aſphaltitis.

ANTIGONUS was greatly diſſatisfied with the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, imagining, that the Arabs would grow more inſolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleaſed with his ſon Demetrius, for diſcovering the lake Aſphaltitis, which, it ſeems, till that time, had been unknown to the Greeks, eſpecially as he imagined his revenue would be much encreaſed by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, Hieronymus Cardianus the hiſtorian his treaſurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ſhips, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out of the lake. But the Arabs, being appriſed of this, drew together a body of ſix thouſand men, with which they attacked the people Cardianus employed, and cut them almoſt all off; which obliged Antigonus to lay aſide the project he had formed. Mr. Sale ſays, he does not find any of Alexander's ſucceſſors, either in Aſia or Egypt, ever to have made any attempts upon the Arabs, which we own ourſelves aſtoniſhed at. As greatly are we ſurpriſed to find, that the paſſage he quotes on this occaſion makes directly againſt him [d].

Pompey made an Arab tribe tributary to the Romans.

As for the Romans, they never conquered any part of Arabia properly ſo called; though that the Arabs ſubmitted to Lucullus, is aſſerted by Plutarch. The moſt they did was to make ſome tribes tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampſiceramus or Shams' alkerâm, who reigned at Hems or Emeſa. His people were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other Arabs, as we learn from Strabo [e].

THAT the Arabs frequently made dreadful incurſions into Syria, whilſt under the Romans, we have already obſerved from

[c] Idem ibid. Plutarch. in Demetr. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 13, 14.

[d] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

[e] Plut. in Lucul. Strab. l. xvi.

from Strabo; and are now farther to obſerve, that theſe incurſions ſometimes brought upon them the Roman arms. Pompey, as we learn from Plutarch, obliged one Aretas, an Arab prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon Syria and Meſopotamia, to ſubmit to him, and to receive a Roman garriſon: and the ſame general likewiſe ſubdued the Arabs, who dwelt about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius. After which the king of the Arabs reſiding in Petra, who till now had made no account of the Romans, ſubmitted himſelf by letter to him; but that Pompey ever poſſeſſed himſelf of that ſtrong-hold, does not appear. Plutarch rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the death of Mithridates, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of that prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe Gabinius, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of Syria, made preparations for an expedition againſt the Arabians, but was diverted from his deſign by Ptolemy's ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom [f].

AGBARUS, or, according to others, Ariamnes, not far from the time we are now upon, an Arab emir or phylarch, miſled and deluded Craſſus to his own deſtruction. Not long after which event, the Arabs probably defended the Palmyrenians, when Antony ſent a detachment of horſe to ravage their city. For Appian tells us, that the body of troops defending them conſiſted of archers, "who excelled in that "way;" which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Arabs [g].

Ælius Gallus's expedition.

BUT none of the Romans ever penetrated ſo far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus, or Ælius Largus, as he is called by Dio, in the reign of the emperor Auguſtus. That general, after traverſing vaſt deſerts, came within two days journey of the aromatiferous parts of Arabia. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty biremes, beſides ſeveral triremes, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels, imagining, that a fleet of ſuch ſhips would be of ſignal ſervice to him. But, finding himſelf deceived in that expectation, he equipped another fleet conſiſting of an hundred and thirty tranſports, with which, after he had put on board all his forces, he ſailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans on the coaſt of the Red Sea. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves, which are in that part of the Arabian gulf, and Syllæus, who had undertaken to be his guide, treacherouſly conducted him the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt many of his ſhips. Had

[f] Plut. in Pomp. & alib. [g] Appian. de bel. civil.

Had he marched his army by land, as was at firſt intended, he might have avoided this diſaſter; but Syllæus prevented the execution of that ſalutary deſign, informing Gallus, that there was no ſafe paſſage by land for his troops through the country of the Nabathæans, though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans almoſt as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at Leucocome, a ſtrange diſtemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the ſummer, and the following winter. This diſtemper, according to Dio, firſt ſeized the head, where, if it ſettled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occaſioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the ſpring Gallus, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of Hira, where he met with a moſt kind reception from Al Hareth, or, as Strabo names him, Aretas, a near relation of Abd Wadd, or Obodas, king of the Nabathæans, his ally. After a ſhort ſtay here, he reſumed his march, and in thirty days having croſſed a vaſt deſert, he arrived upon the borders of Arrarena, a country inhabited by the Scenite Arabs, and governed by one Sabus. This region he likewiſe traverſed in fifty days, and took poſt with all his forces at the city of Najrân, ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful country, whoſe king abandoned it upon his approach. Gallus, having taken this city by aſſault, continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of Arabs who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but as they were only a raw and undiſciplined multitude, armed with lances, bows and arrows, ſwords, ſlings, hatchets, &c. in an irregular manner, Gallus eaſily routed them, and cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable places without oppoſition, and penetrated as far as Marſyabæ, a city of the Rhamanites, governed by a petty prince named Ilaſarus, or Al Aſar, which he beſieged ineffectually, being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various diſtempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the inſalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence purſue his rout into Egypt. Accordingly, he ſet out on his march homeward, and, by the aſſiſtance of more faithful

ful guides, reached the city of Negra, one of Obodas's maritime towns, by the road of Anagrana, Chaalla, Malotha, &c. in ſixty days. Here he embarqued his troops, and, croſſing the Arabian gulf, landed at Myos Hormus, on the Egyptian ſide; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to Alexandria. The bad ſucceſs Gallus met with on this occaſion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of Syllæus, whoſe view, in the total deſtruction of the Roman army, ſeems to have been the acquiſition of ſome of the Roman conqueſts for his maſter Obodas, who likewiſe concurred with his chief miniſter, by not ſupporting Gallus, as he had promiſed. Be that as it will, the Roman general diſcovered the perfidy of Syllæus before his return out of Arabia; but, for ſome political reaſons, he thought proper then to diſſemble his reſentment. However, after his arrival in Egypt, he ſent the traitor to Rome, where, for this, and other enormous crimes, he had his head ſtruck off by the emperor's order; that thereby others might be deterred from the like villainous conduct for the future. We muſt not omit obſerving, that Gallus ſpent two years in this unfortunate expedition [f].

The Roman hiſtorians falſly aſſert Trajan to have conquered Arabia,

FROM this time to the reign of Trajan, we hear little of Arabia; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the entire reduction of Arabia Petræa by Aulus Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, according to Dio. Euſebius relates, that the inhabitants of Petra and Boſtra computed their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the Roman empire. Nay, Arrian, Eutropius, Lucian, and Dio, intimate, that Trajan conquered Arabia Felix, which ſeems to be confirmed by ſome medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conqueſt of India. But all this was groſs flattery, meriting not the leaſt regard, as will appear from the reception the Hagareans gave him, when he marched againſt them about ſix years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the laſt year of Trajan, is a convincing proof, that he never was maſter of Arabia Petræa, much leſs Arabia Felix, notwithſtanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and hiſtorians [g],

TRAJAN,

[f] Strab. ubi ſup. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Dio, l. liii. p. 516, & ſeq. ad an U. C. 730. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiii. p. 380, 381. [g] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 777. Euſeb. in chron. p. 206. Arrian.

TRAJAN, receiving intelligence, that the Hagarenes had declared againſt him, marched from Cteſiphon into their territories with a powerful army, and laid ſiege to their capital city. As it was ſituated on the top of a high and ſteep mountain, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, ſeated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garriſon, Trajan could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs, and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed an horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewiſe dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the ſame time they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies; ſo that Trajan was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire. As the metropolis of the Hagarenes, from ſome circumſtances hinted at by Dio, muſt have been the ſame with the modern Errakim or Arrakeh, we cannot help thinking, that the Romans were never abſolute maſters of even Arabia Petræa, whatever homage they might have received from the Arabs of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in ſome points, to be relied on in the preſent caſe; as will more fully appear from an obſervation already made towards the cloſe of the hiſtory of the Ethiopians [h].

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

ABOUT eighty years after, the emperor Severus, being greatly incenſed at the Arabs bordering on Syria, for aſſiſting Niger, laid ſiege to Atræ their capital with a formidable army, and a vaſt train of military engines invented by Priſcus, the moſt celebrated mechanic of his age. He puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear that of all nations the Hagarenes only ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt

As is Severus, after he had ineffectually laid ſiege to Atræ.

Arrian. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46. Franciſc. Mediobarb. Birag. p. 116. Occo. p. 215. Feſt. in breviar. p. 551. Eutrop. in Trajan. Lucian. philop. Vid. etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 575.

[h] Idat. & Caſſiodor. in Faſt. Dio. ubi ſup. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 854. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Vid. & Univ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 580. & vol. 18. p. 162.

againſt the Romans. Being repulſed in the firſt attack with great ſlaughter, he ordered a ſecond to be made; when he might have carried the place, but choſe rather to ſound a retreat, hoping by this means, to induce the Arabs to ſue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would diſcover their hidden treaſures ſuppoſed to be conſecrated to the Sun. But for a whole day they made not the leaſt overture. In the mean time the ardor of his troops cooled to ſuch a degree, that the Europeans refuſed to begin another aſſault and the Syrians were repulſed in one that they made. This ſo chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers repreſented to him, that he would engage to ſtorm the place with five hundred and fifty European ſoldiers, he replied, But where ſhall I find ſo many? God, ſays the hiſtorian, preſerved the town by the backwardneſs of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next. He was, therefore, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions [i].

Short account of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed.

From this time to the birth of Mohammed we find not many particulars of moment related of the Arabs in general, or of the Saracens, the moſt noted people of them, in particular, by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians. The Saracens, however, we are told, ravaged Meſopotamia in the time of the emperor Conſtantius, and joined the Perſians againſt Julian. That prince, it ſeems, and ſome of his predeceſſors, had paid the Saracens, that they might have a body of troops always on foot for the ſervice of the Romans: but this he took into his head to diſcontinue; and when they ſent deputies to complain of this treatment, Julian told them, that a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold; which they reſenting, went over to the Perſian, and ever after continued faithful to him. Mavia, queen of the Saracens, ſent a body of her troops to the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt the Goths, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, by their vigorous ſallies, forced thoſe barbarians to retire from before Conſtantinople, which metropolis they had beſieged. About the year of the chriſtian æra 411, they committed great diſorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Paleſtine, Phœnicia, and Syria; but ſoon retired of their own accord. In the reign of Theodoſius, Alamundarus, or Al Mondar, with a numerous army, aſſiſted the Perſians againſt that

[i] Dio, p. 948. Herodian. l. iii. Euſeb. chron. Spartian. in Sever. Goltz. p. 84. Univ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 101.

that prince; but the greateſt part of his men, being ſeized with an unaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the Euphrates, where, to the number of an hundred thouſand, they are ſaid to have periſhed. A. D. 452, the Saracens, Nubians, and Blemmyes, broke into the Roman empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the emperor Marcian, and forced to ſue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the ſixth century, a prince of the Mondar family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the Romans, as we learn from Procopius. He ſo haraſſed them for fifty years together, by ravaging all their territories, from the borders of Egypt to the confines of Meſopotamia, killing vaſt numbers of their ſubjects, and exacting immenſe ſums for the redemption of others taken priſoners, that, to uſe Procopius's expreſſion, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew from Egypt to Meſopotamia like lightning, being ſo quick in his incurſions, that the Roman troops ſcarce ever began their march to put a ſtop to his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the Romans, when he found himſelf obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole Roman corps priſoners, with their general Demoſtratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John the ſon of Lucas, for whoſe ranſom he had an immenſe ſum of money paid him. Being at the head of all the Saracens bordering upon the Perſian dominions, and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring Roman provinces he pleaſed, he was one of the moſt formidable enemies the Romans had. None of their generals, nor any of the Arab phylarchs in their intereſt, could ever make head againſt him. Juſtinian, in order to annoy him, veſted Aretas, another Arab prince, with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to puſh on the war with greater vigour againſt Alamundarus, for ſo Procopius calls him. However, Al Mondar was victorious in every engagement with Aretas, either vanquiſhing him by downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the Romans. In fine, this prince, with Azarethes the Perſian general, defeated the renowned Beliſarius, and ſcattered terror where-ever he came. The diſpute he had with Aretas, who pleaded the cauſe of the Romans, about a territory called Strata, our readers will find related in Procopius. But as the rapid conqueſts of the Saracens,

racens, and the principal tranſactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of Mohammed, we ſhall reſerve what we have to ſay of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern hiſtory of Arabia [k].

Arabia famous for hereſies, after the introduction of chriſtianity.

THAT Arabia, after the introduction of chriſtianity, was famous for hereſies, has been already obſerved. The Hamyarites were infected with the Arian hereſy in the reign of the emperor Conſtantius, as we learn from Theophilus Indus in Philoſtorgius. Some chriſtians of this nation believed, that the ſoul died with the body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day. Theſe Origen is ſaid to have convinced. The hereſies of Ebion, Beryllus, the Nazaræans, and Collyridians were alſo broached, or at leaſt propagated, among the Arabs. The Collyridians were ſo denominated from a ſort of twiſted cake called collyris, which they offered to the virgin Mary, whom they worſhipped as GOD. Other ſects likewiſe there were within the borders of Arabia, who took refuge there from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts; ſeveral of whoſe notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be ſhewn [l].

Many Jews converted by a miracle to chriſtianity.

THE Jews, though an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in Arabia, whither they fled from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, as well as the great havock made amongſt them by the emperor Hadrian, and brought over ſeveral tribes to their religion. The Jews of Hamyar, we are told, not far from the time of Dhu Nowâs above-mentioned, challenged ſome neighbouring chriſtians to a public diſputation, which was held ſub dio three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people. The diſputants were Gregentius, biſhop of Tephra or Dhafâr for the chriſtians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the diſpute, demanded, that Jeſus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worſhippers, ſhould appear from heaven in their ſight, and they would then believe on him; the Jews

[k] Ammian. Mercellin. l. xiv. l. xxv. & l. xxix. Socrat. p. 357---360. Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Procop. de bel. Perſ. l. i. p. 49, 50, 51--54, 55, 88. Vid. etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 459, 540. & vol. xvi. p. 29, 189, 205, 253. [l] Sulpic. Sever. in hiſt. ſacr. p. 112, &c. Sozom. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 16, 17. Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. vi. c. 33. & c. 37. Epiphan. de hæreſ. l. i. hær. 40. ut & l. iii. hæreſ. 75, 79. Theophilus Indus apud Philoſtorgium, l. iii. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 34, 35.

Jews crying out, with one voice, "Shew us your CHRIST, "alas, and we will become chriſtians." Whereupon, after a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, JESUS CHRIST appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a ſword in his hand, and an ineſtimable diadem on his head; and ſpake theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly: "Behold, I appear to you in your ſight, "I, who was crucified by your fathers." After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The chriſtians hereupon cried out, "Lord, have mercy upon us;" but the Jews were ſtricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptiſed [m].

Conclusion of the hiſtory of the antient Arabs.

DHU NOWAS, as has been obſerved, was a Jew, and perſecuted all, the chriſtians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty chriſtians in the city of Najrân only. Not content with this, he ſent an embaſſy to Al Mondar, king of Hira, offering him large ſums of money, if he would perſecute the chriſtians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of Alexandria preſſing Eleſbaas (E) the Najaſhi, or king of Ethiopia, to revenge ſuch inhuman cruelty, that prince croſſed the ſtreights of Bab-al-Mandab with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three ſail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he made a deſcent in Yaman. With theſe forces he overthrew Dhu Nowâs, ſeized upon his kingdom, and made St. Aretas's ſon governor of Najrân. The Abaſſines kept poſſeſſion of this kingdom, till they were driven out by Seif the ſon of Dhu Yazan of the tribe of Hamyar, who was, however, himſelf ſlain by ſome of them that had been left behind. The war of the elephant we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore ſhall conclude our hiſtory of the

[m] Gregentius in diſput. cum Herban. Judæ, & Sale ubi ſup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to ſome of the Syriac writers, Eleſbaas or Eleſbaan, whom they call Aidog, king of Ethiopia, undertook an expedition againſt one Dimnon, king of the Hamyarites, for maſſacring ſome chriſtian merchants, that were Romans, in their paſſage through Yaman into Ethiopia; which he did, to revenge the cruelties exerciſed on the Jews, of whoſe communion, it ſeems, he was a member, in the dominions of the Roman emperor. They add, that Eleſbaas did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his ſubjects might ſuſtain

the antient Arabs, or the time of ignorance, as it is called by the Mohammedans, with obſerving, that Abd al Motalleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, was prince or chief of the Koreiſh at the time this war happened; that Mohammed himſelf was born the very year the Abaſſines were overthrown in their expedition to Mecca; that on this year, A. D. 578, commenced the æra of the elephant, from which the Arabs computed their time for twenty years; and that another, called the æra of the unjuſt war (F) ſucceeded this, which continued to the Hejra [n] (G).

CHAP.

[n] Abulfed. hiſt gen. Al-Gjuzius in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. cap. 78. Al Zamakhſhar. Al Beidawi, Jallal. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. Al Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 172, 173. Sim. Metaphraſtes in vit. S. Aret. & ſocior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareſtan. Job Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliiq; auctor. ſupra laudat.

ſuſtain in point of trade upon this occaſion. Before the Arab and Ethiopian armies engaged, Eleſbaas, according to the ſame authors, vowed ſolemnly to embrace the chriſtian religion, in caſe he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, Dimion was vanquiſhed and ſlain, and Eleſbaas or Aidog profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and placed a chriſtian prince upon the throne of Hamyar. Upon the death of this king, the Jews, who were ſtill very numerous there, found means to fix Dhu Nowâs upon that throne, who, at their inſtigation, proved a bitter enemy to the chriſtians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are ſet forth at large by Metaphraſtes, Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(F) This was called the unjuſt and impious war, becauſe the principal actions of it happened betwixt the Kais Ailan and the Koreiſh, two powerful Arabian tribes, in the ſacred months abovementioned. Theſe ſacred months were Moharran, Rajeb, Dulkaada, and Dulhaga. In them all acts of hoſtility amongſt the jarring tribes, how violent ſoever their reſentment might be, entirely ceaſed. They then laid aſide all weapons of war, and converſed together in the moſt friendly manner. Nay, if an Arab met with the perſon that had killed his father or brother, he could not then

(5) Simeon Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſcop. & Joan. Aſiæ epiſc. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Oriental. vol. i. p. 359---385. ut & ipſe Aſſeman. ibid.

CHAP. [X.]

The hiſtory of the empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their foundation, the former by Theodore Laſcaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final abolition, the one by Michael Paleologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two laſt empires we have left to mention on the other ſide the Mediterranean, and before we repaſs into Europe. We have given them the laſt place, and have joined them in the ſame chapter, as they were of the moderneſt date, ſmalleſt extent, and ſhorteſt duration, of any of thoſe we have had occaſion to ſpeak of, either in Aſia or Africa, that are now extinct; and as they were both diſmembered from the Greek empire about the ſame time, that is, ſoon after the taking of its great metropolis by the Latins, mentioned in a former volume [a]. That of Nice was founded by Theodore Laſcaris, and that of Trapeſond by David and Alexius Comneni, whilſt Baldwin reigned at Conſtantinople. As for the Vandals, and their kingdom in Africa, it made ſo ſmall and ſhort a figure, and we know ſo little of its extent, and other particulars, except what we have ſo lately taken A. C. 1204.

 notice

[a] See vol. xvi. p. 505.

then offer any violence to him. The Hejra did not take place, till it was agreed upon, in the khalifat of Omar, that the Arabs ſhould ſuppute their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events ſupplied the Arabs with epochs before the Hejra, viz. the invaſion and reduction of Yaman by the Abaſſines; the expulſion of the Amalekites, by the family of Jorham, from the territory of Mecca; the battle of Ebn Wayel; the wars called Al Baſus and Dahes; the inundation of Al Arem; the fire Derar, which appeared in a ſtony diſtrict of the kingdom of Yaman, &c. The people of Yaman, however, for the moſt part, ſupputed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. Al Jauhar. Al Firauza. had Al Shareſtan. Al Kodaius, & Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 173, 174.
(7) Al Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 172, 173, 174. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Vid. & Ludolph. ubi ſup.

notice of in their hiſtory, that we think we need not repeat it here; but refer our readers to a former chapter in volume xvi. p. 221, & ſeq.

The empire and emperors of Nice.

Theodore Laſcaris founds the empire of Nice.

THEODORUS LASCARIS, ſon-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having happily eſcaped out of Conſtantinople, and fled into Bithynia, was there received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of Phrygia, Myſia, Lydia, and Ionia, from the Meander to the Black or Euxine Sea. Theſe he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial reſidence in the famous city of Nice, from which this new empire took its name [b]. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and Jathatines ſultan of Iconium, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his aſſiſtance againſt the new emperor. They marched accordingly againſt him with an army of twenty thouſand men, and laid ſiege to the city of Antioch, on the Meander, the then boundary of this new empire on that ſide.

Defeats Angelus and the Turks.

Laſcaris, though he could then muſter but two thouſand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, leſt its falling into their hands ſhould open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were ſurpriſed to find him come ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an handful of men, againſt them; but ſuch was his valour, and that of his troops, eſpecially of eight hundred of his Italians, that he gave the enemy a ſignal overthrow: but his Greeks being ſomewhat intimidated at the ſight of the ſuperior enemy, the ſultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onſet, fell ſuddenly upon them, and, having ſingled Laſcaris out, threw him off his horſe at the firſt blow. Laſcaris ſoon recovered himſelf, unhorſed his competitor, ſtruck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into ſuch a panic, that they betook themſelves to flight. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to Nice, where he ended his days in a monaſtery, where Laſcaris had confined him. The Turks were ſoon after glad to accept of ſuch a peace as he was pleaſed to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and Henry the brother and ſucceſſor of Baldwin, he was then at full leiſure to

[b] Nicet. in Bald. c. 1, & ſeq.

to ſecure his new-founded empire to himſelf and ſucceſſors, which he did with vaſt ſucceſs and bravery, both againſt the Turks and Latins, during the ſpace of eighteen years [c].

At his death he left only a ſon, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom, named Irene, he had married to the brave John Ducas, ſurnamed Vataces, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy; tho' he had two brothers, viz. Alexius and Angelus, whom it might be expected he would have entruſted with the care of his ſon and empire: but he ſeems to have been more intent in ſtrengthening and enlarging the latter, than to ſecure it to his neareſt kindred; and accordingly named his ſon-in-law his ſucceſſor, as the moſt capable of anſwering his deſign; and ſuch he really proved. His death and ſucceſſor.

2. John Ducas was accordingly crowned at Nice by Manuel the great patriarch, and proved no leſs brave and ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. We have formerly had occaſion to mention his great ſucceſs againſt the Turks, and eſpecially the Latins, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles, and from whom he took a conſiderable number of places, which we ſhall forbear repeating here [d]. He died after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the ſixty-ſecond of his age, after having extended his conqueſts, not only in Aſia, but in Europe, and even almoſt to the gates of Conſtantinople; and was ſucceeded by his ſon, John Ducas crowned emperor. A. C. 1222.

3. Theodore Lascaris; who, during his ſhort reign, was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt the Bulgarians, and the deſpot of Epirus, as we have formerly ſeen [e]. One great overſight this prince was guilty of, was, the recalling the traitor Michael Paleologus, who was gone from him over to the Turks, and reſtoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his ſon of the empire, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. Theodore died in the third year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Theodore Laſcaris crowned. A. C. 1255.

4. John Lascaris, then about nine years of age; for which reaſon his father committed him, and the care of the John Laſcaris crowned. A. C. 1258.

[c] Idem ibid. c. 11. ad fin. See before vol. xvi. p. 505, paſſ.
[d] Ibid. p. 510, & ſeq. Vid. & Geor. Acrop. l. i. c. 2.
[e] Idem ibid. c. 12, & ſeq. See before vol. xvi. p. 510, & ſeq.

the empire, to Arſenius the then patriarch of Nice, and to the famed Muzalo, a perſon indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deſervedly raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the empire. For this, Muzalo incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithſtanding the ſolemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, ruſhed with their ſwords drawn upon that brave miniſter, on the very day and place where the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were performed; and, in the midſt of the divine ſervice, diſpatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for ſanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous Paleologus had the greateſt hand in the contriving and conducting of this aſſaſſination, as it was the moſt likely means to open him the way to the ſeizing on the imperial dignity, which he never muſt have ſo much as aimed at, whilſt the young prince was under the care of ſo brave and worthy a guardian. However that be, Muzalo was no ſooner diſpatched out of his way, but the traitor cauſed himſelf to be choſen to ſucceed him in the guardianſhip of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the leaſt notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no conſummate ſtateſman, was yet a perſon of ſingular learning and merit.

Muzalo aſſaſſinated.

Paleologus choſen protector.

His new dignity was ſoon after ſignalized with a complete overthrow, which his brother John gave to the deſpot of Epirus, who had then invaded the provinces of Thrace and Macedon. The news of this action no ſooner reached Magneſia, the place where the new protector then reſided, but he was ſaluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and Paleologus found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himſelf under a ſolemn oath to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he came to be of age. This having for the preſent ſatisfied the too credulous prelate, he was eaſily perſuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further concerned with any particulars of that uſurper's reign, than as they relate to the Nicean empire, to which he now put an end, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in a former volume [f]; and only add here, that having ſoon after, that is,

His treachery and treaſon. A. C. 1259.

[f] Before vol. vi. p. 513.

is, in the ſecond year of his reign, taken Conſtantinople from the Latins, he removed the ſeat of the empire from Nice to that antient metropolis, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned afreſh emperor of the eaſt. The unfortunate A. C. 1261. young prince fell a ſacrifice to that tyrant's ambition, who cauſed, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himſelf to be proclaimed the ſole lawful and rightful poſſeſſor of the empire. Arſenius, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication againſt him, and all his adherents; but neither this, nor the great oppoſition which he met with from abroad, could wreſt the empire from him, tho' it proved a very troubleſome and thorny one, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [g]. This was the end of the Nicean empire, about fifty-ſeven years after its foundation. As for Nice, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great meaſure deveſted of its grandeur by the removal of the court to Conſtantinople, yet it continued to be ſo conſiderable a city, that it paſſed once and again from the Greeks, to the Turks, and back again, till it was at length taken by Orchanes in the manner as has been heretofore related [h].

The empire of Trapezond.

THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the ſame time with that of Nice, laſted much longer, and made a much more conſiderable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of Trapezond or Trapeſus, which was now made A. C. 1204. the imperial ſeat of the Comneni, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). David and Alexius Com-

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond.

U 4 neni

[g] Ibid. p. 517, & ſeq. et Pachym. l. i. & ii. paſſ. [h] Before, ibid. p. 531, & ſeq.

(A) Trapeſus or Trapezond, called alſo Trebizond, and by the Turks Tarabozan, was a Greek city in Pontus, founded by the antient Sinopians, and tributary to them, as we learn from Xenophon, who marched by it in his famous retreat, ſpoken of in a former volume (1). It is ſituate on the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninſula, on the Black or Euxine Sea, where it

(1) See before vol. v. p. 174, & ſeq.

neni (B), grandsons to the tyrant Andronicus, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved, death by Isaac Angelus, as

it begins to turn towards the east. Its port is large and convenient, and the city itself well peopled, and surrounded with steep mountains (2).

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of Constantinople always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the Turks, it is become the residence of a begler-beigh. After the overthrow of Mithridates, who had taken it, the Romans restored it, as they did most of the Greek cities in Asia, to its former privileges and liberty (3).

But what rendered it still more famous, was, its being made and continued the imperial residence of the Comneni from the foundation of their empire we are now upon, to the taking it by Mohammed II. of which we shall speak in due place. The reader may see an account of its present situation, commerce, &c. in the volume last quoted.

Aristotle tells us of a kind of honey that was gathered off the box-trees in the neighbourhood of Trapezond, which was an almost infallible cure for the epilepsy; but adds, that if any person in health did venture to eat of it, it bereaved them of their senses (4): he doth not tell us indeed whether it was this very Trapezond we are speaking of, or some other; for there were more cities of that name, particularly one in Arcadia, said to have been founded by, and named from, Trapesus the son of Lycaon.

(B) The family of the Comneni was very antient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted in the margin (5); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem in the person of Isaac Comnenus, who was raised to that dignity against Michael Stratioticus, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (6). Andronicus, the grandfather of these Comneni, was of that family, and uncle to Alexius Comnenus then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young Alexius to be saluted as co-partners, and took him as his collegue to the empire, but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (7).

(2) See Stephan. de urb. Baudran. & al. in voc. (3) See before, vol. ix. p. 375. (4) De mirab. orb. Vid & Steph. de urb. sub voc. Pausan. in Arcadic. (5) Du Fresne, hist. Byzant. de familiis Comnen. p. 160, & seq. stemm. 28. (6) See vol. xvi. p. 455, & seq. (7) Ibid. 491, 495.

as we have formerly ſeen [i], were the firſt founders of it. Theſe, having the good fortune to eſcape out of Conſtantinople together, came and ſeized on the more eaſtern parts of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and erected them into an empire; and Trapezond being then the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable city in their dominions, they made it the ſeat of their reſidence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much leſs, that they were ſoon acknowledged as ſuch. On the contrary, Vincent de Beauvais ſtyles them only lords of Trapezond [k]; but it is plain, that they ſoon arrived at a conſiderable height of power and intereſt, ſince the emperor Baldwin, about thirty-four years after A. C. 1239. their ſettling at Trapezond, ſought their alliance and friendſhip, and was by them aſſiſted in ſome conſiderable enterprizes againſt Vataces emperor of Nice, who had invaded ſome of his dominions, as we hinted under the laſt article, and elſewhere [l]. However, it is not improbable, that neither theſe of Trapezond, nor thoſe of Nice, took upon them the title of emperors till ſome time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as ſome conjecture [m], not till the uſurper Michael Paleologus had ſeized on that of Nice, and got himſelf crowned emperor at Conſtantinople; at which time the Comneni, either in contempt to him, or becauſe they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewiſe aſſume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that, after they had once aſſumed it, their ſucceſſors maintained it with great ſucceſs and bravery; and cauſed themſelves to be acknowledged as ſuch by foreign powers, as long as their empire laſted, that is, till it was ſubdued and put an end to by Mohammed the Great, who, like an irreſiſtible inundation, drove all before him, as we ſhall ſee at the concluſion of this chapter.

Their religion, patriarchs, &c.

THE Trapezuntines were of the Greek church, and after the foundation of this new empire they had a patriarch of of their own; but, whether choſen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly gueſſed at. After their becoming ſubject to the Turks, the latter ſtill choſe their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the ſultan. This was done

[i] Ibid. p. 495. [k] See before vol. ix. p. 375. [l] See before, vol. xvi. p. 512. & Acrop. in Vatac. c. 12. & ſeq. [m] Cruſius annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60. & ſeq. Baudrand. ſub voc. Trapez. Du Freſne, hiſt. Byzant. p. 166, & ſeq.

done every-where, it ſeems, throughout the Turkiſh conqueſts, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed under the chriſtian emperors, that is, without paying any fine to the treaſury. The clergy of Trapezond were the firſt who cáuſed this dignity to be ſaddled with one of a thouſand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to thoſe of their other conqueſts. The occaſion of it being ſomewhat remarkable, we ſhall give it our reader in the margin (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws, cuſtoms, &c. there is the leſs neceſſity to dwell longer on them, conſidering that theſe two empires were only diſmembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change

(C) The Trapezontines were at that time under a patriarch named Mark, who was ſo ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate unto it one Simeon, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of Conſtantinople, a perſon of merit on ſeveral accounts, but eſpecially for his extraordinary hoſpitality. To compaſs their deſign, they fell upon the following doughty expedient: they accuſed Mark of having introduced a new kind of ſimony, till then unheard of among them, that is, to have agreed to pay one thouſand ducats into the ſultan's treaſury, as ſoon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accuſation by the moſt ſolemn oaths; his enemies had bribed ſo many conſiderable perſons, ſome of them eccleſiaſtics, to ſwear it againſt him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only ipſo facto deprived of his dignity, but alſo worthy of excommunication and baniſhment. This being done, they took one thouſand ducats, and went with them to the ſultan, and told him, that ſince Mark, a perſon odious to the clergy and laity, had promiſed him that ſum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highneſs, provided they might be permitted to raiſe their favourite monk to it.

The ſultan, who knew nothing of ſuch a promiſe, could not at firſt forbear ſmiling at the propoſal, and heſitated ſome time whether he ſhould accept of it; at length conſidering, that this would ſerve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity to the payment of the like ſum, owned to them, that Mark had indeed promiſed it to him: But, continued he, and taking the money at the ſame time, ſince he is ſo obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place; which was done accordingly (8).

(8) Du Freſne, hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm. 28. p. 169.

change of government, or rather governors. As for their trade, conſidering the excellent ſituation of their metropolis, and of ſome other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the Pontic hiſtory [n], we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by Tournefort [o], as well as the coins mentioned by Du Freſne [p], leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire, and its metropolis, tho', ſince their falling into the hands of the Turks, they have fared like all the reſt of their conqueſts, and greatly failed of their antient commerce and ſplendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the Trapezontine monarchs from Alexius their founder to David their laſt emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themſelves in their high dignity againſt ſo many powerful enemies, ſuch as were, ſome time, the Latins and the Greeks, eſpecially thoſe of the new Nicean empire, and at other times the Turks, Saracens, Perſians, &c. Theſe would doubtleſs make a conſiderable figure in this hiſtory, had they been tranſmitted to us in an uninterrupted ſeries; but the misfortune is, that the Byzantine hiſtorians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occaſionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the Conſtantinopolitan empire; ſo that we muſt be content with the ſeries of thoſe eleven emperors, and with ſuch few particulars as we find recorded of them. We ſhall only add, that the duration of the Trapezontine empire was about two hundred and fifty-ſeven or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Chriſt 1204, and ſubdued An. 1461, or 1462.

Trade.

Emperors of Trapezond.

1. ALEXIUS COMNENUS, ſurnamed the Great, and his brother David, were the ſons of Manuel, and grandſons of the tyrant Andronicus Comnenus. We have already ſpoken of the uſurpation and tyranny, as well as the diſmal end, of the latter. As for Manuel, he was the eldeſt ſon of Andronicus; but was ſo unlike his father in his vices, that he was

Alexius the Great.

[n] See before, vol. ix. p. 375, & ſeq. [o] Voyages au Levant. [p] Hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm. 28. p. 168.

was diſinherited and impriſoned by him (D), and his next brother John appointed his ſucceſſor; but, when he found the whole populace exaſperated at it, he then tried in vain to appeaſe them, by pretending, that he always deſigned the empire for Manuel, and promiſing to name him to it. Upon the death of Andronicus, and the reſtoration of Iſaac Angelus, or rather ſoon after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, Manuel's two ſons, Alexius and his brother David, fled into Pontus, ſeized on Heraclea, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of that whole province, together with Paphlagonia, Colchis, Galatia, Cappadocia, with ſome others of leſs note; and Alexius fixed his imperial ſeat at Trapezond [q]. He ſoon after made an alliance with Baldwin emperor of Conſtantinople, and aſſiſted him againſt Theodore Laſcaris, as we have already hinted. It doth not however appear, that he took the imperial title, moſt authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandſon or great-grandſon that firſt aſſumed it [r]; and that he only took that of duke or lord of Trapezond, as he is called by an antient author, who mentions him on account of his being uſed to furniſh the ſultan of Iconium with two hundred lances [s]. He was ſucceeded by,

2. ----Comnenus; and he by

3. ----Comnenus (E); of whoſe name and father we know nothing but what was hinted in the laſt note.

4. John

[q] Nicetas in Baldwin. Acrop c. 7. Aithon. c. 13. [r] Vid. Cruſ. ubi ſup. Du Freſne ſub Alex. Mag. [s] Vincent. Bellovac. ſub ann. 1240.

(D) Among other things, by which Manuel diſobliged his father, one was, that he conſtantly refuſed to marry Agnes the daughter of Philip king of the Franks, and wife of Alexius the depoſed emperor of Conſtantinople, though his father earneſtly preſſed him to it, and promiſed him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refuſal, which, our author ſays (9), he excuſed on account of ſuch a marriage being contrary to the eccleſiaſtical laws, did ſo incenſe the tyrant, that at laſt he caſt him into a priſon, and appointed his next ſon to ſucceed him (10).

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning theſe two, not even their names; only we are told, that John, the next in order, was

(9) Cruſius Turco-Græc. p. 124, & ſeq. (10) Nicet. in Andronic. lib. ii. n. 8. & ſeq. in Alex. Mag. n. 4. & in Iſaac. l. i. n. 5.

4. JOHN COMNENUS; the firſt, as is generally ſuppoſed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted a little higher, the probable reaſon of his aſſuming it, viz. out of emulation againſt Michael Paleologus. To this we may add what a cotemporary author, who was protonotary to the ſaid Paleologus, ſays [t]; viz. that John rather ſuffered himſelf to be complimented with it by the Greeks, out of ſpite and contempt to that uſurper, who, by his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and uniting the Greek and Latin churches, had rendered himſelf odious to them. Another, who lived near the ſame time [u], hints much the ſame thing, when he ſays, that the province of Trapezond was antiently under the government of dukes, who were ſent thither in that quality by the Conſtantinopolitan emperors; that one of thoſe governors having made himſelf abſolute maſter there, took upon him the title of king; and that he that then reigned there, had aſſumed that of emperor. We do not find, however, that Michael made any oppoſition to this new-aſſumed title. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the laſt article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at leaſt he thought fit to court his friendſhip and alliance by offering him his daughter Eudocia Paleologina in marriage; which John readily accepted of, and went to Conſtantinople to eſpouſe her; and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to him by his father. All that we know further of him is, that he was earneſtly courted by pope Nicolas IV. to engage in the holy war about the year 1291, and that he died about four years after, and left two ſons behind, by his wife Eudocia, viz. Alexius II. who ſucceeded him, and John his younger brother,

John, the firſt who is ſtyled emperor.

A. C. 1281.

A. C. 1295.

[t] Ogerius ap. Wadd. Vid. Du Freſne ſub Joh. Comn. [u] Aithon. c. 13.

was the grandſon, according to ſome, or the great-grandſon (11), according to others, of the great Alexius. Among theſe the famed Ogerius, protonotary of Michael Paleologus, who wrote about the year 1279, calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the John we are now ſpeaking of, the great-grandſon of Alexius the great; ſo that, according (12) to his account, there muſt have been two princes between theſe two laſt-named (13).

(11) Gregoras, lib. v. (12) Oger. apud Wadd. ubi ſup. (13) Vid. Du Freſne ſub Alex. Comn. p. 192.

ther, whom that princeſs took with her, being then very young, to Conſtantinople, ſoon after the emperor's death [w].

Alexius II. 5. ALEXIUS II. was born in 1282 [x], and left, by his father's laſt will, under the guardianſhip of Andronicus Paleologus the elder [y]. He married the daughter of an Iberian prince, tho' he had the offer of a much richer wife, which An-

A. C. 1303. dronicus Auguſtus had deſigned for him. He defeated the Genoeſe, and ſoon after entered into an alliance with them [z]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Baſilius I. 6. Baſilius I. who was forced to fight his way through to

A. C. 1320. gain his paternal inheritance [a]. He was highly courted by pope John XXII. to go over to the church of Rome [b]. His wife, or, as ſome think, hiſſecond, was Eudocia the natural daughter of Andronicus Paleologus the younger [c]. He was ſucceeded by,

Baſilius II. 7. Baſilius II. called alſo the younger [d], to diſtinguiſh him, as is ſuppoſed, from his father. He married Irene Paleologina, daughter of Andronicus the younger; which ſhews, that he muſt be different from the former, who had married Eudocia, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two ſiſters. Irene, however, was afterward ſet aſide to make way for another woman of the ſame name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which ſo exaſperated his queen, that ſhe ſoon after hatched both their ruins: him ſhe cauſed

Cut off by his wife 1339. to be killed by ſome private means, and her ſhe ſent with her children under a guard to Conſtantinople. She governed the empire for ſome time, during which ſhe diſpatched ſome embaſſadors to her father, to deſire him to ſend ſome proper perſon, to whom ſhe might be lawfully married, and have children by, to ſucceed to the empire. The matter was no ſooner known at Trapezond, than an inſurrection was made againſt her; which ended in a civil war, in which Tzanychita, a Trapezuntine nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed [e]. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that Baſil the emperor died in the year of Chriſt 1339 [f]. He left children both by his wife, and his concubine; the latter of which were,

as

[w] Pachym. lib. vi. c. 32, & ſeq. Gregoras, lib. v. & vi. Bzov. ſub an. 1181. n. 12. Wadd. apud Du Freſne ſub Joh. Comn. p. 192. [x] Pachym. l. ix. c, 27. [y] Gregor. l. v. [z] Idem ibid. Bzov. ubi ſup. [a] Gregor. l. xi. [b] Od. Reinald. ſub an. 1329. n. 95. [c] Greg. ibid. Vid. Du Freſne in Baſil. I. [d] Gregor. ibid. [e] Excerpt. ex Greg. ap. Du Freſne in Baſil. II. p. 193. [f] Gregor. ibid. Vigner. in bibl. hiſtor.

as we hinted, ſent with their mother to Conſtantinople. He was ſucceeded by a ſon of the former,

8. ---COMNENUS, whoſe chriſtian name has not been tranſmitted to us, and this laſt by his ſon Alexius. --Commenus.

9. ALEXIUS III (F). and the famed princeſs Eudocia Comnena, ſeem, by all circumſtances of time, place, &c. to have been brother and ſiſter, though their father's name is not recorded by any hiſtorian; neither is it eaſy to gueſs, at what time the former began to reign. As to his ſiſter, ſhe was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married ſome time to a Turkiſh nobleman of great diſtinction, and having ſeveral children by him, as ſoon as ſhe was a widow, ſhe was courted and betrothed to Manuel the ſon of John, emperor of Conſtantinople, who brought her accordingly thither to conſummate his marriage; but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell ſo enamoured with her, that he married her himſelf about the year 1380 [g], that is, towards the latter end of his life and reign, at which time this Alexius was upon the throne of Trapezond. This laſt married, if we may believe Laonicus [h], ſome great lady of the Cantacuzenian family, who being already in love with a Trapezuntine nobleman, ſaid to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, ſhe was reported to carry on a ſhameful intrigue with him. His eldeſt ſon was no ſooner appriſed of it, than he took an opportunity to diſpatch her paramour, and then ſhut her up with the emperor in a room, with a deſign to have ſent them both out of the world by the ſame way; he was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into Spain. Alexius was ſo exaſperated at his ſon, that he diſinherited him, and named Alexander his younger ſon to ſucceed him; but John found means, by the help of ſome Spaniards and Genoeſe, to return to Trapezond; where he cauſed his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred. --Alexius III. Murdered by his ſon.

[g] Laonic. l. ii. Phranz. l. iii. c. 2. [h] Lib. ix.

(F) Some have imagined this laſt to have been the ſon of Baſilius II. and have ſtruck out the anonymous one, who ſtands the eighth in the liſt; but it is ſcarce credible, that he could be the ſon of that Baſil, who died An. 1339, whereas Alexius was ſtill alive A. C. 1428, when he gave Mary his daughter to John then emperor of Conſtantinople (14).

(14) Du Freſne, ibid. p. 193.

magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being ſuſpected to have a hand in his death [i].

John II. 1449. 10. JOHN II. called alſo Calo-Joannes, having thus diſpatched his father, mounted the throne, but found it very difficult to keep himſelf upon it; for the Turks, by this time grown very powerful, fell foul upon him on all ſides, ſo that he was forced to pay an anual tribute of three thouſand ducats to Amurat, and afterwards to his ſon Mohammed II. to enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of it [k]. At his death he left only one ſon, named Alexius, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive with the reſt of the family, at the taking of Trapezond, by Mohammed above-mentioned, and a daughter, named Catharina Comnena, who was by her uncle David given to Aſan Beigh, vulgarly called Uſum Cazanes, in order to prevail upon that monarch to aſſiſt him againſt the continual irruptions which the Turks made againſt him [k]. This was, however, done with this condition, that ſhe ſhould not be obliged to change her religion. John had theſe two by the daughter of one of the kings of Spain, whom ſhe married during his abode there [l]. Some will have her to have been David's own daughter [m], the laſt emperor of Trapezond, but without any foundation; for Laonicus expreſly calls her the daughter of John; and David himſelf, in his letter to Philip duke of Burgundy, ſays plainly enough, that ſhe was the daughter of Calo-Joannes [n].

David the laſt emperor. 11. DAVID COMNENUS, the third brother of John, and laſt emperor of Trapezond, ſeized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young ſon of Alexius. He was a man of a ſavage and cowardly dipoſition [o]. He had married the princeſs Irene, of the Cantacuzen family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatneſs of ſoul, and conſtancy under adverſities [p]. Againſt David, Mohammed II. ſurnamed the Great, who by that time had made himſelf maſter of Græcia, Raſcia, and Servia, and of the city of Conſtantinople, declared war, under pretence, that he had aſſiſted Uſum Cazanes, king of Perſia, and was become tributary to him. David had neither courage

[i] Id. ibid. Vid & Phranz. l. ii. c. 1. Ducas, c. 22, & 45. Du Freſne ſub Alex. p. 194. [k] Phranz. l. ii. c 1. & ſeq. Laonic. l. ix. [k] Leuncl. in pand. Turc. n. 188. & Vigner. bibl. hiſtor. in an. 1456. Vid. & Cruiſ. not. in Turcogræc. p. 61. [l] Iid. ibid. [m] Spandugin. pius in Aſia, c. 53. & al. [n] Laonic. ubi ſup. Æneæ. Sylv. epiſt. 391. [o] Doroth. Monemb. ap. Leon. Allat. de conſenſ. utr. eccleſ. [p] Phranz, l. iii. Spandug. Laonic.

courage nor ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe him; ſo that he marched directly againſt his capital, and laid cloſe ſiege to it by ſea and land. The ſiege had laſted little above a month, when David, having in vain implored the aſſiſtance of chriſtian princes, particularly of Charles VII. king of France, agreed to deliver up this metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition, that his and his family's lives ſhould be ſpared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treaſures into Europe; and that, when there, he ſhould have a ſufficient revenue aſſigned to maintain him and them. Mohammed at firſt refuſed theſe offers with great indignation, not doubting to be ſoon maſter of that metropolis; but a ſecond parley being deſired, he in appearance accepted of them; but having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherouſly cauſed him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept cloſe priſoner. Being now maſter of the city, he ſeized on the emperor's wife (G), daughters, and upon the reſt of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and cauſed them to be ſent in triumph to Conſtantinople. Of the reſt of the Trapezuntines he choſe as many as he thought fit for his ſervice, and ordered eight hundred promiſing youths to be brought up janiſaries. The handſome females he diſtributed among his captains and favourites, and ſome of the fineſt amongſt his own ſons. He left in the city none but the meaneſt of the people, put a ſtrong garriſon of janiſaries into the caſtle, another of common ſoldiers in the town, and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire ſubmitted to the conqueror in a little while after; ſo that the whole was

Trapezond taken by Mohammed.

(G) So ſome authors affirm, and add, that ſhe ſaw, with the utmoſt conſtancy, her husband, and ſeven of her ſons, cruelly butchered by the tyrant, becauſe they would not turn Mohammedans; and that ſhe herſelf died ſoon after (15): but Laonicus affirms, that ſhe found means before the Turkiſh fleet appeared on their coaſts, to make her eſcape to Mamia (16); but what the author means by that word, whether ſome place of ſafety, or ſome relation, or friend, is not poſſible to gueſs. Another author affirms David to have been killed by a blow which Mohammed gave him with his doubled fiſt (17).

(15) Doroth. Menemb. Spandugin. Phranz. & al. (16) Lib. ix. (17) Phranz. lib. iii. c. 2.

was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into Conſtantinople [q].

The royal family butchered by him.

SOON after his arrival thither, he ſent the emperor David, and his children, priſoners to Adrianople; and not long after, upon ſome motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of Uſum Cuzanes, he cauſed them to be put to death. He ſtrove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole Comnenian family; and none of them were ſpared, but George the youngeſt ſon of David, who turned Mohammedan, and one of his ſiſters, who became afterwards Mohammed's concubine [r]. Thus ended the Trapezuntine empire, in the year of Chriſt 1462, and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation [s].

A. C. 1462.

[q] Iid. ibid. Doroth. Monemb. & al. Vid. & Cruiſ. Du Freſne, & auct. ab eis citat. [r] Laonic. l. ix. & x. Hiſt. politic. p. 21. Ricaut. Ottoman empire, &c. [s] Iid. ibid.

CHAP. X.

The antient ſtate and hiſtory of Spain, to the expulſion of the Carthaginians by the Romans, and briefly continued to the deſcent of the Northern nations.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Spain.

Limits and extents of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to Spain was Gaul, from whence it was ſeparated on the N. by the Pyrenees, we may conſider it as a peninſula. On the other ſides we find it ſurrounded by the Mediterranean, the Sinus Gaditanus or bay of Cadiz, the Fretum Herculeum or ſtreights of Gibraltar, the weſtern ocean, and ſea of Cantabria. It muſt have extended, from E. to W. near thirteen degrees, ſince Lisbon is 9°. 30′. W. of London, and cape de Bauger in Catalonia 3°. 15′. E. of that city; and from N. to S. about 9°. 40′. ſince cape de Ortegal, the northern extremity of modern Spain, is in 44°. 10′. N. lat. and the ſouthermoſt point of Tariffa,

ANCIENT SPAIN.

CANTABRIANS
PART OF GAUL
GULF OF GAUL
The Pyrenean Mountains
Artabrum pr. Finisterre
Artabri
Transmontani
Lucenses
Gallaici
Augustani
Cantabri
Concani
Autrigones
Vardüli
Vascones
Celtiberi
Tolosates
Narbo Martius
Suessitani
Lacetani
Cempsi
Iacce tani
Berones
Pelendones
Vaccæi
Arevaci
Bellis
Hedetani
Sedetani
Ilergetes
Ausetani
Cerretani
Laletani
Iberi
Lusitani
Vettones
Carpetani
Lusones
Olcades
Turdetani
Turdüli
Bastuli
Bastitani
Contestani
Oretani
Turdetani
Celtici
Conii
Cynetes
Gravii
Bracari
Lancienses Oppidani
Streights of Hercules
P. of AFRICA
BALEARES ISLANDS
Majorca I.
Minorca I.
Pityusæ I.
Ophiusa I.
OCEAN
WESTERN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF GADES
Durius R.
Tagus R.
Iberus R.
Baetis R.
Anas R.
Auas R.
Tyde
Lima R.
Munius R.
Vacus R.
Monda R.
Singulis R.
Iberus R.
Sucro R.
Turia R.
Segaris
Alone
Dianium
Illici
Lucentum
Carthago Nova
Spartarius Campus
B. of Illici tanus
Virgitanus
Charidemi Promont.
Portus magnus
Abdera
Malaca
Menoba
Basti
Urso
Ostippo
Hispalis
Olucala
Ulia
Iliberis
Epora
Corduba
Carriana
Merobriga
Turdetani
Julia Myrtilis
Ilipla Mag.
Ilipula M.
Ilurbida
Mirobriga
Salamantica
Aqueductus
Segontia
Segovia
Controbia
Complutum
Titulcia
Althæa
Caput Ana
Consaburum
Toletum
Caesarea
Norba
Aebura
Turmuli F.
Segobriga
Hedeta
Valentia
Saguntus
Sucro R.
Oretum
Castulo
Montissa
Tugia
Bæcula
Oliuca
Oringa alʾ Aurinx
Accatuci
Terebus R.
Bigerra
Orcelis
Illici
Lucentum
Alone
Carthago Nova
Murgis op. alʾ Virgi
Portus magnus
Abdera
Malaca
Singili
Sacratis
Singulis R.
Iliberis
Ulia
Astigi
Baetis R.
Iliturgi
Oringa alʾ Aurinx
Calpurniani
Corduba
Ilipla Mag.
Epora
Accatuci
Carthago Nova
Spartarius Campus
Baetis R.
Hispalis
Olucala
Hispalis
Oritpo
Vigia
Tarteſsus
Asta
Segontia
Munda
Gades
Portus
Baesippo
Patria Melæ
Mellaria
Barbesul
Ilniani
Tarteia
Calpe prom. alʾ Columna
Septa
Traductus
Ex Iesc
Selambina
Sacrum promont.
Ostium Oltimadum
Gades

Tariffa in 35°. 50′. N. lat. According to this determination, antient Spain, including Luſitania or Portugal, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of antient and modern Spain are the ſame, they may be looked upon entirely as the ſame region. Some modern geographers have aſſigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by conſulting them [a].

Names of Spain.

THE generality of the Greek writers call Spain Ἰβηρία Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon mount Caucaſus, planted there, or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the moſt noted rivers of this country. However, the antients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia underſtood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and conſequently going under no name amongſt, the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus was by far the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to ſome, did its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Ægyptus. But, notwithſtanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts ſettling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which if we admit, it is no wonder, that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia. For the Hebrew עבר Eber, as well as the Chaldee, Syriac, or Phœnician עברא Ebra or Ibra, in the ſingular number, ſignifies a paſſage, and in the plural bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence ſtyled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have denominated the tract itſelf Iberia, from its ſituation, it having been generally conſidered by them as one of the remoteſt regions, or weſtern limit, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of Spain was called Iberia, from a colony of Iberians

[a] Strab. l. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. Ptol. geogr. l. ii. c. 4. Vid. & Chriſtophor. Cellar. in geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. ſub init. Joan. Luyts philoſ. profeſſ. introd. ad geograph. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhen. 1692. Morden, Moll, Cluver, &c.

ſettled there, ſince hiſtory does not in the leaſt countenance ſuch a notion. Feſtus Avienus places the Iberi upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean, to the weſt of the Iberus, a little river between the Bœtis and the Anas, the Rio Tinto, or Rio de Azeche, of the moderns. But his authority, with regard to the ſituation of the moſt antient Iberia, muſt gave way to that of Polybius [b].

Whence called Spania or Hiſpania.

It appears from Bochart and others, that the Phœnicians called Spain, at leaſt that part of it known to them, ספנ'ה Sphanija, or Spanija, from ספן Shaphan, or Span, a rabbet, becauſe it abounded with thoſe animals. In ſupport of this notion, it may be obſerved, that in many manuſcripts of Curtius, Juſtin, Capella, Apuleius, Julius Capitolinus, Athenæus, &c. for Hiſpania is found Spania, as we learn from Caſaubon and Salmaſius. From the Phœnician Spanija, the Romans deduced their Spania or Hiſpania; which appellation, as well as Iberia, in common with the Greeks, they applied to the whole continent of Spain. That this country, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, produced rabbets, in vaſt abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent teſtimony of Varro, Strabo, Pliny, Ælian, and many other writers of good authority; but, that the Saphan of the Phœnicians anſwered to the rabbet, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near reſemblance to the latter, the Phœnicians, at their firſt arrival in Spain, might take them to be the ſame animal, and from thence impoſe upon this country a name, which has ever ſince prevailed. The antients ſometimes, from its ſituation, denominated Spain likewiſe Heſperia, and Heſperia Ultima; but theſe, and other poetical appellations, as being applied to other countries, deſerve little or no regard [c].

As

[b] Chriſtoph. Cellar. ubi ſup. Polyb. lib. iii. Homer. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Val. Schindler. lex. pentaglot. in voc. עבר. Claudian. in Stilich. Strab. l. iii. p. 169. & Poſidon. apud Strabon. ibid. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii. c. 14. Pind. olymp. iii. ſub. fin. & ſcholiaſt. Pind in loc. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 7. Feſtus Avien. in or. maritim. [c] Rom. c. xv. ver. 24. 28. Theophyl. ad Autolyc. l. ii. Euſeb. in chronic. p. 13. Epiphan. in hæreſ. lxvi. ſect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian. Scholiaſt. vet. Juvenal. in ſat. xiv. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. viii. ſub init. Salmaſ & Caſaub. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Varro de re ruſtic. l. iii. c. 12. Strab. l. iii. p. 144. 168. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 5. & l. viii. c. 29. 58. Ælian. de animal. l. xiii. c. 15. Galen.

de

As Spain, before the Carthaginians made any conqueſts there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own reguli, and independent on one another, it muſt have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the preciſe number of which it is impoſſible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the Carthaginians divided that part of Spain ſubject to them into, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, we muſt likewiſe own ourſelves incapable of aſcertaining. As for the Romans, the firſt diviſion they made of Spain, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into Hiſpania Citerior and Hiſpania Ulterior; and this, according to Livy, took place immediately after the concluſion of the ſecond Punic war. However, for ſome political reaſons, they thought proper to unite theſe two provinces, in the beginning of the Macedonian war; and again disjoined them in the conſulate of Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus. This laſt diſpoſition of Spain remained till the reign of Auguſtus, who altered it, by dividing Hiſpania Ulterior into two provinces, viz. Provincia Bœtica, and Luſitania, and affixing the name of Provincia Tarraconenſis to Hiſpania Citerior. In ſome of the ſucceeding reigns we find Hiſpania Ulterior and Hiſpania Citerior again mentioned; notwithſtanding which, that the diviſion introduced by Auguſtus continued as long as the Romans had any footing in Spain, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inſcriptions exhibited by Gruter and Reineſius. Upon this plan, therefore, we ſhall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical deſcription of antient Spain [d].

Various diviſions of Spain.

THE limits of (A) Luſitania not having been always the ſame, we cannot take upon us to define them. That it extended

Limits and extent of Luſitania.

de aliment l. iii. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 376. Proſp. Alpin. hiſt. nat. Ægypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & l. iv. c. 9. Hor. l. i. od. 36. & Cellar. ubi ſup.

[d] Polyb. & Liv. paſſ. Cic. pro Fonteio, c. 3. & pro lege Manil. c. 12. Strab. in extrem. par. geograph. Dio, l. liii. p. 503. Pompon. Mel. l. i. c. 6. Solin. c. 23. Tacit. an. iv. c. 13. Plin. l. iii. c. 7. Steph. Byzant. de urb. & Luc. Holſten. in loc. Grut. inſcript. xiii. p. 31. & alib. Reineſ. inſcript. claſ. ii. n. 13. & alib. Vid. & Cellar. ubi ſup.

(A) Bochart ſays, that the country called Luſitania derived its name from לוז Luz an almond, becauſe it produced vaſt quantities of

tended from the Tagus to the Cantabrian ocean, or at leaſt the Promontorium Celticum, is intimated by Strabo. That part of it ſituated betwixt the Anas and the Tagus went by the name of Celtica, or the country of the Celts, as has been obſerved by Iſaac Voſſius. After Auguſtus had made the diſpoſition of Spain above-mentioned, the Anas bounded Luſitania on the ſouth, and the Durius, or Douro of the moderns, on the north; ſo that the whole tract lying betwixt the Durius and the Cantrabrian ocean was annexed to the Provincia Tarraconenſis. The interior limits of Luſitania, upon the frontiers of the Vettones and Carpetani, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as Cellarius intimates, may have been owing to a miſtake adopted by ſome of thoſe authors; viz. that the province of Luſitania correſponded exactly with the country of the Luſitani; whereas, according to Pliny, not only the Luſitani, but the Celtici, Turduli, Vettones, &c. were ſeated in that province. The Luſitani poſſeſſed the diſtrict bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, and ſtretching itſelf from the mouth of the Anas to the Promontorium Sacrum, now known by the name of Cape St. Vincent. As for the Celtici, whoſe true name was Mirobrigenſes, according to Pliny, their ſituation may be collected from what has been already obſerved. Some of the antient geographers make the Turduli and Turdetani one nation, particularly Ptolemy and Strabo; though they ſeem to have been conſidered in a different light by Polybius. Be that as it will, the Turdetani were undoubtedly a powerful people, ſince they occupied a conſiderable part both of Luſitania and Bœtica, as appears from Strabo. The ſame may be ſaid of the Vettones, who ſpread themſelves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the Durius, and on the ſouth by the Tagus. However, as the antients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of thoſe nations or cantons poſſeſſed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the ſame. Some authors aſſert Vettonia, or the country of the Vettones, to have been

a

of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unleſs our readers ſhould take it to be of Celtic original, it ought to be deduced from לוז and תנו or אגוז Luz and Tani or Tana, an almond, and ig; for that Luſitania produced both thoſe kinds of fruit, Bochart clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word Luſitania is not of Roman extraction (1).

(1) Bochart. Chan. lib. i. c. 35. Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in vocib.

a province diſtinct from Luſitania, and limited on the ſouth by the Anas; and this notion ſeems to be countenanced by an inſcription in [e] Gruter. The principal cities of this province are the following:

OLISIPO, or Oliſippo, called at preſent, by the Engliſh, Liſbon, and, by the Portugueze, Liſboa. It ſtands at the mouth of the Tagus, and was corruptly named, by ſome of the antients, Ulyſippo; from whence ſome have imagined, that it was built by Ulyſſes, in his return home from the Trojan war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of hiſtorical proof to ſupport it. We cannot, therefore, but believe, that Oliſipo, or Oliſippo, which, from Pliny, the Itinerary, and Gruter, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two Phœnician words עליץ עבא alis ubbo, or olis ippo, "the pleaſant bay". For, that the antient Oliſipo was ſeated on a bay, we learn from Mela; and that the bay, on which Liſbon ſtands, is extremely pleaſant, all the moderns allow. Oliſipo, or Liſbon, the capital of the preſent kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, is in 39°. 10′. N. lat. and 9°. 30′. W. of London [f]. Oliſipo.

TALABRICA, or Talabriga, a city ſeated upon the Vacus, mentioned by Pliny, Antoninus, and Appian. The citizens of Talabriga, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the Romans, ſeem to have had an uncommon averſion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them [g]. Talabrica.

LANGOBRIGA (B), a town ſituated between the Vacus and the Durius, not far from the ſea-coaſt. As both Pliny Langobriga.

[e] Strab. l. iii. p. 96. 105, & alib. Iſaac Voſſius in Pompon. Mel. Plin. ubi ſup. Polyb. ubi ſup. Prudent. paſſion. Eulal. ver. 186. Petr. de Marca, Marcæ Hiſpanic. l. ii. c. 2. Grut. inſcript. p. 383. n. 7. & Cellar. ubi ſup.. [f] Solin. c. 23. Grut. inſcript. p. 252. num. 5. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 56. Pompon. Mela & Mercator apud Bochart. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. [g] Antonin. itinerar. Plin. l. iii. Appian. in bel. Hiſp.

(B) The word Brica or Briga, in the old Spaniſh language, ſignified a city, as we learn from Reſendius. Therefore Cetobriga, Arabriga, Langobriga, Meidobriga, &c. are equivalent to the city of Ceto, the city of Ara, the city of Lango, the city of Meido, &c. Hence, probably, came the words Brigantes, Brigantii,

and Antoninus take particular notice of it, it muſt have been a place of ſome repute [h].

Ara Ducta. ARA DUCTA, or, according to Reineſius, Ara Tradućta, a Roman town, ſtanding to the W. of Langobriga. Our readers will find it in Ptolemy's liſt of the towns appertaining to Luſitania [i].

Æminium. ÆMINIUM, a city of this province, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, near the northern bank of the Munda, a little to the S. of Talabriga [k].

Conimbrica. CONIMBRICA, a city ſeated on the oppoſite bank of the Monda. Out of the ruins of this place has ariſen the modern Coimbra, one of the fineſt towns in Portugal, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous univerſity which has ſo long flouriſhed there [l].

Arabriga, Sellium, and Concordia. ARABRIGA, Sellium, and Concordia, betwixt Conimbrica and the Tagus, ſeem to have been places of ſome note, though we have ſcarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the antient geographers [m].

Collippo. COLLIPPO, a Roman municipium, between the Munda and the Tagus, upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean. We find this town named, by an inſcription in Gruter, COLLIPRO; but, that the R there was originally a P, appears from the beſt manuſcripts of Pliny, as well as another inſcription. Not far from this city, in a ſouth-weſtern direction, ſtood Eburobritium, or, as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, Eburobriga. As the ſtones, that preſerved the above-mentioned inſcriptions, were in the neighbourhood of Liria, ſome believe, that the ruins of the antient Collippo are to be ſought for there [n].

Scalabis. SCALABIS, or Scalabiſcus, as ſome think it called by Ptolemy, has been conſidered by Cellarius as the fifth Roman colony of Luſitania, ſurnamed Præſidium Julium. The Spaniſh writers

[h] Plin. & Antonin. ubi ſup. [i] Ptol. geograp. l. ii. c. 5. Tho. Reines. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. [k] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. [l] Plin. ubi ſup. Laur. Andr. Reſend. in antiquit. Luſitan. l. iv. [m] Ptol. & Antonin. ubi ſup. [n] Plin. Ptol. & Reſend. ubi ſup. Grut. inſcript. p. 323. & p. 1155.

Brigantii, Brigæcum, Brigobanna, &c. all which are evidently of Celtic extraction (2).

(2) Laur. Andr. Reſend. in antiquitat. Luſitan. l. iv. in Cetobriga.

writers almoſt unanimouſly agree, that the ſpot, on which this town ſtood, is at preſent occupied by Santerien, a Portugueſe town about forty miles N. E. of Liſbon; though the Scalabiſcus of Ptolemy had a ſituation aſſigned it to the N. of the Munda [o].

Aritium Prætorium and Hierabriga.

ARITIUM Prætorium and Hierabriga, in the neighbourhood of Scalabis, are mentioned by the Itinerary. The former place ſtood thirty-eight Roman miles from Oliſipo, and the latter thirty [p].

Norba Cæſaria.

NORBA CÆSARIA, a town of repute during the government of the Romans in Spain, on the ſouthern bank of the Tagus, near the famous ſtone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to Trajan. Pliny calls the inhabitants of this city Colonia Norbenſis. Some Spaniſh authors believe Norba Cæſaria to have been contiguous to Trajan's bridge. But other writers of that nation, well verſed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in ſupport of their opinion, affirm the city of Alcantara, ſeated on the ſpot adjoining to the noble ſtructure above-mentioned, to have been built by the Saracens; but the former think it may have ariſen out of the ruins of the antient Norba. Pliny and Ptolemy ſeem to favour the ſentiment of thoſe, who place Norba at ſome diſtance from the bridge; ſince they make that town, or, which is the ſame thing, the Colonia Norbenſis, to have been ſituated in a territory to the ſouth of the Tagus. Be that as it will, we are informed by an antient Roman inſcription in Gruter, that the Roman municipia of Luſitania, by ſums raiſed amongſt themſelves, finiſhed the aforeſaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor Trajan. The names of theſe municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preſerved by a ſtone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of Norba, viz. Icadita, Lancia Oppidana, Arabriga, Mirobriga, Lancia Tranſcudana, Colarnum, Meidobriga, Interamnia, &c. Some, if not all, of theſe municipia undoubtedly made a conſiderable figure, though we are ſupplied with very few particulars relating to them by the antient geographers and hiſtorians [q].

Bletiſa.

BLETISA was ſituated near ſome of the above-mentioned municipia, on the ſouthern bank of the Durius, as

[o] Plin. Ptol. Reſend. & Cellar. ubi ſup. [p] Antonin. itinerar. ubi ſup. [q] Plin. Ptol. Reſend. ubi ſup. Nonius & Vaſæus, apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 58. Grut, inſcript. p. 162.

as may be inferred from an inſcription in Gruter. The modern name of Bletiſa is Ledeſma, according to Mariana, who ſuppoſes the antient and modern cities, going by thoſe names, to have been the ſame. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are entirely in the dark [r].

Salmantica. SALMANTICA, called at this day Salamanca, was in the neighbourhood of Bletiſa, as appears from the above-mentioned inſcription. It is at preſent famous all over the world, on account of the flouriſhing univerſity founded there, which for ſeveral ages, has been deemed the principal ſeat of literature in Spain. [s].

Auguſta Emerita. AUGUSTA EMERITA, the capital of this province in the Roman times, upon the Anas, was built by a body of ſuperannuated ſoldiers, to whom Auguſtus aſſigned a diſtrict in Luſitania; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by antient Roman coins and inſcriptions. Emerita at firſt appertained to the Turduli, according to Strabo; though afterwards it was ranked amonſt the towns of the Vettones, as we learn from Prudentius. This may be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider, that the Vettones, in proceſs of time becoming more powerful than the Turduli, at length made themſelves maſters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to [t].

Ebora. EBORA, called, by the Romans, Liberalitas Julia, was ſeated between the Tagus and the Anas, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The ſame ſpot is at preſent occupied by Evora, where there has long flouriſhed a famous univerſity. This town was a Latin municipium, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [u].

Salacia. SALACIA, the Alacer do Sal of the moderns, ſtood ſome miles to the W. of Ebora. From ſome antient inſcriptions in Gruter it may be inferred, that this place was a Roman municipium [w].

PAX

[r] Grut. inſcript. p. 199. num. 2. Marian. l. vii. c, 4. Cellar. ubi ſup. [s] Ptol. & Gruter ubi ſup. [t] Strab. ubi ſup. Dio, l. liii. p. 114. Num. Auguſt. & Num. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 60. Prudent. ubi ſup. Ludovic. Non. c. 31. [u] Plin. ubi ſup. Grut. inſcript. p. 489. num. 9. Num. var. Auguſt. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 62. [w] Plin. ubi ſup. & alib. Grut. inſcript. p. 13. num. 16.

PAX JULIA, the Beja of the moderns, a city in the ſouthern part of the province, ſtood near the frontiers of the Turdetani, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and Antoninus. Near this place a vaſt number of Roman coins and inſcriptions have been found within theſe few years. All the remaining tract to the ſouth of this city, limited on the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, by the Anas, the Atlantic ocean, and bay of Gades, from its figure, was called Cuneus by Pomponius Mela and Strabo. Myrtilis, Balſa, Oſſonaba, and other places of this tract, deſerve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, according to Reſendius, Mortola, or Mertolo, a modern town upon the Anas, and Tanilla, or Tavira, a conſiderable city of Algarve, anſwer to the antient Myrtilis and Balſa. As for Oſſonaba, if we will believe the ſame author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though ſome footſteps of it are ſtill remaining, particularly in the walls of Faro, another town of Algarve upon the ſea-coaſt. The Lacobriga of Mela ſtood under the Promontorium Sacrum, known in theſe times by the name of Cape St. Vincent, upon a ſpot occupied at preſent by a village called Lagoa by the Portugueſe, near the city of Lagos, where ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen [u]. Pax Julia.

As the other towns of Luſitania, whoſe names only have been handed down to us by the antient geographers, were either inſignificant and obſcure, or almoſt all traces of them have been loſt, our readers will not expect any account or deſcription of them. Neither is it reaſonable, in a work of this nature, to take any notice of what merits not the leaſt attention [w].

THE chief promontories of Luſitania were the Promontorium Sacrum, Promontorium Barbarium, and the Promontorium Magnum, or Oliſiponenſe; to which ſome add a fourth, called, by Pliny, Cuneus. The Promontorium Sacrum, or Cape St. Vincent, formed an angle projecting into the bay of Gades and the Atlantic ocean, which was termed the weſtern extremity of the world by Strabo. The Promontorium Barbarium, at preſent Cape Spichel, lay to the ſouth of Oliſipo, though not very diſtant from the mouth of the Tagus. The Promontorium Magnum, or Oliſiponenſe, Promontories of Luſitania.

[u] Plin. Ptol. Antonini ubi ſup. Pompon. Mel. & Strab. ubi ſup. Laur. Andr. Reſend. in antiquit. Luſitan. & Grut. inſcript. paſſ. [w] Plin. Ptol. &c.

ſiponenſe, ſtyled, by ſome of the moderns, Cape de Rocca Sintra, projected into the Atlantic ocean near Oliſipo, and was made by Pliny the common boundary of Earth, Sea, and Heaven. As for Pliny's Cuneus, it is ſuppoſed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of Cape St. Mary by Cellarius [x].

Ports and iſlands.

The principal ports of this province were thoſe of Oliſipo, at preſent Lisbon, and Hannibal. The ſituation of the former is ſo well known, as not to admit of a diſpute; but that of the latter cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained. Mela, upon whoſe authority it entirely depends, places it near the Promontorium Sacrum; which is all that we can ſay of it. The only iſland taken notice of by the antients, on the coaſt of Luſitania, is the Londobris of Ptolemy, the Barlenga or Barlinges of the moderns [y].

Mountains.

THE Mons Herminius of Hirtius, the modern Arminno, ſeems to have been the only mountain of note in this country, of which we have nothing farther to ſay, than that, according to Cellarius, Medobriga, or Meidobriga, ſtood at the foot of it [z].

Rivers.

THE moſt celebrated rivers of Luſitania were the Anas, the Tagus, and the Durius. The Anas is called at preſent the Guadiana, the Tagus the Tajo, and the Durius the Douro. To theſe may be added the Munda, which now goes under the name of the Mondego; and the Vacus, now called the Voga. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themſelves into the Atlantic ocean [a].

Curioſities.

WE ſhall here only mention two of the natural curioſities of Luſitania: 1. The lead-mine near Meidobriga, from whence Pliny denominates the inhabitants of that place Plumbarii; which ſtill exiſts. 2. The golden ſand, or ſmall particles of gold mixed with the ſand of the Tagus. This we find atteſted by Pomponius Mela, Ovid, Pliny, Silius Italicus, &c. and the truth of it ſeems confirmed by Reſendius. For that famous antiquary aſſures us, that ſome of theſe golden particles were found intermixed with the ſand of the Tagus in his time; that the laws of Portugal would not permit people to throw up the interior ſand on the banks of the Tagus, with which theſe particles are ſuppoſed to be incorporated, leſt the neighbouring fruitful fields ſhould be thereby damaged;

[x] Strab. l. iii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. & alib. & Harduin. in loc. Ptol. l. ii. c. 5. Cellar ubi ſup. [y] Mel. l. iii. c. 1. [z] Hirt. c. 48. Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 60. 61. [a] Ptol. ubi ſup. Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 54, 55.

damaged; and that the kings of Portugal have a ſcepter of the Tagan gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world [b].

Bœtica deſcribed.

THE ſecond province of Hiſpania Ulterior, or further Spain, was Bœtica, ſo called from the famed river Bœtis, ſince Tarteſſus, and now Guadalquiver, or the great river. We have already mentioned its limits on the weſt or Luſitanic ſide; it was bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulph of Cadiz; and on the north by the Cantabric ſea, now the ſea of Biſcay. As to its limits towards the north-eaſt, or province of Tarraco, they cannot be ſo well fixed, becauſe they are rightly ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to encroach upon his neighbour. Hence antient authors place thoſe on the ſea-coaſt differently, viz. Ptolemy at Baræa [c]; Pliny ſomewhat higher, at Murgis [d]; though both ſituated on the Sinus Virgitanus, a little below new Carthage. The ſame may be ſaid of the inland ones, which are likewiſe differently placed, either higher or lower from the province of Tarracon, as may be ſeen by the authors above-quoted. The Bœtis above-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide of which, towards the Anas, were ſituate the Turdetani (A), from whence the country was called Turdetania, but better known

Its inhabitants.

by

[b] Pompon. Mel. l. iii. c. 1. Ovid. met. l. ii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. & l. xxxiii. c. 4. Sil. Ital. l. i. ver. 234. Ptol. & Cellar. ubi ſup. Laur. Andr. Reſend. in antiquit. Luſitan. l. ii.
[c] Univ. hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. [d] Hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. Cellar. l. ii. c. i. ſect. 1. Gerund.

(A) Some add, after Polybius, the Turduli, as different from them. We have already ſpoken of both. They were (1) ſituate on the ſame ſide of the Bœtis, but higher up: but as that author rather diſtinguiſhes them only with regard to their ſituation; and Ptolemy ſeems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we ſee no reaſon for making two of them, any farther than the diſtinction of higher and lower will go; eſpecially as Strabo makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and theſe are by ſome authors (4) affirmed to have been the antienteſt people in all Spain.

(1) Vid. Gerundenſ. paralip. l. i. (2) Lib. ii. (3) Lib. iii. (4) Vid. Voſſ. chronic. Taraph. de red. Hiſp. Gerund. Gariqaz. Antgued. & al.

by the name of Bœturia. On the other ſide were ſituated the Baſtuli, Baſtitani, and Conteſtani, along the Mediterranean coaſts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning thoſe people (B). We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may ſee them in Cellarius above-mentioned, and, if he cares to depend upon the Spaniſh authors for their ſituation, cities, and other particulars, he may conſult thoſe we have lately quoted both in the text and margin.

Roman colonies.

We come now to ſpeak of the Roman colonies in this province; and of theſe we ſhall, for brevity's ſake, ſingle out only ſome of the moſt celebrated ones; viz. that of the Accitani, ſituate between the Baſtuli and Baſtitani, along the ſame ſhore. We find it mentioned by Pliny [c], and by ſome antient inſcriptions, under the name of COLONIA JULIA GEMELLA ACCITANA [d], whoſe citizens were called Gemellenſes, becauſe that colony was made up of two legions, viz the third and ſixth, as appears by thoſe inſcriptions [e]. It

[c] Hiſt. l. iii. c, 3. [d] Grut. p. 271. n. 6. [e] See Cellarius, lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3.

(B) Of the firſt of theſe we have already ſpoken. The Baſtuli, ſuppoſed to be of Phœnician or Libyan extract, extended from the ſtreights of Gibraltar, along the Mediteranean coaſt, till, driven from thence by the Moors, they fled into the mountainous part of Galicia, which they then called by their name Baſtulia. The Baſtetani or Baſtitani were ſeated higher up on the ſome coaſts. The territories of both theſe made what ſince became the kingdom of Granada, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the Baſtetanian mountains. Mention is made alſo of their capital called Baſtitana, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that king Ferdinand was ſix months beſieging it, before he could take it from the Moors (5).

The Conteſtani are by ſome placed in this province of Bœtica, and by others in that of Tarracon. They were moſt likely ſeated between both. They are ſaid by Ptolemy (6) to have been ſettled there by Teſta one of their kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, and called from him Conteſtani, as well as a city called Conſtantinum (7); but that king, though mentioned alſo by Manetho, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(5) Bulgar. commentar. Serdin. Comec. de geſt. F. Ximeni. (6) Ubi ſup. Vide & Taraph ſub an. 1424. (7) Iid. ibid.

It is ſuppoſed to be the preſent city of Guadiz in Granada, an antient epiſcopal ſee, formerly called the Accitanus, from Acci, the name of that city (C). Thoſe of Gades, Corduba, Aſtigi, and Hiſpal, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whoſe ſituation is leſs known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than any of the other two provinces, the reader may ſee in the author above-mentioned [f]; all which confirm what Pliny ſays of this [g], that it excelled them by far; for ſo it did in richneſs, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its ſoil, commodious ſituation for traffick, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reaſon, why the Romans cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the reſt.

Their cities.

How few of thoſe antient cities this province had before the coming in of the Romans, is not difficult to gueſs, if we only conſult the beſt antient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to truſt to the Spaniſh writers, it muſt have not only abounded with them, but they muſt likewiſe have been vaſtly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the Tyrians, Phœnicians, and other nations, of whom we ſhall give an account in the ſequel. And yet theſe are affirmed by the ſame authors, eſpecially the Tyrians, to have built ſome freſh conſiderable ones, every one in the place where they ſettled themſelves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of Uliſipo and its pretended founder, of which we ſpoke under the firſt article of this chapter: but when we come to examine things more cloſely, we find no ſuch traces of this boaſted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, when the Turdetani had, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, aſſiſted the brave Saguntines their neighbours againſt the Romans, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not ſo much as recorded (D); and which theſe cauſed to be razed, and

[f] Ubi ſup. ſect. 2, & ſeq. [g] Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. Gerund. Taraph. Garib. Vaſſeum, & al.

(C) The Spaniards pretend, that Torquatus, a diſciple of James the apoſtle, was by him appointed the firſt biſhop of it (8).

(D) This the Spaniards think to have been called Turvel, ſituate

(8) Vaſſ. chron. c. 20.

and the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves [h], as a determent to others from lending their aſſiſtance to any, whom they thought proper to war againſt. Ptolemy mentions but one ſea-port town on the coaſt of the Baſtitani, viz. that of Οὐρκὶ Urce, ſince Vorgi, in the bay of that name, tho' we find ſome conſiderable ones on thoſe coaſts; ſuch as Menobia, Abdera, Portus Magnus, Beria, and Murgis, and ſome others. On the iſlands it has likewſe a conſiderable number, which Pliny, in his natural hiſtory, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and ſeventy-two. The greateſt part of theſe being, in all appearance, and from the Roman names given them, either founded or enlarged by that nation, ſuch as thoſe of Aſta Nebriſa, Ugia, and Orippa [i], on the banks of the Bœtis, below Hiſpal, we have not time to dwell upon them, but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of thoſe of the greateſt note. Among theſe is the famed city

Hiſpal. of Hiſpal, now Seville (E), ſituated on the river Bœtis abovementioned, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought vaſt number of merchandizes up to this city,

Corduba. and thence quite up to Corduba. This city is ſtyled by Pliny Colonia Romulenſis, and by ſome antient inſcriptions Colonia Romulea. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. The next city in rank to Hiſpal is Corduba, now Cordoua, no leſs famed for its rich mines, and fertile ſoil, or, as the poet calls it [k], aurifera terra, than the other was for its trade. It is ſituate on the banks of the ſame river, was called a patrician colony, and is

[h] Livy, l. xxi. c. 6. xxiv. c. 42. [i] De his vid. Cellar. ubi ſup. [k] Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 401.

ate near the ſpring-head of the river Thurias or Durias, and to which they have given the antient name of Turdeta.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by Hiſpal one of their fabulous kings, and the ſon of Hercules (9); others, that it was ſo called from the palus, or marſh, on which it was founded; or rather from the pali, or ſtakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (10). That of Seville, or, as it was antiently written, Civilia, is thought to be only a corruption of Civitas Julia, as it is called in ſome antient inſcriptions (11). But, when or by whom it was founded, is not to be gueſſed at.

(9) Vaſſ. Garib. & al. ſup. citat. (10) Paralip. c. 1. (11) Id. ibid. c. 9.

is ſaid by Strabo to have been the work of Marcellus (F). Tarteſſus was once a famed antient city, pleaſantly ſituate between the two mouths of the Bœtis (G), which made a kind of iſland called, after the name of that city [l], Tarteſſida. This antient city is celebrated by ſome of the Latin poets, as ſituate on the fartheſt verge of the weſtern ſhore [m]; but, for the other particulars of it we muſt refer our reader to the laſt note, as we muſt do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors ſo often cited already, and eſpecially to the late and accurate Cellarius in the chapter above-quoted; and for Gades or Gadir, now Cadiz, to what we copiouſly ſaid of it in a former volume [n].

We

[l] Strab. ubi ſup. [m] Sil. Ital. ubi ſup. ver. 399, & alib. Ovid metamorph. l. xiv. ver. 416. [n] Vol. xvii. p. 24.

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the Roman generals of that name he meant, ſo that the Spaniſh writers are much divided about it. Vaſæus, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was contemporary with Cæſar and Pompey; becauſe he finds no mention made of this city before him (12). But Nonius thinks it to be of much older date (13), ſince the ſame Strabo calls it "coloniam primam," or firſt colony which the Romans ſent into this part of Spain. And it is mentioned by Silius Italicus in the ſecond Punic war (14). As for the title of Colonia Patricia given to it, it is not only mentioned by Pliny, but by ſome antient inſcriptions in Gruter, to which we refer (15); and this is further explained by what Strabo adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noble men of the Romans, and other nations (16).

(G) Strabo ſays, that the Bœtis formerly emptied itſelf into the ſea at two different places (17) One of them has been ſince ſtopped up. Mela mentions the city of Carteia in the ſame bay (18), which, he ſays, ſome fancy to have been the antient Tarteſſus. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether theſe were two diſtinct cities, or the ſame, with different names. We find nothing that can ſatisfy our readers on that head, antient authors often confounding theſe two names and that of Gades together, as the learned Bochart and others have juſtly obſerved.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from Tarteſſus to that of Gades, on account of Hercules's ſetting up his

(12) Ibid. c. 20. (13) Ibid. c. 19. (14) Lib. iii. ver. 401. (15) P. 460. (16) Lib. iii. (17) Ibid. (18) De ſit. orb. lib. 2. c. 6.

Bays and sea ports.

We come now to say something of the famous bays and ports of this province; the first of which, next to Gades above-mentioned, is that called Portus Menestæus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who doth likewise place here the oracle of that name. The next is that of Besippo, the country of the famed Pomponius Mela, and some others, without the streight's mouth. Calpe, Carteia, Barbesul, Cilniana, Salduba, Suel, and Malaca, within the streight, and on the coasts of the Bastuli Menoba, Selumbina, Abdera, and Portus Magnus, and likewise the famed promontory of Charidemus, all which are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and placed by them on the Bastitanian coasts. Beyond the promontory last-mentioned are the cities of Baria or Barea, and Murgis, in the Virgitanian bay; the former of which is reckoned by Ptolemy, and the latter by Pliny, the last sea-port of the Bastitani, as we hinted a little higher. Those antient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor easily reconciled, about the situation, names, and some other particulars relating to those cities. Thus, for instance, Calpe, which is by Strabo styled a famed antient Spanish sea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned Bochart and Casaubon have thought, that Calpe, in the former, was inserted, by the mistake of the transcriber, for Carteia, especially as no mention is made in the others of any city besides it in that bay. But this has been in a great measure answered, by some learned men, from the inscription on a medal, with these letters, C. I. Calpe; that is, as they read it [o], Colonia Julia Calpe: and this they back with a passage out of N. Damascen [p]; who says, that Octavius overtook Cæsar near the city of Calpia, which is the same with Calpe; so that Strabo's text wants no amendment. Barbesul, Asta,

[o] Spanh. de præst numism. p. 766. Noris cenotaph. Pisan. p. 207. [p] Excerpt. Vales. apud Cellar. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. art. 34.

his two columns there (19), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of Gades in a former volume, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (20). As for Carteia, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the present town of Rocadillo distant, about four miles, from Gibraltar (21); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(19) Dionysius Alexandr. Vid auct. Hisp. sup. citat. & Gerund. paralip. l. i. (20) Vol. xvii. p. 24. (21) Conduit. discourse of the situat. of Carteia.

Aſta, and ſome others of the ſea-ports above-named, appear likewiſe to have been conſiderable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of Munda, where Cæſar overcame the ſons of Pompey; but, as we are obliged to ſtudy brevity, we ſhall refer the reſt to the author laſt quoted.

RIVERS of any note there are not in this province, except the Bœtis, often mentioned already, or, as it is ſometimes written, Bœtes and Betis. It hath, according to Pliny [q], its ſpring-head in the Tugienſian foreſt, ſo named from Tugia, a town mentioned in the Itinerarium of Antoninus (H), in the province of Tarracon, at the foot of the Oreſpodan mountains. Others of leſſer note are the Barbeſola near the city or mount Calpe above-mentioned, the Saduca which ſeems to have divided the Baſtuli from the Accitani, and ſome few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a conſiderable length and height, this province certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. Ptolemy takes only notice of two, viz. the Mariani and Hipylæ, the latter of which were ſcarcely known to any other antient writers [r]. Theſe, as they run along the territories of Hiſpal or Seville, were, we are told, called Illipæ; and, as they came nearer to Corduba, Themarini and Orthoſdadæ [s]: the former, which are by Pliny called Ariani (I), run along the famed deſert of the ſame name, now known by that of Sierra Modena, in the neighbourhood of the city of Caſtulo. The region of the Baſtitani was likewiſe full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of ſeveral kinds, particularly gold, quickſilver, copper, and lead, the greateſt quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of thoſe called Mariani, which the Romans improved to no ſmall advantage, having everywhere their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overſeers of the mines.

The river Bœtis, &c.

Mountains.

[q] Lib. iii. c. 1. [r] L. ii. c. 4. [s] Vid. Marin. Sicul. reb. Hiſp. lib i. ſect. de montib.

(H) That author places it in the road between Caſtalo and Malaca, at about thirty-five miles diſtance from the latter.

(I) As theſe mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one antient inſcription, by the firſt name; and, by the ſecond, only by Pliny and the Itinerarium; it is ſuppoſed, that the M, in theſe, was, by ſome miſtake of the copyiſts, dropped; but, whether they were the ſame, or different, is not of any great conſequence to enquire, with ſo little help, and under ſo great an uncertainty (22).

(22) De his vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. in fin. ſect. 2.

mines. That of Calpe, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its ſituation; and ſo no more need be ſaid of it.

Soil, climate, and produce.

THE goodneſs of the ſoil and air of Spain in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province was particularly remarkable for it, and we ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to give further proofs of it from the healthineſs and longevity of its inhabitants; and ſo little did they know of phyſic, that, if we may believe Poſidonius, they uſed to lay their ſick relations along the public ſtreets and roads, to have the advice of ſuch paſſengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were ſo robuſt and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but uſed to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themſelves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horſes and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quant ties, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and eſpecially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it ſeems, ſo very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on thoſe healthy mountains, that it could not be uſed either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheeſe with, without ſome mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greateſt perfection; but theſe are topics ſo well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer upon them. As for mineral wa-

Natural rarities.

ters, they flow in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of Granada is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues; which need not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them riſe ſo hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of Hiſpal, Cordoua, and Granada; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the moſt inveterate, and even the venereal, diſeaſes; which is not altogether improbable, conſidering the quantity of ſulphur, and other minerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perſpiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here, viz. that called Bœtio, from a ſmall town near it; it ſprings, in a ſmall rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two ſtreams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by waſhing. The other is near the

town

town of Antiquaria, which is no leſs famed for diſſolving the ſtone, and bringing it off by urine [t]. We ſhould be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into ſo copious a ſubject as that of their artificial rarities; their ſtately buildings, ſuch as bridges, churches, eſpecially their palaces, whether thoſe of the Gothic, or of the Roman faſhion: but one thing we cannot forbear obſerving, that there are ſome yet ſtanding almoſt in their priſtine grandeur, eſpecially in the kingdom of Granada, built by the Moors, in a ſtyle peculiar to them, and which has ſcarce any thing common with the other two, and yet ſeems to exceed them in taſte and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the ſeveral authors, who have written upon it, are ſo well known to us, we ſhall enlarge no further upon them.

Tarracon described.

TARRACON was the third province in Spain. It was, as we obſerved before, ſtyled by the Romans Hiſpania Citerior, or hither Spain, and diſtinguiſhed, by the name of Tarraconenſis, from the antient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the reſidence of the Roman præſes, or governor. We have ſeen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to ſettle the limits of this province, with reſpect to thoſe of Bœtica and Luſitania, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other ſides they are eaſily fixed, it having the Mediterranean on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, and the Cantabrian ſea, and the Pyrenees, on the north, by which laſt it is divided from Gaul. Tarracon, being by far the largeſt of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likewiſe, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river Iberus, now Ebro, which ran almoſt acroſs the whole province, having its ſource on the north-weſt ſide of it, between the Cantabrian mountains; and, very near the ſea of that name, and by a ſouth-eaſt courſe, emptying itſelf into the Mediterranean, about thirty miles below the city of Tarraco. Along the ſouth-weſt ſide of that river were ſeated the Celtiberians, the antienteſt, and by far the moſt conſiderable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, ſo many diſtinct tribes deſcended from them, as we are apt to think they moſtly were, from the greateſt part of their names being of Celtic, rather than of any other extract. This canton was called from them Celtiberia, and reached from the mouth of the Iberus quite to the country of

Celtiberia.

[t] Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hiſp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.

Other nations and cantons.

the Cantabri, on the oppoſite coaſts. Along the courſe of it, on that ſide, were, among other people of leſs note, the Illærcaones, ſeated juſt within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the Hedetani, or Sedetani, Pelendones, Berones, and, laſt of all, the Cantabri. Nearer to Bœtica, and on the borders of it, were, towards the Mediterranean, firſt, the Conteſtani, mentioned alſo under the laſt article; and, as you went forwards, acroſs the country, towards the oppoſite ſhore, you found another tribe of the Turdetani, the Lobetani, Luſones, Carpetani, Arevacæ, and Vaccæi; and theſe two laſt were ſevered from each other by the river Duero, which was the confine of Luſitania on that ſide; and, weſt of the Cantabri and Vaccæi, were, on the Cantabrian coaſt, the Tranſmontani and Artabri; and in this laſt was the Artabrum Celticum, called alſo Promontorium Nericum, now cape Finiſter. In the inland are placed the Aſtures, Auguſtani, Lucences, and Gravii. On the weſtern coaſt, between the cape above-mentioned and the Durius, were the Callaici, alias Callæci, whoſe country was called Callæcia, one tribe or canton of which were called Bracarii, and the country Bracara, and theſe were ſeated on the banks of the Durius; the others were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Lucenſes; and both were ſubdivided by Ptolemy into ſeveral tribes, ſuch as we ſhall ſpeak of, upon another occaſion, under the following note (A). All theſe are mentioned by antient geographers, ſuch as Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, as ſeated, the former on the other ſide of the Iberus, and the latter on the hither ſide of the Tagus. On the other ſide of the Iberus, along the Mediterranean coaſts, were ſeated ths Latetani and Auſetani, who were parted by the river Rubicatus, or, as Mela calls it, Lubricatus, now Lobragat, near the city of Barcelona. Along the Iberus were the Ilergetes, Jacetani, Sueſſitani, Vaſcones, Varduli, Autrigones, and Concani; and theſe were ſited between the head of the Iberus and the Cantabrian ſea. Nearer to

(A) This canton, which was ſince called Gallicia, and antiently Celtica, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the Celtes, or was a colony of them ſent from Gaul; for many ſuch they were forced to ſend out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to their hiſtory: the latter ſeems, however, the moſt probable, from the names by which they were diſtinguiſhed, ſuch as Cœlerini, Grovii, Limici, Querquerni, and ſome others, which to us appear to be of Gauliſh extract, and bear a viſible analogy with ſome of thoſe which we find in antient Gaul.

to the Pyrenean mountains, along that vaſt ridge, were the Ceretani, Indigetes, Cemſi, Lacetani, and ſome others of leſs note. Every one of them had its diſtinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be ſeen by thoſe we ſhall mention (B). We have already obſerved in general on this head, that thoſe diſtricts which end in tania, and the cities which end in briga, are of Celtic extract; and we ſhall add here, that this province abounds with ſuch, more than the other two, as may be ſeen by the liſt of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in tani the country of courſe ended in tania, as Auſetani and Auſetania.

Celtiberians, their warlike fierceneſs.

IT is not our deſign to ſpeak particularly of every one of them, and much leſs of their cities, many of which we know little elſe of, than their names (C). We may ſay of them in

(B) Thus the Bracarii had Bracara, the Artabri Artabrum, the Aſtures Aſturia, the Sueſſitani Sueſſa, the Lacitani Lacca, the Ilergetes Ilerda, and ſo of the reſt, unleſs where the Romans, ſettling afterwards their colonies, did call thoſe towns by new names, though the people ſtill retained their old ones; eſpecially we find ſome few of thoſe places ſtyled Julia and Auguſta, as Julia Libyca in the canton of the Ceretani; Cæſar Auguſta among the Lacetani; Auguſta Bracara, Porta Auguſta, Auguſti Lacus, in Gallicia, and the like.

Here, by the way, we muſt obſerve, that this laſt province was not called ſo from the Galli, as ſome have imagined, but from its antient metropolis, which was called Calle, ſituate in a pleaſant valley upon the Durius, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a conſiderable one in time, was ſince named barely Porto and Puerto by the Spaniards, by the Dutch Port a Port, and by us Oporto. From theſe two, Porto and Calle, came the name of Portugal, or Portucalle. As for Calle, it muſt be owned, that it is not mentioned by Strabo, Ptolomy, &c. but we find it in the itinerarium, which places it on the road between Uliſipo or Lisbon and Auguſta Bracara (1).

(C) Thoſe, who are deſirous to know more of theſe antient people, may conſult, if they pleaſe, the Spaniſh writers we have often quoted in this chapter; though, for the moſt authentic account of them, we would rather refer them to the laſt-quoted and accurate Cellarius, who has wholly grounded his own on the teſtimony of antient authors, and rejected all the fabulous and uncertain traſh, which thoſe modern authors have intermingled in theirs upon more precarious, and ſometimes upon no authority at all.

(1) Vid. Cellar. ubi ſup. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3.

in general, that they retained more of the antient Celtic valour, cuſtoms, language, and, we may add, fierceneſs, than thoſe of Bœtica, or even of Luſitania, though the Celtiberians of this laſt province are ſaid to have been the braveſt people in all Spain, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel. And the reaſon, probably, of it is, that they were neither ſo much under the dominion of the Romans, nor ſo converſant with them, as thoſe in Bœtica; for the deſcendents of the Celtes were every-where as famed for their tenaciouſneſs of their antient religion, laws, cuſtoms, language, &c. as the Romans were to propagate their own, where-ever they conquered: and this was one conſtant cauſe, why the former choſe rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer againſt them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themſelves, than to ſubmit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

Roman colonies.

We find, however, the following colonies of note (for we ſhall omit the others for brevity's ſake) to have been in time planted amongſt theſe Celtic ſettlements; viz. in Aſturia, the famed Colonia Auguſta. It is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy; and in ſome antient medals, though differently placed[u], and was a court of judicature, according to Pliny in the place laſt-quoted. It divided the Aſtures into Auguſtanos and Tranſmontanos, which confirms what we lately hinted, the former being, in all likelihood, of Roman extract, ſettled here, whilſt the latter, of Celtic, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find

Auguſta Gemina.

here alſo the ſeventh Roman legion, which was ſurnamed Gemina, ſettled between the Aſturian ſea and the capital of this diſtrict, called Aſturia Auguſta, now Aſtorga, a city ſtill of ſome note (D). This country was alſo celebrated by the poets

[u] Ap. Gruter. p. 193 n. 3. p. 426. n. 5. Vid. & Goltz. Holſtein. & Harduin. ap. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. § 44. Vid. & Strab. lib. iii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22.

(D) Ptolemy indeed makes the Aſtures to have been of Libyan extract. and to have come over with the Carthaginians, and ſettled in this part of Gallæcia. The city was called Aſtorga, from its being ſituate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the Durius; and the Romans, having ſeized on it, and the

poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of Calaguris, diſtinguiſhed by Pliny by the name of Naſcica, juſtly execrated, by the Roman authors [w], for the inſurrection and dread cataſtrophe of Sertorius, mentioned in a former volume, and too black to be repeated afreſh [x]. The city was at firſt a municipal one, and in ſome inſcriptions ſurnamed Julia (E), and then made a colony, with ſome others mentioned by Pliny [y], particularly thoſe of Oſca, Ilerda, and Turiaſa. Calaguris, ſince Calahorta, was the head town of the Autrigones, ſeated indifferently by geographers on either ſide, but, by the moſt exact, on the other ſide the Iberus, as we hinted in the laſt note. Grachuris, or Graccuris, mentioned by Ptolemy among the chief cities of the Vaſcones, was, as we are told by Livy [z], built by Tit. Sempron. Gracchus, who took it from the Celtiberians, and called it by his name. Its ſituation is uncertain, only the Itinerarium places it on the road to Cæſar Auguſta, at ſixty-four miles diſtance from it in the road to Tarraco. It is in ſome antient inſcriptions ſtyled Municipium Graccuris. Some chriſtian champions, who ſuffered here for the faith in thoſe early times, are in ſome martyrologies called the Grachurian, and in others the Ilerdan martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of thoſe two places. The laſt we ſhall name is the famed town of the Vaccæi, called Intercata, celebrated, by antient authors, for a ſingle combat, which was fought, at the ſiege of that city,

Calaguris.

Graccuris.

Intercata.

[w] Vid. Valer. Max. l. vii. c. 6. L. Flor. l. iii. c. 22. Juven. ſat. xv. ver. 93. [x] See before vol. xii. p. 616. [y] Lib. iii. c. 3. [z] Epit. xlii.

the adjacent territories, called it Auguſta Aſturica (2). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from Aſtir Memnon's coachman, who came thither with other Trojans, and planted a colony here (3); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the ſeventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in Ptolemy legio ſeptima Germanica; but as there is no mention of any ſuch, either in other authors, or in any antient inſcriptions, but often of legio ſeptima gemina (4), it is rightly ſuppoſed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyiſt, who miſtook it for Germanica.

(E) It is inſcribed, in ſome Auguſtan coins, Mvn. Calag. Ivl. that is, Municipium Calaguris, Julia; and, in one of Tiberius,

(2) Geogr l. ii. Vid. & Gerund. paralip. lib. iii. (3) Taraph. de reg Hiſp. ex Lucan. & Sil. Ital. (4) Neila ap. Vaſei chronic. ſub an. Chr. 106.

city, between Scipio Æmilianus and a bold Spaniſh tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no ſooner eſcaped one danger, than he expoſed himſelf to a greater, and was the firſt that ſcaled the walls of that place [a]. We come now to ſpeak of ſome of the moſt celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may juſtly place the metropolis of it,

Tarraco. TARRACO, now Tarragon, ſituate on the Mediterranean coaſt, between the rivers Iberus, or Ebro, and the Rubricatus, now Lobregat. It was a colony planted there by the two Scipio's, Publ. and Cornel. with a juridical court; and was the capital of Hiſpania Romana (F), not ſo much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as Strabo obſerves, as for its being commodiouſly ſituated for all thoſe, who travelled into this kingdom, whether by ſea or land [b]. But Spaniſh authors, though they grant thoſe two Roman generals to have planted

[a] Liv. epitom. xlviii. Aurel. Vict. in Scip. Æmil. Appian, in Iberic. &c. [b] Lib. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. iii.

berius, M. C. I. C. CELERE, C. RECTO IIVIR. that is, Municipium Calaguris Julia, Caio Celere, Caio Recto, Duumviris.

As there were two cities of that name, viz. this of Naſcica, and another ſurnamed Fibularenſis, ſome authors have placed them indifferently on either ſide of the Iberus; but Peter de Marca and Cellarius, whom we chuſe to follow, place the former on the other ſide of that river. As for the latter, which was at ſome diſtance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (5), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the Romans called fibulæ, a kind of buckles or buttons to faſten their garments with; and was diſtinguiſhed by that name, on that account.

(F) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of the Coſſetani, or Coſſitani, ſituate between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flouriſhing city, eſpecially in Auguſtus's time; and is called by one Colonia victrix, by another Colonia victrix togata Tarraco; and in a third are found theſe words, GENIO COL. I. V. TARRAC. that is, Genio Coloniæ Victricis Togatæ Tarraconenſis. There are ſtill, it ſeems, quantities of ſuch antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, tho' it is at preſent very ſpacious, opulent, and conſiderable (6).

Thoſe,

(5) Vid. Cæſ. comment. lib. i. c. 40. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. (6) Vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. § 104. Marin. Sic. de reb. Hiſp. l. iii.

planted a colony there, will by no means allow, that they founded the city, but fetch its origin and etymon much higher: we have given two of them in the laſt note. However that be, this city has been all along very famous, having been, ſince, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and famed for a council or two held there; the firſt by John the then metropolitan, and his twelve biſhops, in the year of Chriſt 516, in which it was, amongſt other things, enacted, that the celebration of the Sunday ſhould begin on Saturday evening. Hence that cuſtom hath, it ſeems, ſpread itſelf almoſt all over Spain, to leave off all kind of work from that time [c]. In another held under Berengarius, primate of the ſame place, 1180, it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings ſhould be computed from the year of Chriſt, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the Frankiſh monarchs [d]. Below Tarraco was the famed city of Saguntus, or Saguntum, on the ſame coaſt, of which having ſpoken amply in the laſt volume, and of its dreadful cataſtrophe, we ſhall refer our reader to it [e]. Valentia, another antient city a little below Saguntum, was the capital of the Edetani. It is ſituate on the mouth of the river Thurias, about three miles from the ſea, and was antiently ſtyled Colonia Julia, and founded by Junius Brutus, whilſt he was conſul in Spain [f], and given to his army (G). It was afterwards

Saguntus.

Valentia.

[c] Vaſ. chronic. ſub an. 516. [d] Taraph. ubi ſup. ſub an. 1176. [e] See Vol. xvii. p. 327, 328, &c. [f] Liv. epit. lv. Plin. lib. iii. c. 3.

Thoſe, who make Tubal to have been the peopler of Spain, pretend, that he founded this city, to be a kind of ſafeguard for his flocks and ſhepherds, of which he had vaſt numbers; and that both he and this place had the name of Tarraco given them, that is, "the gatherer up of ſhepherds (7). Others will have it to have been built by Hercules, and to have been called Acon; whence the compound word Terra-acon was inſenſibly contracted into Tarracon (8).

(G) The followers of Beroſus affirm this city to have been built by Romus the ſon of Teſta, one of their antient, if not fabulous kings; and to have been called by his own name Roma; and that the Romans, having ſince taken and enlarged it, gave it the name of Valentia inſtead of it (9).

(7) Taraph. ex Beroſ. & al. Lib. de reg. Hiſp. ſub initio. (8) Vid. Gerund. paralip. lib. v. (9) Vid. Vaſ. chron. ſub an. 967. Taraph. reg. Hiſp. ſub an. 1350.

afterwards deſtroyed, with Herennius and his accomplices, by Pompey, and rebuilt by Julius Cæſar. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is ſtill of the province of that name, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Spain. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honeſty, by Tully, as they are now, by their own authors, for their ſuperſtition and bigotry [g]. Before we leave this part of Spain, we muſt not omit the fa-

Complutum. mous city of Complutum, now Alcala de Henarez, ſo called from the river Henarez, on whoſe banks it is ſituate, in a pleaſant plain; and, as that river falls into the great Tagus, the cities here along are eaſily furniſhed with all kinds of proviſions and merchandizes. Complutum has now no biſhoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a conſiderable univerſity, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, then archbiſhop of Toledo; under whoſe auſpices, care, and immenſe charges, the firſt polyglot bible was compiled and printed in this city, and is from thence called the Complutenſian polyglot (H). Weſtward of, and between, Complutum, and the antient city of Toletum, now Toledo, and on the ſame river Tagus, was ſituate the Mantua of

[g] De his vid. Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hiſp. in fin. l. iii.

(H) This glorious work, the firſt of that kind, was performed by men of the greateſt learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vaſt charge. It was a conſiderable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514, to 1517, but the whole was not publiſhed till 1520, when it came recommended with a bull of pope Leo X. in ſix volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, viz. the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin. The Hebrew was as correct as it could poſſibly be done, according to the original; but the Septuagint, Chaldee, and Vulgate Latin, were corrected in ſuch a vaſt number of places, and from ſuch a prodigious number of manuſcripts, as were procured from all parts at no ſmall expence, in order to render thoſe three verſions more conformable to the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into diſlike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it ſerved for a model to thoſe which were ſince publiſhed in other kingdoms; among which that of London is juſtly eſteemed, in all reſpects, the moſt uſeful and exact, though not enriched with ſuch a variety of coſtly ornaments as that of Mr. Le Jay, printed at Paris (10).

(10) Vid. int. al Mattair. annal. typogr. Palmer. hiſt. of printing. Calmet, diſcourſe of polyglots, & al. mult.

of Ptolemy, near which ſpot is ſuppoſed the town of Madrid, the now metropolis of all Spain, to have been ſince built (I); but of this, and many others, both on the ſea-coaſts, and in the continent, we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing further, they being ſo well known to almoſt every reader. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the courſe of this article; the reſt, that are of any note, together with ſuch natural rarities that may be worth obſerving, the reader will find in the following note (K), and in the map annexed.

THE

(I) Hence we find it called by ſome Mantua Carpetana, by others Madritum and Madritt; but commonly now Madrid (11).

(K) Beſides the cities above-mentioned, we ſhould take notice of a very famed one, namely, new Carthage; but as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it (12) Segobriga, alias Segobrica, was, as we are told, the capital of the Celtiberi (13), concerning whoſe ſituation authors, even Spaniſh, differ ſo much, that we can hardly ſay any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of Tarracon, and the other at the foot of the Caſtellan mountains; but the former, which is the moſt conſiderable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of antient Numantia mentioned, not only by them, but by the Itinerary, which places it between Uxama and Turiaſo, near the river Durius. This laſt was, it ſeems, ſo excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had nor needed either walls, towers, or other fortifications, being ſeated on the top of a ſteep mountain, and ſheltered by much higher hills on three of its ſides, being only acceſſible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by ſuch narrow defiles, as could be eaſily guarded by an handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under-quoted (14); for it would ſwell this note too much, were we to deſcend to particulars. It was, however, quite deſtroyed by the two Scipio's; but, ſince we find it mentioned by thoſe antient authors, and by the Itinerary, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by ſome of their ſucceſſors. We have already given a full account of the Numantine war, and the ſad cataſtrophe of that famed city; and ſhall refer our readers to it (15), to avoid repetitions; and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall forbear mentioning any

(11) Vid. Sicul. Marin. de reb. Hiſp. l. ii. (12) See vol. xvii p. 446, &c. (13) Plin. lib. iii. c. 3. Strab. lib. iii. Ptol. lib. ii. c. 6. (14) Iid. ibid. Flor. bell. Numant. Oroſ. l. v. c. 7. Vid. & Mariana. lib. iii. & auct. Hiſpan. ſubcitat. & Cellar. ubi ſu. ſect. 711. (15) Vid. vol. xii. p. 370, 374.

Islands. Gades.

THE chief islands belonging to the Tarraconian province, are, first, that of Gades, situate on the gulph of that name, between the streights of Gibraltar and the river Bœtis, and famed, not so much for its bigness, as for the concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, name, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume [h]. Strabo gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time [i]: we shall have occasion to speak of the famed temple of it in the sequel. As for the city, we have, in a former volume, mentioned its being plundered by the Carthaginians, and taken by the Romans [k]. It was since erected into a bishoprick, under the title of Episcopatus Gaditanus [l]. The next is the so much celebrated, and so hard to find, island of Erythia, where Geryon is said to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules came and stole from him [m]. Some have placed it near that of Gades: others think

Erythia.

[h] Vol. xvii. p. 24. [i] Lib. iii. [k] See vol. xvii. p. 472, & seq.
[l] Vas. chronic. c. 21. [m] Hesiod. theogon. ver. 289, & seq.

any more of those antient cities, whose names, and further particulars have been sufficiently taken notice of in the course of the Roman and Carthaginian history; for those of later date belong not to this, but to the modern part of the work.

Mountains of note, besides those already mentioned, are the Pyrenees, which divide Spain from Gaul by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, and reaches from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such fierceness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we shall see in the sequel. The Idubedan hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several famed rivers, such as the Tagus and Anas, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the Suero and Thurias, which ran eastward into the Mediterranean on the other. The Orospedan ridge seems to have separated this province in part from Bœtica. They were also called Mariani Montes, and now Sierra Modena. We spoke of them under the last article. A great many more this province abounded with, for a further account of which, we must refer our readers to the antient and modern authors, lately quoted, as likewise for those mines, minerals, mineral waters, and other curiosities, they and the neighhouring valleys produced, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our design.

think it was the ſame with it: and others have thought, that it was either ſunk into the ſea, or was to be ſought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its ſituation; and ſhall refer our readers to it [n]. No leſs difficult has been the ſearch after thoſe ten famed iſlands, called by the Greeks Caſſiterides, from whence the Phœnicians, the firſt diſcoverers of them, did fetch ſuch vaſt quantities of tin. We ſhould not have mentioned them here, the learned Camden having fully ſhewn, that they are our iſlands of Scilly, had not ſome of the antients, as Strabo and Ptolemy [o], placed them on the Spaniſh coaſts, ſomewhat beyond the Promontorium Celticum or Artabrum, or Cape Finiſter; and others ſomewhere on the weſtern ocean, about the upper coaſts of Luſitania [p]. But as there could never be found any ſuch iſlands on thoſe coaſts, they have been ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate with that of Erythia lately mentioned. However, as we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them, when we come to ſpeak of the Britiſh iſlands [q], we ſhall ſay no more of them here, but paſs to thoſe which are more conſiderable, and better known to us; and theſe are the Baleares, or Gymneſiæ, as they are called by the antients. Caſſiterides.

THESE were diſtinguiſhed into Major and Minor, or, as Mela expreſſes it, Majores and Minores. Their bigneſs, ſituation, and other particulars, are ſo well known to every reader, that it were ſuperfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to ſay of them here, is, in what ſtate they were in thoſe antient times. In the former, now Majorca, Ptolemy and Strabo place the two cities of Palma and Pollentia, the one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt; and theſe are by Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, ſtyled Coloniæ. In the latter, now Minorca, they place likewiſe two cities, viz. Jamno and Mago; which were, however, no more than caſtles or forts, if Mela's judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they ſeem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this iſland, it is hardly to be doubted but theſe ſoon grew into conſiderable ſea-ports, eſpecially that of Mago, which became ſince a celebrated one, under the name of Maon. Theſe two iſlands were, on account of their ſituation and harbours, ſtyled Fortunatæ, and ſtand at about thirty miles diſ- Baleares.

tance

[n] Before, p. 13, 14. (E). [o] Strab. l. iv. Ptol. l. iii. [p] Diod. Sicul. l. v. c. 38. Plin. lib. iv. c. 22, & alib. Mela, & al.
[q] See the 3d. page of chap. xiii. ſect. 1.

tance from each other. They were at firſt poſſeſſed by the Phœnicians, who held them till Q. Metellus brought them under the Roman yoke, for which he got the ſurname of Balearicus [r]. As to the etymon of Baleares, moſt authors derive it from the Greek βάλλειν, which ſignifies to throw with a ſling, becauſe the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their ſkill in it [s]: yet, as the Carthaginians had theſe iſlands before any other, Bochart thinks they did give them that name, which is compounded of two Punic words, Baal and Jarah, which amount to the ſame ſenſe, and ſignify a ſlinging-maſter, or a man expert at throwing, &c. Their other name of Gymneſiæ, or Gymnaſia, is, according to the antient authors above-quoted, of Greek extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in ſummer.

FURTHER, towards the ſtreights, over-againſt the cape Dianium, now Denia, are the two iſlands called Pityuſæ by the antients, from the vaſt quantities of pine-trees which they produced [t]; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' ſmaller than that of Minorca, was named Ebuſus, now Ivica; the other, Ophiuſa, now Formentera. They are both mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; and Mela adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poiſonous, nor even wild creatures, and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it [u], though the iſland abounded with paſture-ground [w], and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed: ſome have even added ſugar-canes [x], which, it is ſaid, they boiled into ſugar, and made a traffic of; but this Cellarius has ſhewn to be a miſtake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned [y]. The other, by far the ſmalleſt, is thought by ſome to have been the ſame with that which the Latins called Colubraria; but the author laſt-quoted hath plainy proved, from the teſtimonies of Pliny and Mela, that they were two different iſlands; and the latter was at a much greater diſtance from that of Ebuſus, than the former; and both of them are ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that we need ſay no more of them. As for Ebuſus, it was the name both of the iſland, and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly

[r] De his vid. Strab. & Ptolem. ubi ſup. D. Sicul. lib. v. c. 18. Mela, lib ii. ad fin. Flor. l iii. c. 8. [s] Vid. D. Sicul. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xiv. Plin. l. iii. c. v. Euſtat. ad Dionyſ. ver. 457. [t] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. [u] De ſit. in fin. lib. ii. [w] Feſt. Avien. deſcript. orb. vet. 621. [x] Nonn. c. 94. in Stat. ſylv. lib. i. [y] Lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 4. § 132.

commonly called Ebuſium ; for we find, in antient inſcriptions of Gruter, Ordo Ebuſii, and Rp. or Reſpublica Ebuſii ; and are further told, that it was a colony of the Phœnicians [z]. The laſt iſland worth mentioning was called Capraria, and now Cabrera, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the Colubraria ſeems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It ſtands on the ſouth of Majorca, and is chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All theſe iſlands, and a great number of others mentioned by antient writers, now not to be found, and ſuppoſed to have been ſince ſunk into the ſea, did belong to this province of Tarracon, and underwent the ſame fate of paſſing from the Carthaginian to the Roman yoke. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving from Pliny [a], that this province was divided into ſeven conventus, or provincial aſſemblies, whoſe names the reader will find in the margin (L). It had ſeventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve Roman, and eighteen Latin cities, and an hundred and thirty-five ſtipendiaria or garriſons in the Roman pay, and one confederate.

[z] Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 362. [a] Plin. l. iii. c. 3. & al. ſup. citat.

(L) theſe were the Carthaginienſis, Tarraconenſis, Cæſar-Auguſtanus, Clunienſis, Aſturus, Lucenſis and Braccarus.

SECT. II.

The religion, laws, government, cuſtoms, learning, &c. of the antient Spaniards.

THERE is no doubt to be made, that, where-ever Spain was inhabited by the deſcendents of the Celtes, thither they brought their old religion, government, &c. What theſe were, we have given an account of in a former volume [a]; and ſhall ſpeak ſtill more largely upon, in the next chapter of the antient Gauls, the undoubted and immediate deſcendents of the antient Celtic ſtock; for we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, and ſo, indeed, we find, a great affinity betwen them in all theſe particulars, as they all ſprang from the ſame origin. But, as the Gauls are better known to us than the

The religion of the antient Spaniards.

[a] Vol. v. p. 404, & ſeq.

the Spaniards, we ſhall refer the greateſt part of what we have to ſay on theſe different heads, till we come to their hiſtory: for, could we even admit what the generality of Spaniſh writers affirm after Beroſus, that Tubal, the fifth ſon of Japhet, came and peopled Spain ſo ſoon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, Gomer, his eldeſt brother, and the father of the Celtes muſt have been as ſoon in poſſeſſion of Gaul; and both muſt, of courſe, be ſuppoſed to have brought the ſame religion, laws, government, &c. namely, that which they received from their grandfather Noah: and how tenacious both theſe, and other nations of the ſame Celtic deſcent, were of their own religion and laws, will be eaſily ſeen by the ſequel, eſpecially in the hiſtories of the antient Gauls and Germans. All that we ſhall ſay further of their religion here, is, that it was, in all theſe countries, the ſame as that of the old patriarchs: they worſhipped one ſupreme Being, not in temples, as the Greeks and Romans, but in groves conſecrated to him. They believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ſuitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated ſome feſtivals in honour of him; and, in moſt things, obſerved a great ſimplicity in all their religious rites, during a long ſeries of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into ſeveral of their ſuperſtitions, eſpecially into their various ways of divination, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman cuſtom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with moſt antient nations, viz. that of human ſacrifices; the origin of which having endeavoured to account for in a former volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it, to avoid prolixity [b].

But, as this country came to be invaded by ſuch variety of other nations, ſuch as the Egyptians, who are ſaid to have introduced all the heatheniſh ſuperſtition of their country, the Tyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and a multitude of others, who ſettled amongſt them, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent ſection, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and cuſtoms with them; and what theſe were muſt be ſeen in the hiſtory we have given of each of thoſe nations in the courſe of this work; for it were endleſs to repeat it here. It is plain, ſuch a mixture of different nations muſt bring, not only a vaſt variety of religious

[b] Vol. i. p. 382, (W). 566, Vol. ii. p. 508, Vol. iii. p. 223, in fin. (V).

ous laws and cuſtoms; but produce ſome alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed ſuch doctrines and notions, rites and faſhions, from one another, as ſuited their taſte or circumſtances. Superſtition has no bounds, and perſons, either out of wantonneſs, or impatience, will be eaſily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the caſe of the Iſraelites, though reſtrained from it under ſuch ſevere penalties: how much more will it be ſo, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly Romans, whoſe conſtant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, &c. either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but thoſe, that fell under their dominion, were obliged to ſubmit to this change. The inundation likewiſe of the northern nations, ſuch as the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, muſt likewiſe have introduced ſuch changes, as may be better imagined than expreſſed. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in their ſeveral hiſtories here enſuing; only thus much may be ſaid here, that, though they had embraced chriſtianity, yet they were all of them infected with the Arian hereſy. This did not, however, ſlacken their zeal againſt the heatheniſh idolatry and ſuperſtition, which had been introduced there by the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Romans, and other nations, whoſe temples, altars, ſtatues, &c. they deſtroyed where-ever they came, obliging all, that came under their power, to embrace their religion; but both Sueves and Goths did at length exchange their Arianiſm for the orthodox faith, the former, under the reign of their king Ariamirus alias Theodimirus, and the latter under Reccaredus, who made open profeſſion of it upon his acceſſion to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, biſhops, and clergy; and their confeſſion of faith was preſented to the famed council of Toledo, where ſome further regulations were made, for the preſervation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worſhip. This great change was ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering the tenaciouſneſs of thoſe nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without perſecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it muſt be owned, that the Goths did make many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and ſtate. We ſhall ſpeak of them, in their hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter; and ſhall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them,

known by ſeveral names, ſuch as, officium Gothicum, Toletanum, and Mozarabicum (A), and ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have been compiled by Iſidore, then biſhop of Hiſpal or Sevil. This liturgy was confirmed by the Toletan council above-mentioned, tho' the pope did not ſuffer them to enjoy it many years, before he obliged them to exchange it for the Roman, not without a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition from the Goths, eſpecially thoſe of Catalonia, who ſent a number of deputies to the council of Mantua, to expoſtulate againſt ſuch a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this ſucceſsleſs deputation, which, as they diſplay the unfair intrigues, and arbitrary ſway, of the Romiſh court, as well as the ſuperſtitious practices of thoſe times, we ſhall give to our readers in the margin (B).

It

(A) So called from the name of Mozarabes, which they then gave to thoſe chriſtians, who were under the ſubjection of the Saracens.

(B) The merit of theſe two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by ſingle combat; in which one champion was to fight for the Gothic and the other for the Roman. They did ſo, and the latter loſt the battle; but, the Roman party raiſing ſome freſh chicane about it, it was again agreed to be tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the Gothic was preſerved, and the other burnt. But ſuch was the prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his then legate, that the ſynod of Leon decided afreſh in favour of the latter. The Gothic, however, was far from being wholly ſet aſide. It was retained by ſeveral congregations, and by ſeven churches of Toledo, during a conſiderable number of years. Neither did it loſe its credit by being diſuſed, ſince even the famed cardinal Ximenes erected a chapel in the city, in which the divine worſhip was to be performed according to the Gothic or Mozarab liturgy; but in the end means were found to get it condemned, and wholly ſet aſide, and with it the old character, in which it was writ (1).

This character was not, however, the old famed Runic, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the German hiſtory, as has been affirmed by ſeveral authors; but the old Gothic, in which moſt, if not all books, eſpecially church ones, were written

(1) De hoc vid. Vaſ. chron. ſub an. 717. Comec. de geſt. fr. Ximenii, lib. ii. & al. Vid. & Capzow German. & Leddiard. vem. vol. ii. p. 284.

Government, laws, &c.

IT is probable, that, though the firſt inhabitants of Spain were under one monarchical government, upon their firſt ſettling in it, as well as thoſe of Gaul, Germany, and other European nations; yet, as they came to encreaſe in number, and enlarge their territories, they ſplit themſelves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. This was the caſe of the Gauls and Germans, when Cæſar firſt came amongſt them, as we ſhall ſhew in due time; and much more ſo may we ſuppoſe it to have been ſo here, conſidering the great variety of nations that came and ſettled amongſt them, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in a ſubſequent ſection of this chapter; for it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that moſt, if not all of them brought and ſettled their own laws and form of government, than that they ſhould ſubmit to that of the antient inhabitants, eſpecially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which muſt neceſſarily reſult, not only a vaſt variety, but likewiſe a conſtant fluctuation of them, as they paſſed from one dominion to another, eſpecially when they came under that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals (C). After the expulſion of the Carthaginians by the Scipio's,

written at that time in Spain, and elſewhere; and was near the ſame with the old Roman, but of a coarſer mould; and was particularly uſed in all the Viſigothiſh dominions.

(C) How they were governed under the two former, may be ſeen by their hiſtory in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and ſixteenth volumes, and how by the latter, in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters, as well as in the ſequel of this. One thing we muſt, however, obſerve here, with reſpect to the Romans, that it was their conſtant policy, in their conquered dominions, to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that, through fear, or neceſſity, had either ſought their friendſhip and protection, or willingly ſubmitted to them; and thoſe, who were ſubdued by force of arms. The former of theſe they permitted to preſerve their laws, and form of government; and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to ſend a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to ſubmit wholly to the Roman laws and government, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the next chapter; though, by the way, it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the former, that if they gave the leaſt umbrage to their pretended protectors, they ſeldom failed of being ſtripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the ſla-

of which we have given an account in a former chapter in the foregoing volume [c], Spain was governed by conſuls, proconſuls, prætors, proprætors, and præſides, from that very time down to the reign of Tiberius, if not lower; for we find L. Piſo prætor of the hither Spain in his time; and a reſcript of Adrian directed to the conſul of Bœtica. The præſides are mentioned likewiſe in ſubſequent reigns; but that title was of a more general ſignification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-ſix emperors, from Auguſtus, who is ſaid to have finiſhed the conqueſt of it, to Honorius, in whoſe reign the Romans were expelled by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. Under theſe emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, Spain was divided into two provinces; but ſoon after reduced into one, though under ſeveral governors, or legati and tribuni [d]. About the reign of Dioclefian and Maximinian, it began to be governed by comites, or counts; and, if any of theſe were forced to be abſent from their juriſdiction, they left the care of it to ſubſtitutes, who were called vicarii. And laſtly, in the time of the Goths, thoſe provinces, that were ſubject to the Romans, were ſet under government of duces and præfecti. Under the Goths they were governed by nineteen kings, during the ſpace of two hundred years, that is, from Athanaric, who began his reign in

[c] Vol. xvii. p. 472, & ſeq.

[d] Tacit. an. Vid. & Vaſ. chronol. c. 13.

viſh ſtate of the latter. This proved the caſe of the Spaniards, who were forced, by degrees, to ſubmit, not only to the Roman yoke, but to their religion, cuſtoms, &c. and even to their language (2).

We find, however, in ſome antient authors, the names of ſeveral petty kings of Spain, both in the times of the Carthaginians and Romans, who governed in their ſeveral little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid ſome tribute, perhaps, to them; ſuch as Mandonius, whom Livy calls king of the Ilergetes, Amuſius king of the Lacetani, Andubal mentioned by Polybius, and ſome others; but to theſe the Romans only give the title of reguli.

(2) Vid. Aldrete. compend. hiſt. de Hiſpania.

in the year of Chriſt 369, to Leovigild, an. 569. The Suevi reigned in Galicia, according to Iſidorus, an hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years, that is, from Hermeric, A. C. 408, to Andeca, who was defeated and dethroned by Leovigild above-mentioned, and brought that kingdom under his ſubjection A. C. 581. In this liſt of Suevian kings there is a chaſm of their names for an hundred years, from Remiſmund, who infected that kingdom with Arianiſm, A. C. 464, to Theodimirus, who embraced the orthodox faith, the hiſtorians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including Reccaredus above-mentioned. Laſtly, the united kingdoms of Goths and Suevi, which began at Reccaredus the ſucceſſor of Leovigild, and firſt orthodox king of the Goths, A. C. 568, laſted an hundred and twenty ſeven years, that is, to A. C. 713, when the Moors put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of Roderic their ſeventeenth and laſt king. Of all theſe, and their different nations, we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, every one in their order. As for thoſe of Leo, Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, they will be ſpoken of in the modern hiſtory.

Laws.

WHAT laws the antient Spaniards originally had, or what new ones were impoſed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to gueſs at. We are, indeed, told, that Hercules, upon his coming thither, did give them a body of them, ſuch as he had brought from his own country, whether Egypt, Tyre or Greece; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about. If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the Gauls, who had a multiplicity of governments, ſome monarchical, ſome ariſtocratic, and ſome even democratic, and, of the former, ſome limited, ſome deſpotic, we may reaſonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and ſuch as beſt ſuited to their genius, intereſt, and the ſafety of the whole; but theſe do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preſervation of each of their particular forms of governments: for, in other caſes, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the preſent emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By theſe all controverſies between man and man, town and town, diſtrict and diſtrict, were adjudged; and their power was ſuch, that even their kings, where they

had not made themſelves wholly abſolute, of which we ſcarce meet with any inſtance, were obliged to ſubmit to their deciſion, ſave only, that in all caſes, where the plaintiff was not ſatisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adverſary, and to determine the affair by ſingle combat. The ſame was likewiſe done between city and city, diſtrict and diſtrict, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cauſe was always adjudged to the conquering ſide; for it was a conſtant maxim amongſt all the deſcendents of the Celtes, that providence always interpoſed in ſuch caſes, and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the ſureſt right.

Valour and diſcipline.

In the art of war, and military diſcipline, we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew, that the Gauls, Germans, and other nations of Celtic extract, were very deficient, truſting too much to their ſtrength and bravery, and deſpiſing all other arts, and even defenſive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this reſpect, the Spaniards, though no leſs brave and ſtout, had much the advantage of them, which muſt be chiefly owing to their being ſo early and ſo frequently viſited, intermixed, and ſubdued, by other warlike nations, from whom they received freſh and conſtant improvements: whereas the Gauls, and other northern nations, being ſcarcely known till after the coming in of the Romans, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongſt themſelves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth againſt another, they were quite ignorant of martial diſcipline; and even their weapons were ſo clumſily made, and ſo miſerably tempered, that they often became uſeleſs, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was ſo artleſs and rude, that, in many inſtances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. The Spaniards, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with ſuch a variety of polite nations, made themſelves maſters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertneſs in every branch of the martial trade. Diodorus Siculus tells us [e], that the Celtiberians had ſuch an excellent way of tempering the ſteel, with which they made their weapons, that no ſhield or helmet could reſiſt them (D); and that they uſed them with equal

[e] Lib. ii. c. 1.

(D) This, our author tells us, was done by burying the ſteel ſome conſiderable time under-ground, that is, till the ruſt had eat up

equal dexterity, both on horſeback and foot, and alternately, if occaſion required. He likewiſe commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleneſs in giving or avoiding of blows; and adds, that they uſed likewiſe the ſame defenſive weapons that other nations did, ſuch as the ſhield, &c. And this is the reaſon why the Romans were ſo long ſubduing them, and ſpent more years in the conqueſt of this country, than Cæſar did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of Gaul. In the former they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, againſt a ſtout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, ſituation, diſpoſition, &c. in the other, every battle gained by Cæſar, and theſe by his own confeſſion, were eaſily obtained through this want of ſkill, opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to ſubmit to him on any tolerable terms. What encreaſes the wonder, is, that, at the coming in of the Romans, the Spaniards had ſuſtained ſuch long and dreadful wars, eſpecially juſt before, againſt the Carthaginians, that one might have expected them to have been quite exhauſted of their ſtrength; and much more likely would they have been ſo by thoſe, as they were now engaged in a new one, againſt a more potent and numerous enemy; and yet it is plain, they held out againſt them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were entirely ſubdued; nor were they then wholly ſo, ſince we find there was a conſtant neceſſity to keep a numerous army, and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to diſarm whole provinces, to keep them under a tyranny, which many thouſands of them thinking ſhameful and inſupportable, preferred a voluntary death to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſtate; ſo dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, ſays Livy, to live without arms[f]: and indeed what Valerius Maximus ſays of the Celtiberians, or Spaniards, was common to all the Celtic nation, and their deſcendents, That they eſteemed nothing ſo glorious, as to die with their ſword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We ſhall ſee many pregnant inſtances of this noble ſpirit in ſome ſubſequent chapters. Even by the confeſſion of ſome of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, did often coſt them ſo dear, that they deſerved nothing leſs than ſuch a pompous name[g]; and many a triumph they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due would have been turned into

The length and difficulty of their conqueſt.

[f] De bell. Mac. lib. iv. [g] L. Flor. l. ii.

up the ſofteſt and coarſeſt part of the metal: the reſt, that had reſiſted it, was what they made their weapons of.

into a doleful mourning for a bloody and ſignal defeat. Thus much we think is incumbent on an impartial author to ſay, in juſtice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to ſee them treated with the ſame contempt and diſregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors. We ſhall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long ſince made, with reſpect to this conqueſt of Spain, that though the Roman conquerors were always eager of taking the ſurname of thoſe nations they ſubdued, ſuch as Aſiaticus, Africanus, Germanicus, &c. yet none of them, not even Auguſtus Cæſar, who is complimented by Livy with having put the finiſhing ſtroke to it, nor any of his ſucceſſors, though moſt of them ambitious enough of ſuch high titles, ever took that of Hiſpanicus, Ibericus, or any other that this country was called by. Q. Cæcil. Metellus was the only one, who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of Celtibericus, but could not. This ſeems to argue the Romans to have been ſo conſcious of the vaſt deal of blood and treaſure, which it had coſt them, more than any other, that they could ſee no reaſon for beſtowing any ſuch honours upon them; and for which there might not have been the leaſt pretence, had the Spaniards been united into one common intereſt, inſtead of being divided into ſo many governments, and under ſo many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cauſe of their falling under the Roman yoke.

Learning, arts, and ſciences.

How ſoon arts and ſciences began to flouriſh in Spain, can only be gueſſed at. That they have an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we ſhall mention only three of the moſt illuſtrious; viz. the famed Stoic philoſopher Seneca, who was a native of Corduba; the learned orator Quintilian, and the great coſmographer Pomponius Mela, often quoted thro' this work: and though we find other European nations very ſlow and late in cultivating them, ſuch as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a ſingular contempt for them, as unſuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, conſidering the vaſt concourſe of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent ſituation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe they muſt have began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and that whatever natural reluctancy, ſuch as was common to all people of Celtic extract, they may have had againſt them, neceſſity muſt have forced them to overcome it, in their own defence

fence and preſervation. We ſhall ſay nothing here of thoſe trades and manufactures, for which they have ſince rendered themſelves famous for ſome ages, till they again relapſed into their antient pride and indolence, out of which they were but lately rouſed up again. But, with reſpect to their antient ones, though we have not much of them upon record, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continued invaſions they were expoſed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head againſt. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe Strabo, began early to flouriſh here [h]; for he tells us, that the Turdetani, a people of Bœtica, were become very famous for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws writ in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding; which laſt, however exaggerated, doth at leaſt ſhow, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of ſeveral kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by ſeveral other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation [i], but more manifeſtly by what Pliny tells us [k] of one Lartius Licinius, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give an immenſe ſum (E) for a book of Pliny II's commentaries.

Their language, the old Celtic.

We make no difficulty to affirm, that the original language of Spain was the old Celtic, of which we have given ſome account in a former volume [l], and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of in the next chapter; for, whether we ſuppoſe, with the generality of Spaniſh authors, that Tubal came thither by ſea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elſewhere hinted, that the Celtes, or deſcendents of Gomer his eldeſt brother, ſpread themſelves thither by gradual migrations, the caſe will be much the ſame in this particular, becauſe, on the ſuppoſition of the former hypotheſis, Tubal and Gomer parting ſo ſoon after the flood, their language muſt have been the ſame; that is, the Tubalians, or, as they are called by others, Cetubales, and the Gomerians, muſt have carried the ſame language into thoſe countries where they ſettled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this

[h] Lib. iii. [i] Pomp. Mela. Sil Ital. Columel. Martial. Lucan. & al. plur. [k] Epiſt. lib. iii. [l] Vol. v. p. 410.

(E) This ſum is by our author ſaid to have been forty thouſand nummi; which, according to the computation of his learned commentator, was equivalent to ten thouſand golden crowns.

this difference only, that it muſt have been much purer, and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the Hebrew, or any other; concerning which we ſhall not here repeat what we ſaid on the ſubject at the entrance of this work [m]. But as that Beroſian account is now, by moſt learned men, (except the Spaniards, who are fond of their own antiquity, beyond other nations) rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elſewhere, to aſcribe the firſt peopling of Spain to the Celtes, or deſcendents of Gomer. And what confirms this hypotheſis, is, that their antient language, as it is ſtill preſerved in ſome parts of Spain, appears to be the ſame with that which is ſpoken by our Welſh, who are deſcended from Gomer, and retain ſtill their paternal name of Gomerai, and call their own language Gomraeg, as we have ſhewed in their hiſtory, quoted a little higher. We likewiſe there took notice of the vaſt affinity there is between it and the antient Hebrew, inſomuch that to thoſe, who are maſters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the ſame tongue; or, to ſpeak, perhaps, more properly, the Celtic, or language of the deſcendents of Gomer, is a dialect of the Hebrew, or language of Noah. And hence the modern Spaniſh, as it is now ſpoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have obſerved, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of Hebrew extract, but have been at a loſs how to account for it. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were brought thither by the Jews, who fled from their country, whilſt Nabuchadnezzar was laying it waſte; and came and ſettled there, as ſome have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for loſing their tongue, than preſerving it, much leſs for propagating it in any country they come to. This made Aldrete to think thoſe words to be of Arabic, and not of Hebrew extract, and to be of no longer date, than the coming in of the Moors [n]. Had that learned author had recourſe to the old language, which is ſtill kept in ſome parts of Biſcay, Navarre, and Catalonia, he would have found ſuch a vaſt number of them, as would have convinced him, that they muſt be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the Moors: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is between the Hebrew and the Celtic, he would have eaſily concluded, that all thoſe words and idioms in the modern

[m] Vol. i. p. 431, &c. & vol. iii. p. 440, &c. [n] Antiqued. de Hiſpan. l. ii. c. 8.

dern Spaniſh, muſt have come from the latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourſe to the Arabic. What ſeems to have miſled him into this notion, is, that there is likewiſe a great conformity between this laſt language and the Celtic: hence that ſurpriſing number of words and idioms common to the High Dutch and Arabic, which has puzzled ſo many critics, and cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by ſuppoſing them to be of Celtic original, which, like the old Arabic, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as ſome chuſe rather to ſuppoſe it, both the Hebrew, and they, were dialects of the original tongue. If we allow then the Celtes to have been either the firſt, or even ſome of the firſt inhabitants of Spain, there will be the leſs wonder there ſhould be ſtill found, in the modern language of that country, ſuch primitive words, notwithſtanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, ſince it is no more than what may be obſerved, not only in the High and Low Dutch, and other northern languages, but even in the French, the fartheſt removed, and ſtrangeſieſt altered, from the old Gauliſh, or Celtic. We may add, that the modern Spaniſh preſerves more of the maſculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old Celtic, than any other in Europe. The ſame may be ſaid of the Spaniſh nation, with reſpect to the antient Celtic grandeur and majeſty; and we may ſafely add of their pride, and ſingular contempt for, not only trade, commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity, and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their ſlaves, as we ſhall ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the Gauls in the next chapter.

The Latin introduced by the Romans.

BUT whatever the original language of Spain may have been at firſt, it muſt have ſuffered great changes under thoſe different nations, by whom this country was ſubdued, and of whom we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel: but the greateſt of all was under the Romans; for theſe made it their conſtant buſineſs to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their hands; at firſt, by founding ſchools, and even univerſities, where youth might, with the Latin tongue and character, be taught the arts and ſciences, which was no ſmall inducement to inſpire them with a fondneſs for it; and, where that failed, then more forcible means were uſed, ſo that in time almoſt the whole kingdom came to ſpeak it as their mother-tongue, only thoſe few tribes of the antient inhabitants who, perhaps, like our Welſh here, fled into ſuch mountainous

tainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one. The Latin continued no longer there, than to the coming in of the Goths and Vandals, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in Gaul, Italy, and other parts, where thoſe barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion, and to adopt their barbariſms, and to decline into the ſtate, in which we ſee it now. And here it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the Spaniſh, that it has ſuffered the leaſt corruption, and retains more of the antient Latin, of any in Europe. This makes us think, that it did not receive any conſiderable alteration under the Moors; otherwiſe it muſt have deviated much more from it, than it actually doth: beſides, it is not likely, whatever Aldrete might infer from his fanſied words and idioms of Arabic extract, and of which we have given a more probable origin, that Spaniards, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more ſo, on account of their religion.

Their writing.

FROM what we lately quoted out of Strabo, it is plain, the antient Spaniards muſt have admitted writing amongſt them many ages before either the Gauls, Germans, or any others of Celtic extract; ſince theſe, as ſhall be ſhewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their hiſtory, learning, or religion, but contented themſelves with preſerving them in proper poems, which their druids and bards learned by heart, and tranſmitted in the ſame way to their diſciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in ſome meaſure, forced to it by ſome of thoſe many nations, under whoſe dominion they paſſed from time to time, ſuch eſpecially as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans: but, which of thoſe different characters was firſt adopted, or became moſt in vogue, we cannot pretend to ſay; only that, from the coming of the Romans, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the reſt, and was in uſe till their expulſion, when the old Gothic, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this ſection, took place. This laſt, though far inferior to the Roman in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in ſuch vogue throughout Europe, from the coming of the Goths, downwards, that all church divinity, and law-books, were written, and (even long after the invention of printing, and reviving of the old Roman) were printed in it.

it. We have ſeen there why, and how, it was at length condemned and ſet aſide.

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

It will not be amiſs here to take notice of an odd way, which the Spaniards of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its riſe in the reign of Cæſar Auguſtus, prevailed all over Spain, and was not aboliſhed till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, firſt, in Arragon, by Peter IV. A.D. 1358, in Caſtile, by king John, an. 1383, and, in Portugal, by John I. an. 1415. This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, inſtead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Chriſt, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was uſed, not only in their profane, but, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, in their eccleſiaſtic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at firſt, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus uſed. It is not worth troubling our readers with their various conjectures upon it; for nothing but conjecture has as yet been offered, and ſome of them, too, forced and far fetched. It ſhall ſuffice to ſay here, that they are all agreed on one point, viz. that the æra did commence in Auguſtus's time, ſome add, that it was inſtituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Chriſt. Some reckon it but barely twenty-ſix years, and think thoſe highly miſtaken, who give it any more[a]. Others think it began on the year, in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangeliſt words it; and that it was called æra from the æs, or copper coin which was exacted by that decree[b]. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Chriſt, which was, according to them, the year in which Julius Cæſar was killed, and Auguſtus ſucceeded him[c]: the righteſt of them, in our opinion, are thoſe, who deduct the firſt four years out of that emperors reign, becauſe, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the Spaniards ſhould have begun ſo ſoon to compliment him with this new computation; and conſequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of this triumvirſhip, when that country, together with Gaul, and ſome other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was forty-eight years before the birth of Chriſt. As for the original of the word, thoſe that do not like

[a] Gerund. paralipom. Hiſpan. l. x. in fin. [b] Id. ibid. ex Iſidor. [c] Vid. Vaſei chronic. c. 22.

like that we mentioned above, which is that of Isidore bishop of Seville [d], will be less pleased with some others, which Spanish critics have fetched still farther. That of Vaseus, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of Resendius, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority [e].

Education. THE education of their children in antient days chiefly consisted in training them up to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises, as tended to make them strong and robust, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully riveted in them both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death before slavery, and looked upon it as the most glorious of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itself. But we shall defer speaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we shall single out several instances of this native valour, in these and other Celtic nations, even in those of the softer sex, and tender years.

Commerce. WE have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situate for trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed through so many different dominions as this. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, and founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it. What condition the country was in,

[d] Epist. ad Vas. ap, eund. ibid. [e] Iid. ibid.

in, before thoſe ſtrange nations came into it, we dare not ſay, though, if we were to believe one half of what the Spaniſh hiſtorians have written on this head, it muſt have been in a more flouriſhing condition than any other; ſince we are told by them, that, even before the coming of Hercules, it had a great number of rich and ſtately towns and cities, and theſe of great antiquity too [f], and this ſeems, in ſome meaſure, confirmed by antient writers, ſuch as Strabo, Juſtin, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, and others; and indeed, if they really had ſuch a ſucceſſion, as we are going to give in the next ſection, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from Tubal the grandſon of Noah to Geryon, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of ſuch antient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for thoſe reigns, than that of Beroſus, who, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, is juſtly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the Greek and Roman authors mentioned above have ſaid of the pretended antiquity of thoſe cities, and their founders, was in all likelihood taken upon truſt from the Spaniards themſelves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this paſſion for antiquity, as ever the Greeks, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we muſt leave every reader to judge for himſelf.

To cloſe up the character of the antient Spaniards, they poſſeſſed all the virtues of the old Celtic nation, and inherited fewer of their vices, than any others of their deſcendents; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hoſpitable to a high degree, and ſo famed for their faithfulneſs, that, even after their being conquered by the Romans, ſeveral of their emperors made no difficulty of preferring them to other people, to be their life-guard. They were ſober, frugal, patient under hardſhips, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries paſt, rather deſirous, as much as they could, to preſerve their own territories, than to go in ſearch of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of Celtic extract, and of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſubſequent chapters, thoſe of pride, cruelty, ſuperſtition, and lazineſs, are juſtly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the Gauls, Germans,

[f] Vid. int. al. Gerund. ubi ſup. l. i. Garſi de academ. Hiſp. Nomenclat. urb. Hiſpan. Taraph. de orig. &c. reg. Hiſp. Vaſ. chronic. & al. plur.

Germans, and others [g]; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their ſumptuous banquets, much leſs in their exceſſive fondneſs for ſtrong liquors; on the contrary they are famed for their averſion to them, by which they preſerved themſelves from ſuch bloody quarrels, as were the natural conſequence of thoſe drunken revels, which we find to have been ſo indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worſt effects.

[g] See hereafter in this vol. the latter part of ſect. 4. in the hiſtory of the Gauls.

SECT. III.

The origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

Spain, its firſt inhabitants.

WE have, in ſeveral parts of this work [a], proceeded on the moſt probable hypotheſis, founded on the teſtimony of the beſt and moſt antient authors, that the Celtes, the deſcendents of Gomer, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet [b], were the firſt that peopled Europe, at leaſt as far as the Danube and Rhine, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their diſperſion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by ſea, will, we think, be more properly enquired into in the next chapter, where we ſhall ſpeak of the Gauls the immediate deſcendents of thoſe Celtes, and where we ſhall ſhew, from the beſt antient teſtimonies, that theſe were, from the earlieſt times, found ſettled in every part of it, and even in this of Spain, notwithſtanding its being ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the firſt ſection of this chapter, and ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak it the entrance of the next [c]. According to this hypotheſis, it will be impoſſible to gueſs, about what time either this or any other country of Europe were peopled by them, or which of them claims the preference in point of antientneſs before the reſt, or even to aſſert any thing of this country before the coming of Hercules into it.

BUT the Spaniards, ever fond of their own antiquity, beyond any other nation, having once adopted fabulous Beroſus, have

[a] See before, vol. 1. p. 346. & vol. v. p. 383, & ſeq.
[b] Geneſ. x. 2. [c] See hereafter, ſect. 3 and 4 of chap. xi.

have fetched their origin from another ſpring, namely, from Tubal, the fifth ſon of Japhet [d], whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in Spain from the year of the flood 143, to 258, and from whom they pretend to derive a regular ſeries of long-winded monarchs, down to the three Geryons, who were killed by the Egyptian Hercules, to ſay nothing of a much longer one, which they likewiſe draw from this laſt hero, and ſome other new-comers from Libya, down to the time in which they allow the Celtes to have made their firſt entrance into Spain, viz. in the year of the flood 1350; ſo that, according to theſe authors, Spain had been a monarchy, and had laſted, one thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſix years before the coming of the Celtes into it [e]. This account, how fabulous ſoever, not only with regard to Tubal's reign, and of his pretended ſucceſſor, but likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, with regard to thoſe of Hercules, as it is not only adopted by all the Spaniſh authors in general, but likewiſe by all the followers of Beroſus, we ſhall be obliged before we go further, to give our readers a compendious ſketch of it, eſpecially as we have all along in this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the hiſtory of each nation; and ſhall do the ſame in thoſe that follow, eſpecially in that of our own. Beroſian liſt of their kings.

1. TUBAL having received his grandfather's bleſſing, came, according to theſe hiſtorians, and ſettled in ſome part of Spain (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year 258; Tubal, or Thubal.

[d] Geneſ. ubi ſup. [e] Vid. int. al. Garibay. compend. hiſt. Hiſpan. l. iv. c. 4, & ſeq. Vaſ. chron. Hiſpan. c. 10. ſub an. diluv. 1350. Gerund. paralip. Hiſp. Sant. Marianna. & al. mult.

(A) This Beroſian fable they think ſufficiently backed by what we read in Joſephus (1), who makes Jubal, or Thubal, as he is called, to have peopled Spain; and by St. Jerom's comment on the prophets Iſaiah and Ezekiel, where he underſtands by Tubal either Italy or Spain; but this, at moſt, will only prove, that ſome of that patriarch's poſterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and ſettled in ſome part of it; but not, that he came thither himſelf, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been ſufficiently exploded in ſome former part of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3). However

(1) Antiq. l. i. c. 3. (2) See before, vol. v. p. 389 & ſeq. (3) Vid. int. al. Bochart. phaleg. Sir Walter Rawley, hiſt. Perizon. Pezron. Calmet. comm. in Geneſ. x. 2, & al.

258; during which interval Noah, called, by prophane authors, Janus, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his one name, Noela in Galicia, and the other Noega in Aſturia, and which, to this day, retains ſtill that of Navia.

Iberus. 2. IBERUS, the ſon of Tubal, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258, reigned thirty-ſeven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river Iberus, from which Spain was called Iberia, had its name. We have elſewhere given a much more probable etymon of theſe two names [f]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Idubeda. 3. IDUBEDA, by ſome called Juballa, and Jubalda, who reigned ſixty-four years, gave name to the famed Idubedean mountains, peopled the province of Briga, now Riola, and called it by that name from,

Brigo. 4. BRIGO, his ſon and ſucceſſor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his ſon,

TAGUS,

[f] See before, vol. v. p. 383, 389. (E). & vol. xvii. p. 323.

However, theſe partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural ſchemes upon it; ſuch as the place where he landed, ſettled, &c. the ſyſtem of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; inſomuch that they affirm, that his deſcendents did ſtrictly adhere to the precepts given to Noah by God, and preſerved themſelves free from idolatry, polytheiſm, and all heathenith ſuperſtition, till Hercules brought thoſe plagues from Egypt, and infected Spain with them. But of this weſhal l have a fairer occaſion to ſpeak in the next chapter, where we ſhall enter into a more exact detail of the religion of the Celtes and Gauls.

(B) From him the Briones, or Brigones, ſituate along the long ridge of Idubedean mountains, are affirmed, by the Navarrean hiſtorians, to have been named, as well as the city of Cantabria, antiently, according to them, Cantabriga; whilſt the Caſtellani derive both from the Galli Bracati, who came and ſettled there.

The word Briga, which had the ſame ſignification in Spain, and in the cities Cantabriga and Meidobriga, which the antient Gallic Dun or Dunum, in the names Lugdunum, Noviodunum, and the German Burgh, in Friburg, Auſburgh, &c. is likewiſe affirmed to have had its origin from him. But the word Brig or Bric, from which Briga and Brica differ only in termination, is certainly of Celtic extraction, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. Several other things are ſaid likewiſe of this king, without any foundation, which the reader may ſee in the Spaniſh authors lately quoted.

5. TAGUS, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river Tagus, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Tagus.

6. BOETUS, from whom the river Bœtis, and the province of Bœtia, Bœtica, formerly Turdetania, and ſince Andaluſia, had their names. He is ſaid to have been ſurnamed Turdetanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning. Bœtus, the laſt of Tubal's line.

7. GERYON, an African, or Libyan, of a gigantic ſtature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514, and reigned, according to ſome, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others [g]. Againſt him came Oſiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionyſius king of Egypt, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three ſons, commonly called the three Geryons, after having firſt exacted a ſtrict Geryon.

[g] Conf. Garibay, compend. Vaſ. chron. Hiſp. ſub an. diluvii 514.

(C) This Geryon was alſo called Deabus, and is ſurnamed, by the Greeks, Chryſco, on account of the vaſt wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is ſaid to have brought over a number of wild or Scenite Arabs, and to have been the founder of the city of Girona (4). Diodorus Siculus makes him the ſon of Chryſaor, or the golden ſword, the ſon of Meduſa. From his defeat is ſuppoſed to have ſprung the fable of Hercules's overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, ſpoken of in a former volume (5). Juſtin, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vaſt herds of cattle (6); but Strabo and Pliny look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and Arrian further affirms (8), that there never was ſuch a king as Geryon in Spain. Ariſtotle ſays, that Hercules (whom even ſome Spaniſh authors affirm to have been, not the Egyptian, but the Greek one, and ſon of Jupiter by (9) Alcmena) had been enticed over into Spain by the richneſs of its inhabitants: whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongſt them, forbidding the uſe or poſſeſſion of ſilver, which was ſtill in force ſome time after the coming thither of the Carthaginians (10). Something like this law was likewiſe among ſome of the antient Gauls, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

(4) Lib. iv. c. 4. Vid. & Aldrete, var. antiguedad. lib. iv. c. 18. (5) See before, vol. v. p. 629. ſub not. (6) Hiſt. l. xliv. (7) Strab. l. iii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. (8) De geſt. Alex. Mag. l. ii. (9) Vid. Gerundenſ. paralipom. l. ii. Ant. Nebrigenſ. & al. (10) Vaſæi chronic. ſub an. diluv. 539.

promiſe from them, that they would reign amicably, and abſtain from thoſe plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had ſo juſtly puniſhed their father.

Geryons. 8. THREE Geryons, ſaid to have been all of one birth, and the laſt of the Geryonic race, reigned with ſuch ſurpriſing concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that repreſents them with a threefold body. Theſe being ſuppoſed to have had a hand in the death of Oſiris, in revenge of that of their father, Hercules, his ſon, brought a great army from Egypt, firſt gave them a total overthrow, and then overcame and ſlew them, one after another, in ſingle combat. It is ſaid, that the columns between the Carpean and Abylean mountains were ſet up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the iſle of Caliz [h]. Hercules, who did not come ſo much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no ſooner overcome the three Geryons, than he made ready to paſs into Italy, and left the government of Spain to his ſon,

Hiſpal. 9. HISPAL (D), who built the city of that name, now called Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by Cæſar: and from Hiſpal began a new ſucceſſion of Spaniſh kings. He is ſaid to have reigned ſeventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his ſon,

Hiſpan. 10. HISPAN, or Hiſpanus, from whom the country took its name, which it hath preſerved ever ſince. He began his reign

[h] Garibay, ubi ſup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended that our Egyptian hero introduced the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his country; to which another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (11).

He had likewiſe two favourite companions with him, the one named Zacynthus, and the other Baleon; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city of Zacynthum, ſince Saguntum (12); and the other to the Balearic iſlands, now Majorca and Minorca (13).

Another antient author, who was a Spaniard by birth, adds, that the Tyrians built a ſtately temple to this Hercules, which became famous, both for its antiquity and vaſt treaſures (14).

(11) Lactant. l. i. c. 21. (12) Vid. Hieron. proœm. in epiſt. ad Galat. (13) Luc. Flor. l. lx. (14) P. Mela, de ſit. orb. l. iii. c. 6.

reign in the year of the flood 607, and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of Caliz his chief reſidence [i].

HERCULES, hearing of his ſon Hiſpan's death, returned into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639, to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the Spaniſh kingdom to Heſperus, one of his captains and companions; and died, and was buried at Gades, Caliz, where that ſtately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was reſorted to by moſt nations of Europe, Aſia, and Afric (F). Hercules.

11. HESPERUS, from whom both Spain and Italy were called Heſperia, but the former, by way of diſtinction, Heſperia Magna, and his brother Atlas, ſurnamed Italus, had accompanied Hercules in all his excurſions and conqueſts. Upon the death of that hero, Heſperus cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor, as by his will and appointment. Atlas, who is ſuppoſed to have been left in Italy, upon the return of the other two in Spain, came thither alſo himſelf, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669, after he had reigned there eleven years. Heſperus.

12. ATLAS, after he had reigned ten years in Spain, is ſaid to have returned into Italy, in order to drive his brother thence alſo; for it ſeems that fugitive prince was fled thither, Atlas.

[i] Id. ibid. in fin. c. 14.

(E) To him ſome antient authors have falſly aſcribed, among other ſumptuous works, the aqueduct of Segovia, which was done by the emperor Trajan, and the Pharus or famed tower of Corumna, a maritime city in Galicia, which was erected in Auguſtus's time (15).

(F) It is hardly worth the while to trouble our readers with the various ſentiments of the learned concerning this famed hero; whether he was the Egyptian, Phœnician, or Grecian Hercules: eſpecially as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of him in ſome former parts of this work, to which we muſt here refer our readers (16), as well as to what we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of him in the next chapter.

(15) Vid. Flor. Vaſ. chronic. Garib. & al. ub. ſup. (16) See before, vol. xi. p. 257. 268. vol. xvi. p. 629, (W). vol. xvii. book 4. chap. 1. vol. xviii. p. 33, & ſeq. Beuter. Vaſ. Garibai, & al.

and was ſo well received there, as to give him new cauſe of jealouſy. Upon his departure he left the kingdom to his ſon,

Orus. 13. ORUS, or Sicorus (G), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river Sicoris, now Segre, which falls into the Iberus, or Ebro; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Sicanus. 14. SICANUS, who had followed him from Italy into Spain; a prince ſaid to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river Anas, now Ana; reigned thirty-two years, during which he is ſaid to have carried his ſucceſsful arms into Italy, and Sicily, which was from him called Sicania, as it had been before, Trinacria, and ſince, Sicily, from his ſucceſſor,

Siceleus. 15. SICELEUS ſucceeded his father, and reigned forty-four years, during which he is ſaid to have paſſed over into Italy, and performed very great feats, and to have aſſiſted Iaſius, the grandſon of Atlas, by Electra his daughter, who was then at high wars with Dardanus, about the ſucceſſion to certain ſtates in that country. In this prince's reign the Deucalian flood is ſaid to have happened, and that Moſes was then likewiſe performing his wonders before the hardened king of Egypt.

Luſus. 16. SICELEUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Luſus, who had accompanied him in his wars in Italy. He is ſaid to have been a brave prince, but vaſtly addicted to the heatheniſh ſuperſtitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of Luſitania, now Portugal, to him, from whom it was called by that name; others, to another Luſus, a chieftain and companion of Bacchus. We can affirm nothing certain about either. Luſus reigned thirty years, and was ſucceeded by,

Ulus. 17. ULUS, or Sic-Ulus, whom ſome make the ſon of Luſus, others of Atlas. He was ſo warlike a prince, kept ſuch vaſt armies and fleets, that he was called the ſon of Neptune. He paſſed over into Italy, to aſſiſt thoſe Spaniſh colonies

(G) From this, and the two following princes names, Sicanus and Siceleus, it is ſuppoſed, that their proper names were Orus, Anus, and Eleus; and that the Sic was a titular prænomen: and this is further proved by Anus giving his name to the river Ana, and Eleus to that of Eleo (17).

(17) Id. ibid. c. 24. Vid. Ant. Nebrig. hiſt. reg. cathol. Vaſ. chronic. ſuban. diluv. 967. & al.

colonies, that had been ſettled there by Atlas, repreſſed their enemies there, peopled ſome countries in the neighbourhood of Rome, built ſome cities, and particularly the famed caſtle of Alſino; thence he paſſed into Sicily, to aſſiſt thoſe Spaniſh colonies, which his predeceſſors had fixed there, and, who, it ſeems, were ſadly haraſſed by the other inhabitants of that iſland, which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about ſixty years, and was ſucceeded, by what means can ſcarcely be gueſſed [k], by,

18. Testa, an African, or Libyan, to whom, however, the Spaniſh hiſtorians give the character of a good and wiſe prince. Some of them affirm, that it was in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, that a colony of Greeks, from the iſland of Zacynthus, now Jaſanto, came into Spain by ſea; and, with his permiſſion, ſettled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by thoſe of Saguntini and Saguntines. Here then is a new and different account of the foundation of that famed city and people, of whoſe valour and ſad cataſtrophe we have ſpoken at large in the foregoing volume [l]; and this, if right, deſtroys what we mentioned a little higher concerning the origin, which is given them by other authors. Nothing can be advanced on either ſide but conjecture. As for Teſta, after a long reign of ſeventy-four years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon, Testa.

19. Romus, who reigned thirty-three years, and is ſuppoſed to have founded the city of Rome, in the province of Tarragona, ſince called Valentia, from the Romans calling that city afterwards by this name, and enlarging and beautifying it, and making it the metropolis of it (H). In this prince's reign the Phœnicians are ſaid to have made their firſt entrance into Spain; and about the ſame time alſo the famed Romus.

[k] Id. c. 23. Vaſ. ſub an. diluv. 893, & al. [l] See vol. xvii. p. 323---334.

(H) Others will have it, the people of that province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of Romus; and that the Greeks called it Rome, and the Latins Valentia, as names of the ſame import in each language (18).

(18) Garib. ub. ſup. c. 24. Id. ibid. c. 26.

Bacchus comes into Spain.

famed Greek chieftain Iacchus, or Bacchus, ſurnamed Liber Pater, with a conſiderable army, not ſo much with a deſign to conquer that country, as to ſpread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other, ſide of the world, where he is ſaid to have carried his conqueſts as far as the Indies. As he travelled through Andaluſia, he built the famed city Nebriſa, in the province of Bœtica, ſince called Veneria, and now Lebrixa, the native place of the learned Antony Nebriſſenſis, often quoted in this chapter; who ſays, on this head, that Luſus the ſon of Bacchus gave name to Luſitania, and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the deſtruction of Troy. Romus was ſucceeded by,

Palatuus. 20. PALATUUS, the ſuppoſed founder of the city of Palentia, or Palantia. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquility, when a famous warrior, named Licinius Cacus, raiſed a war againſt him, and deprived him, according to ſome, of part, and, according to others, of this whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilſt he reigned uncontrouled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country (I). At length Palatuus found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had poſſeſſed it thirty-ſix years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount Cacus, now Montcajo, ſo called from him, after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was ſlain upon it; others, that he retired into Italy; however that be, Palatuus reigned ſeventy years, and was ſucceeded by,

Cacus defeated.

Erythræus. 21. ERYTHRÆUS, in whoſe reign is placed the founding of the famed city of Carthage, of which we ſhall ſay no more here, having given an ample account of it in a former volume [m]. He is ſaid to have given name to the

[m] Vid. vol. xvi. p. 556---562.

(I) Some authors are ſo fond of raiſing the fame of this uſurper, that they make him the firſt, who ſet about diſcovering the iron mines in Spain, and ſet up the fabrication of that metal. He might, perhaps, have given greater encouragement to this manufacture than any of his predeceſſors; but that they ſhould have been ſuch ſtrangers in Spain to the working of ſo neceſſary a metal, is altogether improbable.

the famed iſland of Erythræa, or Erythia, as it is called by Mela [n] and Pliny [o], an iſland, which has been ſought far and near [p]. We have endeavoured, at the beginning of this volume, to give the beſt account of its ſituation, to which we ſhall refer our readers [q]. Erythræus was the laſt of the line of Teſta, in which the monarchy had laſted two hundred and forty-five years, according to ſome; or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others [r], including the forty-ſix years of Licinius's uſurpation. He was ſucceeded by,

22. GARGORAS, ſurnamed Mellicola, becauſe, as Juſtin hath it [s], he found out the uſe of honey, and cultivating of bees. He was a Spaniard by birth, a wiſe prince, and a great promoter of induſtry. In his reign the famed city of Troy having been deſtroyed by the Greeks, of which, as well as its long ſiege, an account has been given in a former volume [t], many of thoſe warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and ſettled in Spain, and built cities in ſeveral parts of it, and, amongſt them, thoſe which the reader will find in the margin (K). To Gargoras ſucceeded, if we may believe Juſtin [u], Gargoras.

23. HABIS

[n] De ſitu, l. iii. c. 6. [o] Plin. lib. iv. c. 22. [p] Conf. auct. ſup. citat. & Arrian. cum mult. al. [q] Before, vol. xviii. p. 14. [r] Conf. Ant. Nebricens. Garibay, & Vaſæum, ubi ſup. [s] Hiſt. l. xliv. [t] Vol. v. p. 549---560.
[u] Lib. xliv.

(K) Teucer, the ſon of Telamon, one of the firſt that came into Spain, ſettled in that part where the new Carthage was built, ſince called Carthagena, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he paſſed into Galicia, and gave name to that canton (19). He is likewiſe ſaid to have built the city of Salmantica, now Salamanca, in memory of his own native country; though Stephen of Byzantium, who calls it Elmantica, ſays nothing of his founding it. Amphilochus, a companion of Teucer, is ſaid to have built that of Amphiloque, ſince called Aguas Caldas, or hot waters, and now Orenſe in Galicia. Diomedes built Tydo on the banks of the Minius, now Minno, in memory of his father Tydeus. It retains ſtill the name of Tuy, Tuya.

(19) Juſtin. ex Trog. l. xliv.

Habis, his excellent reign.

23. HABIS, his grandſon, by a daughter, and a baſtard, but in all other reſpects an extraordinary prince, whether we conſider the many and ſurpriſing dangers he was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and talneſs of his perſon, or the many and ſignal benefits which the Spaniſh nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, ſuch was his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The Spaniards at that time were ſtill ſo very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the uſe of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it ſeems, that firſt taught them to plough their land with oxen, to ſow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewiſe gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them ſeven courts of judicature in ſeven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his poſterity during ſeveral centuries; but we muſt not thence ſuppoſe, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predeceſſors, were maſters of the whole country, but only of ſome conſiderable part, as we hinted a little higher, in ſpeaking of their government. How long this laſt king reigned, who ſucceeded him, &c. what other kings reigned in other parts of Spain, and many other things relating to the antient hiſtory of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the Carthaginians, no antient hiſtorian having left us any thing about it. Only this chaſm is filled up, by ſome fabulous authors of theirs, with ſuch ſtuff, as ſmells as rank of the fable, as what we have here in England from our own monkiſh books; we ſhall mention one or two of them, by way of ſample:

IN

Tuya, and Tude. Some other places and colonies theſe, and a few more, gave name to; as Aſtur to Aſturias, Ulyſſes to Ulyſipone, now Liſbon, where he built alſo a temple to Pallas. Strabo (20) calls this city Ulixipolis, or city of Ulyſſes. Mneſtheus built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coaſts of Andaluſia, near the city of Gades, or Caliz; in which laſt, the Andaluſians ſay, was a ſtately temple, built by the ſame warrior, which became in time famous, and much reſorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(20) Strab. l. iii.

In the year after the flood 1250, that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of Habis's reign, began, according to theſe authors, ſuch an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all Spain during the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, inſomuch that all the rivers of it, except the Bœtis and the Iberus, were dried up, and the country become almoſt a deſert, for want of inhabitants. If ſuch a long and univerſal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beaſt alive in moſt parts of that vaſt country. They tell us, indeed, that about the ſame time a certain people, whom they call Almonides, came and ſettled in it; but, if ſo, is it not very ſtrange, that no antient author ſhould have taken the leaſt notice of it [w]? for which reaſon the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, juſtly rejects both as fabulous [x]. Fifty-ſeven years after, Homer, or, as his right name was, Meleſigenes, travelled through Spain and Italy. This was before he loſt his ſight; and he, according to Herodotus, flouriſhed an hundred and ſixty-eight years after the Trojan war [y]. A long and great drought.

About forty-two years after, the Celtes, or Gauls, are ſaid to have come firſt into Spain, and, about twenty-years after the Rhodians. Of the firſt it is affirmed, that they fought for ſome time with the Spaniards, or Iberians, as they were then called, about their ſettlements; but agreed at length upon a peace, and mutual friendſhip; ſo that they, from that time, became ſo blended with each other, by intermarrying, and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of Celtiberians [z]. From which account we would obſerve by-the-by, that this could only be one of thoſe colonies, which the Celts in Gaul ſent into the country, for more than one or two they ſent from thence hither, as well as into other parts of Europe, as often as they were ſtreightened for want of room, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. It is therefore, very probable, that theſe colonies, coming into Spain, after a few battles or ſkirmiſhes, being found, by the inhabitants, to be originally of the ſame ſtock, having the ſame, or near the ſame language, religion, and cuſtoms, were readily admitted and blended with them. The Rhodians, who came thither by ſea, Year of the Flood 1350. Before Chriſt 1649. The Gauls and the Rhodians ſettle in Spain.

[w] Vaſ. ſub an. Strab. l. iii. [x] A. Nebricens. ubi ſup. [y] Vid. [z] Diod. Sicul. bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron & al.

ſea, landed at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a biſhop's ſee till the time of the Goths, but is now reduced to an heap of ruins. About ten years after happened that great fire, which ſpread itſelf all over that vaſt ridge of mountains called the Pyrenees, and from thence, Incendium Pyrenæum, or, as others will have it, more properly, that thoſe mountains were thence called Pyrenean. This fire, we are told, was at firſt kindled by ſome ſheperds [a], and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs for many days, that it ſpread itſelf almoſt over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenſeneſs of the heat melted the ſilver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along thoſe hills, it is juſtly looked upon as fabulous by Poſidonius, and by Strabo after him [b].

Year of the Flood 1300. Before Chriſt 2699.

The Phœnicians carry off immenſe quantities of ſilver hence.

IT muſt be owned, however, that Spain muſt have yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, if what we read in Ariſtotle be not greatly exaggerated, that the Phœnicians, who are ſuppoſed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for ſuch an immenſe weight of it, that their ſhips could neither contain, nor ſuſtain its load, though they uſed it for ballaſt, and made their anchors, and other iron implements, of ſilver [c] (L). Theſe are ſuppoſed to have likewiſe ſettled in Spain, and to have built ſeveral other cities, eſpecially in Bœtica, and to have had the maſtery of the ſea the ſpace of forty-one years, after which they went and ſettled in the Balearic iſlands.

Other nations that governed in Spain.

BESIDES the Tyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country,

[a] Diod. Sicul. l. vi. Vid & Ariſtot. de mirab. auſcult.
[b] Lib. iii. [c] Ariſtot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(L) In this expedition ſome of their authors affirm the Phœnicians, who landed at Tarteſſus, to have built the city of Gades, or Caliz, tho' Strabo affirms it to have been done on their third landing (21). Other authors aſcribe the building of it to the Tyrians (22); but we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid of the foundation of that famed place, in a former volume (23). As for the cities of Melaca and Abdera, Strabo plainly ſays, that they were built by the Phœnicians (24).

(21) Garib. antiq. Hiſp. Vaſ. Gerund. & al. ubi ſup. (22) Plutarch. in Scipion. & al. (23) Vid. ſup. vol. xvii. p. 24. (24) Lib. iii.

country, Euſebius mentions [d] ſeveral other nations, who did the ſame before the coming in of the Carthaginians, ſuch as the Egyptians a ſecond time, who held the dominion of the ſea thirty-five years, and built ſome cities, eſpecially Tarracona, which they ſo called from Tarraco their leader. The Mileſians are likewiſe affirmed, by the ſame author, to have held ſome government there the ſpace of twenty-nine years. Next, the Carians, forty-eight years, from whom Ptolemy affirms the Cariſti in Spain to be deſcended. The Leſbians ſucceeded them, who built ſeveral cities, and governed, according to the ſame Euſebius, ſixty-eight years. Than the Phocians, in the ſixteenth year of Tarquinius Priſcus, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and ſettled on the ſouth part of Gaul, and built the city of Marſeilles of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the next chapter. Laſtly, Nebuchadnezzar, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and conqueſt of Judæa, is affirmed by Joſephus and Strabo to have reigned nine years in Spain [e], at the end of which it is ſaid that he abandoned it to the Carthaginians; though it is likely, that, as the Spaniſh writers affirm, a great part of that vaſt hoſt, which he had brought with him, ſettled there, and built cities and caſtles, which they called by their own, or ſome Chaldee names, by which they may be ſtill traced up to their original [f]; but upon the whole it ſeems probable, that moſt, if not all, of theſe nations, contented themſelves with maritime parts, for the ſake of commerce, and the command of the ſea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilſt theſe might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and ſo be leſs ſolicitous who were maſters of the ſea-coaſts, and parts adjacent, ſo they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietneſs. If any of theſe ſtrangers were enticed, by the pleaſantneſs and fruitfulneſs of the country, to ſettle amongſt the antient inhabitants, whether this was done by permiſſion and conſent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became ſo blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to thoſe places, which they either built, or

Nebuchadnezzar.

[d] Euſeb. chron. Vid. & Taraph. reg. Hiſp. ſub. A. ant. C. 840. [e] Antiquit. l. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. [f] Vid. Liv. decad. iv. Tarapha reg. Hiſp. ſub an. 571. Garibai, lib. v. c. 4. Vaſ. ſub an. U. C. 13. & 204.

or lived in. As for the Celtiberi, mentioned a little higher, they encreaſed ſo faſt in that pleaſant and healthy country, that they were forced to have recourſe to their old method of ſending colonies abroad. Some of them ſettled in Luſitania, where they founded ſeveral cities, and called them by Celtic names (M); and from theſe colonies the Luſitanians had that of Celtiberi given to them: hence Diodorus Siculus ſays, that of all the Celtiberians the Luſitanian were the ſtouteſt [g]. Another colony of them went into Bœtica, where they likewiſe left ſeveral cities, and other monuments of their ſettlement. The goodneſs of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exerciſes, and plain way of living, which made them ſo ſtout and long-lived, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the main cauſes of their multiplying ſo faſt, and being obliged to ſend abroad ſuch frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of ſome of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we ſhall cloſe this ſection with one more, in the perſon of the famed Arganthonius king of the Tarteſſii, who is ſaid to have reigned at Gades, now Cadiz, full fourſcore years [h], and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to one [i], or hundred and fortieth, according to another antient author [k], and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life [l] (N).

Celtiberians in Luſitania.

Arganthonius, his long-life and reign.

SECT.

[g] Lib. vi. [h] Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14. [i] Aſin. Poll. ap. eund. [k] Val. Max. ibid. [l] Herod. Anacr. Cicer. de ſenect. Baſil. epiſt. ad Nepot. Vid. & Vaſ. ſub. an. U. C. 129. Gerund. Taraph. & al.

(M) Amongſt theſe was the antient city of Segovia, or Segobia, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woollen manufacture; and another of the ſame name, and built by another colony of Celtiberians, near Corduba in Bœtica, and mentioned by Cæſar in his commentaries; though the other was the more famed of the two.

(N) Herodotus ſays, that he reigned in Carteia, al. Tarteia; Anacreon, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; Pliny gives him but an hundred and twenty; but Silius Italicus three hundred; and, as for the time in which he lived, it is impoſſible to aſcertain it, ſome making him cotemporary with king Siculus, the ſeventeenth king in our liſt, in the year of the flood 1514 (25). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of Rome, or of the flood 1692 (26).

(25) Lib. iii. Taraf. ſub an. 1485. (26) Vaſ. ſub an. A.U. 129.

SECT. IV.

Of the conqueſt of Spain by the Carthaginians and Romans, to the coming in of the Goths, and other northern nations.

THIS remainder of the Spaniſh hiſtory we give here in a ſeparate ſection, not as deſigning to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deſerve, were it detached from the body of this work, for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into ſuperfluous repetitions, their conqueſt by the Carthaginians and Romans having been fully treated of in the hiſtory of thoſe two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate thoſe of the Gauls, Goths, Vandals, &c. who conquered, or ſettled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their ſeveral hiſtories in the ſubſequent chapters. Our motives, therefore, for ſeparating this part from that which we gave in the laſt ſection, are, firſt, to diſtinguiſh the true from the fabulous, or the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at leaſt, we look upon to be all that has been ſaid in the laſt ſection, though, for the reaſons mentioned at the beginning of it, we are forced to inſert it in ſuch a work as this; and, ſecondly, becauſe in the remaining part of this work, ſtill to be ſpoken of, we ſhall proceed in a more ſuccinct method, to avoid all ſuch needleſs repetitions, or anticipations, and content ourſelves with giving our readers a kind of chronological ſummary of thoſe conqueſts, and refer our readers for thoſe, which have already been ſpoken of in this work, to the volumes and pages, where they are to be ſeen at full length; and, for the reſt, to the remaining chapters of this and the next volume, where they will be more amply related.

THEIR conqueſt by the Carthaginians was, if we may believe Juſtin and Oroſius, occaſioned by the Tyrians. Theſe, having founded the city of Gades, and built a temple to Hercules, were ſo infeſted by the jealous Spaniards, that they were forced to ſend to Carthage for help; which being readily granted, Meſeus was ſent with a fleet to their aſſiſtance, who ſuppreſſed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of ſeveral conſiderable places along that

coaſt [m]. The richneſs of the country ſoon invited them to purſue their conqueſts, and the vaſt treaſures, both in gold and ſilver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a ſtrong temptation to them [n], as they were engaged in ſuch a bloody and expenſive war with the Romans. This was accordingly performed with great ſucceſs, at firſt, by their great general Hamilcar Barcas, and afterwards by his ſons Aſdrubal and Hannibal, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inſpire him with greater hatred againſt the Romans, and with a more eager deſire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the ſubjection of Carthage. The ſucceſs which theſe generals met with, both againſt the Spaniards, and againſt the Romans, whom they had courted to their aſſiſtance [o], has been ſo fully ſpoken of both in the Roman hiſtory [p], and in that of the Carthaginians [q], that we ſhall need only to refer our readers to thoſe places here cited in the margin. Aſdrubal likewiſe, another of their generals, who was left there to command during Hamilcar's return to Carthage, was no leſs ſucceſsful there, and obliged the Romans to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume [r], and which he inviolately kept with them whilſt he lived; but his death, which happened ſoon after [s], and his being ſucceeded by young Hannibal, put an end to it: and that enterpriſing hero, tho' then but twenty-ſix years of age, began the war afreſh, and laid ſiege to the famed city of Saguntum. We have given already a full account of that ſiege, and the ſad cataſtrophe of its brave inhabitants, and ſhall refer our readers to it [t]. But Hannibal having undertaken his fatal expedition into Italy [u], the Carthaginian affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many conſecutive overthrows here, both by ſea and land [w], eſpecially under Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſco, who, being defeated by Scipio, was forced to retire to Gades [x]; where, being again defeated at ſea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by Maſiniſſa, he was reduced to ſuch

Year of the flood 2770. Before Chriſt 229.

[m] Juſtin. ex Trog. l. ult. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. vi. [o] See before, vol. xvii. p. 312---318. [p] See vol. xii. 147, 167, & 179, & ſeq. [q] Vol. xvii. p. 312---320. [r] Vol. xii. p. 170, &c. Vol. xvii. p. 312. [s] Vol. xii. p. 178, & ſeq. [t] Vol. xii. p. 181, & ſeq. [u] See vol. xii. p. 176, & ſeq. [w] See vol. xvii. paſſim. [x] Ibid.

a deſperate ſtate, that, in revenge, he committed ſuch horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the Spaniards and Romans [y]. All this while the two Scipios not only gained ground againſt them by theſe frequent defeats, but by ſome ſignal inſtances of their politeneſs rendered themſelves amiable to the Spaniards, as his enemies were become hateful to them [z]. At length two deciſive battles, which he won over them, were attended with the retaking of Saguntum, which had been rebuilt by Hannibal. Here he cauſed the Turdetani, who were found there, to be all ſold for ſlaves, for having joined Hannibal againſt that faithful city [a]. We ſhall not repeat here the circumſtances of the death of thoſe two generals; which was like to have quite altered the poſture of affairs, had not the brave Marcius recovered that great loſs by a bold and deſperate act, and with the few troops, which he could gather up, after the loſs of thoſe two battles, ſurpriſed and burnt the Carthaginian camp, which occaſioned, in the confuſion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-ſeven thouſand of them, beſides near two thouſand more, who were taken priſoners by him [b]. He was ſucceeded by young Scipio, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimouſly choſen proconſul of Spain, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. His wonderful ſucceſs there, the immenſe ſpoil he got at the taking of New Carthage, his ſingular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refuſal of the vaſt ranſom, which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the Spaniards to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began every-where to revolt from the Carthaginians [c]. Their generals made ſeveral vain efforts to ſtop the progreſs of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him [d]; as were alſo Mandonius and Indibilis, who had revolted from him [e]: at length, having thus far reduced the Carthaginians, he reſolved on a deſcent into Afric, to oblige them to abandon Spain. The ſucceſs of this expedition being foreign to this Spaniſh hiſtory, except that he actually forced them out of this country, and brought it under the Roman yoke, we ſhall

Year of the flood 2793. Before Chriſt 206.

[y] Vol. xvii. paſſim. [z] Ibid. [a] See vol. xii. 214, 246.
[b] Ibid. p. 250, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. 259---264. [d] Ibid. p. 272, &c. [e] Ibid.

refer our readers to those places, where a full account is given of both [f].

Stript of its mines and treasures.

THE Romans being thus become masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the Carthaginians, one of their first cares was, to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold [g], and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was, may be guessed by the sketch we shall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors, even by the confession of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own, treasury: but as it would be impossible to enter into a detail of all those transactions that happened during their Roman bondage, without repeating all that has been said in their history, in the foregoing volumes, we must in this, as well as in the subsequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already said there; and only add here one or two remarkable events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embassy, which the Celtes and Spaniards sent out of this country to Alexander the great, to congratulate him upon his

Embassy to Alexander.

[f] Vol. xvii. p. 420. See also our chronology of Carthage, from the year 661, to 684. [g] See 1 Maccab. viii. 3, & seq. Liv. Oros. &c.

(A) Thus we are told (1), that Scipio above-named, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. L. Lentulus is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure, viz. forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. L. Manlius brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold. Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the hither Spain two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold; and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilst his collegue brought from further Spain fifty thousand pounds of silver.

What is still more surprizing, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five

(1) Livy, decad. 4. lib. i, ii, & iii.

his vaſt ſucceſſes, to beg his amity, and that he would ſend proper perſons to adjuſt ſome differences that were amongſt them, that is, in all likelihood, between ſome of their petty kings. This embaſſy, it ſeems, was highly pleaſing to that conqueror, who heard of thoſe nations for the firſt time, and having granted their requeſt, ſent them very honourably home [h]. Oroſius tells us, that the head of this embaſſy was called Maurinus [i].

THE next is that noble puſh which was made by the Celtiberians in Luſitania, to ſuppreſs the Roman tyranny, and, if poſſible, to drive them further, if not not quite out of Spain. What their ſucceſs might have been, had not their leader Viriatus, whom Florus calls a ſhepherd, and Oroſius a banditto, been diſpatched by the treachery of Servilius Cæpio, who hired that general's guards to aſſaſſinate him, may be eaſily gueſſed by the diſpatch he had made in croſſing the Durius, Iberus, and Tagus, ſeizing on Gallicia, and ſome other provinces, and put-

 ting

[h] Arrian. geſt. Alex. M. lib. vii. [i] Lib. iii. c. 20.

five of gold, beſides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the ſhort ſpace of nine years; for juſt ſo much time elapſed between the firſt and the laſt of theſe Roman prætors (2); and juſt after they had been as ſeverely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the Carthaginians. Theſe few inſtances ſhall ſuffice to ſhew, how rich this country muſt then have been, and what an immenſe treaſure it yielded to their conquerors; for though theſe laſt never ſlacked their hands, but kept ſtill on bringing freſh ſupplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhauſted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richneſs of the country that invited the northern nations many centuries after to come and ſeize upon, and drive the Romans out of, it, as we ſhall ſee in ſome ſubſequent chapters.

We are, indeed, told by Strabo, that when the Carthaginians firſt came thither, they found ſilver in ſuch amazing plenty, that their utenſils, and even mangers, were made of it (3); inſomuch that Poſidonius ſaid of this country, that Pluto, the god of riches, had his reſidence in the bowels of it (4). And Pliny mentions ſeveral rich mines of ſilver dug there by the Carthaginians, one of which, called Bebel, from the finder of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of ſilver per day (5). In a word, moſt antient authors have celebrated this country for its richneſs to ſuch a degree, that it hath only expoſed it the more to the invaſion of foreigners far and near.

(2) Vid. Vaſ. chronic. ab an. urb. 549. ad an. 558. (3) Lib. iii. (4) Ap. eund. ibid. (5). Lib. xxxiii. c. 6.

ting all the Roman colonies to fire and ſword; but his untimely death put an end to all farther oppoſition, it being found then ſo dangerous to head an army againſt ſo powerful and treacherous a nation as the Romans ſhewed themſelves on this occaſion [k]. How thoſe two brave brothers, Mandonius and Indibilis, fared, for daring to oppoſe them ſome time after, need not be here repeated [l], any more than the dreadful cataſtrophe of Numantia [m], Saguntum [n], and ſome other cities and people, for daring to defend their country againſt them. By theſe cruel and treacherous means theſe Roman invaders ſo far ſuppreſſed that noble love of liberty, for which this nation was juſtly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and thoſe did prove ſo unſucceſsful, or, to ſpeak more properly, were ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the leaſt hope or deſire after their antient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to ſubmit to all their laws, cuſtoms, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that further Spain was not quite ſubdued till the fourth conſulate of Marius, A. U. 652, nor the Celtiberians till five years after, two years after Dolabella had triumphed over the Luſitanians [o]. The reſt is ſaid to be conquered by Auguſtus, as we have formerly hinted.

We ſhall conclude this chapter with a liſt of the Spaniſh prætors, as far as Livy has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whoſe government Spain continued from Auguſtus to Honorius, in the beginning of whoſe reign the Romans were driven out of it by the northern nations, whoſe hiſtory will follow in due time; by which means the reader will eaſily come at the remainder of the Spaniſh bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already ſaid in the Roman hiſtory, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to thoſe of the Goths, Vandals, &c. hereafter; but as we ſhall but barely mention thoſe Spaniſh prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we ſhall give the liſt of them in the following note (B), and ſo paſs over to the Gauls. But, before we

[k] Sil. Ital. Oroſ. lib. v. c. 8, & ſeq. Id. ibid. Flor. l. liv.
[l] See before, vol. xvii. p. 428. [m] Vol xii. p. 382,
[n] Vol xvii. p. 326. [o] Oroſ. ubi ſup. Plut. in Mar.

(B) After Scipio above-mentioned had expelled the Carthaginians, Spain was governed by the following prætors, viz.

Hither

we leave Spain, we beg leave to add, that tho' the Romans carried off ſuch immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver out of it, as was hinted in the laſt note, they ſtill left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, to build great cities, caſtles, forts, and particularly ſchools, and academies, for

Hither Spain by	Further Spain by
L. Lentulus	L. M. Acidinus
Q. Fabius Butæus	Q. M. Thermus
Cato the cenſor	Ap. Cl. Nero
P. Cor. Scipio	Sext. Digitius
C. Flaminius	M. Fulv. Nobilior
M. Bæbius Pamphilus	A. Attil. Serranus
L. Æmil. Paulus	C. Flaminius
M. Fulv. Nobilior	Cn. Man. Vulſo
L. Manlius	C. Catinius
Quint. Criſpinus	C. Calpurn. Piſo
A. Terent. Varro	P. Sempronius
Q. Fulv. Flaccus	P. Manlius
T. Sempronius	L. Poſthumius
M. Titinius	T. Fonteius Capito
P. Licin. Craſſus	M. Cornel. Scipio
Ap. Claud. Cento	Not mentioned by Livy
P. Fur. Philo	Cn. Servil. Cæpio
Cn. Fab. Buteo	M Mantienus
M. Jun. Pænus	Sp. Lucretius.

After them the ſenate reduced the country under one prætor, in the conſulſhips of P. Licin. Craſſus, C. Caſſ. Longinus, an. urb. 583. which continued ſo only under the two following ones: viz.

C. Marcellus
Publ. Fonteius.

After whom it was again divided, and governed by

Cn. Fulvius	C. Licinius Nerva

Thus far Livy; and from this time, viz. A. U. 701, Spain became a conſular province, under the conſulſhip of Q. Fulvius and T. Annius; and was governed by them, and their proconſuls and proprætors, as we learn from Florus and Oroſius.

The emperors are as follow:

1. Julius Cæſar	9. Vitellius
2. Auguſtus	10. Veſpaſian
3. Tiberius	11. Titus
4. Caligula	12. Domitian
5. Claudius	13. Nerva
6. Nero	14. Trajan
7. Galba	15. Adrian
8. Otho	16. Antoninus Pius

all kind of learning and exercises; to which we may add many other stately edifices, which were there reared by prætors, consuls, and especially by their emperors; all which served either to allure the Spaniards to the Roman yoke, or to deter them from shaking it off.

17. M. Aurelius
18. Commodus
19. Pertinax
20. Julian
21. Severus
22. Caracalla
23. Macrinus
24. Heliogabalus
25. Alexander
26. Maximinus
27. Balbinus
28. Gordianus
29. Philip
30. Decius
31. Gallus
32. Æmilianus
33. Valerianus
34. Gallienus
25. Claudius II.
36. Quintilius
37. Aurelianus
38. Tacitus
39. Florianus
40. Probus
41. Carus
42. Numerianus
43. Carinus
44. Diocletian
45. Galerius
46. Constantine
47. His three sons
48. Julian II.
49. Jovian
50. Valentinian
51. Valens
52. Gratian
53. Theodosius
54. Arcadius
55. Honorius

CHAP. XI.

The antient state of the Gauls, to their conquest by Julius Cæsar, and from thence to the irruption of the Franks.

SECT. I.

The origin of the Gauls, and extent of their country.

Their origin, names, &c.

THE Gauls were certainly descended from the Celtes or Gomerians, as has been fully shewn in some former volumes [a], or, to speak more properly, were the same people,

[a] See vol. i. p. 467, & vol. v. p. 476.

PART of IRELAND
PART OF GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Streights of
AQUITAN
OCEAN
ANCIENT GAUL
PT. OF SPAIN
PYRENEES M.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF GAUL
GERMANY
PART OF GREAT GERMANY
HELVETIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
ADRIATICK SEA
HETRURIA
TUSCIA
CORSICA
SEA
LIGUSTIC
London
Thames R.
Dubris
Novus Portus
Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona fl.
Morini
Portus Iccius
Gesoriacum
Scaldis R.
Atrebates
Nemetacum alʾs Nemetodunna
Ambiani
Samarobrina
Piduna
Tarnia
Alaunium
Unelli
Biducasium
Sequana
Velocasses
Rotomagus
Lexovii
Biducasse
Cosedia
Sociatonum
Ingena
Abrincatui
Uxantos I.
Aturicanus portus
Organium
Aletum
Brivates
Ofismii
Curiosolitæ
Carnutes
Veneti
Nannetes
Andes
Condivienum
Vindana Porto
Veneticæ Insulæ
Ligeris R.
Pictones
Pictavium
Portus Santonum
Santones
Ratiastum
Mediolanum
Antros I
Noviomagus
Petrocorii
Vesuna fl. et Petrocorii
Duranius R.
Burdegala
Cosio
Vasates
Tarbelli
Lacoratum
Elusates
Elusa
Tarbella
Aquæ Tarbellæ
Benehamus
Auscii
Tarbe
Aquæ Onesia
Convenæ
Lugdunum Convenarum
Tectosages
Veneris Fanum
Volcæ Tectosages
Narbo Martius
Carcaso
Atax R.
Volcæ Arecomici
Nemausus
Lutevium
Tolosa
Tolosates
Albiga
Ruteni
Cadurci
Aginnum
Uxellodunum
Oldus R.
Deveona alʾs Divona
Gebenna M.
Helicterum
Rhone R.
Isara R.
Vienna
Allobroges
Lugdunum
Gergovia
Arvernæ Forum
Segusianorum
Augustomenetum
Arverni
Lemovices
Lemovicum
Argantomagus
Avaricum
Bituriges
Cubi
Noviodunum
Bituriges
Vigenna fl.
Aquitani
Aedui
Boii
Matisco
Segusiani
Bibracte
Augustodunum
Gabilanum
Sequani
Vesontio
Dubis R.
Arar R.
Rauraci
Rauracorum
Virdonissa
Rhine R.
Lingones
Vogesus M.
Argenniaria
Leuci
Tullum
Matrona R.
Catalaunum
Parisii
Lutetia
Bibrax
Durocortorum
Axona R.
Suessio
Rhemi
Suessones
Bellovaci
Remi
Durocortorum
Axona R.
Mosa R.
Mosella R.
Treviri
Augusta Trevirorum
Fanis Tungrorum
Arduenna Silva
Nervii
Namon
Advatica
Advatici
Menapii
Toxandri Aliorum
Toxandri
Mosa R.
Ubiorum Agger
Colonia Agrippina
Bonna
Lonus R.
Sicambri
Geldubani
Novesium
Luppia
Luppia R.
Vetera
Lata R.
Aliso R.
Fulda R.
Amisia R.
Chauci alʾs
Chauci minores
Chamavi
Agrivari
Frisii majores
Cannefates
Batavodurum
Batavorum I.
Renus
Arenacum
Bructeri
Ocrinium Vesurgis
Magunnacu Manus R.
Vangiones
Mediomatrici
Divodurum
Borbetomagus
Nemetes
Noviomagus
Argentoratum
Tribocci
Vindonissa
Acronius Lake
Veteri
Adula
Mount.
Lemanis L.
Geneva
Rhone R.
Octodurum
Colonia Equestris
Jura M.
Aventicum
Helvetii
R. Tesin
R. Adige
R. Mincio
R. Addua
Veneti
City of the Gauls
Vicentia
Brixia
Padua
Como
Bergamo
Milan
Insubres
Cenomani
Lævi
Cremona
Mantua R.
Placentia
Turin
Novara
Vienna
Allobroges
Segalauni
Tricorii
Maritimæ Alpes
Vocontii
Valentia
Arausio
Cavares
Avenio
Aquæ Sextiæ
Salyi
Massilia
Telo Martius
Olbia
Antipolis
Vicœa
Forum Julii
Cemenatera
Vintium
Ligauna
Genoa
Luca
Pisæ
R. Arno
Arminium
Volaterræ
Modena
Bononia
Faventia
Solonæ
R. Sapis
Ravenna
Langrois
R. Isauna
Padus
Ligauna
Ligauria
Durance R.
Druentia
Cenomani
Augustomanæ Tricassium
Tricasses
Melodunum
Metiosedum
Diablindi
Eburovices
Aulerci
Medu ana
Rhedones
Condate
Galbrum alʾs Aureliam
Vellaunodunum
Agendicum
Senones
Caesarodunum Turones
Antisiodorum
Mandubii
Alesia
Lædus R.
Carta R.
Vindana fl.
Ligeris R.
Namnetes
Darioritum
Vindana Porto
Veneticæ Insulæ
Galbæum Promont.
Uxantos I.
Ofismii
Veneti
Curiosolitæ
Carnutes
Aulerci
Diablindi
Eburovices
Lexovii
Bellovaci
Suessones
Rhemi
Remi
Velocasses
Ambiani
Atrebates
Morini
Nervii
Menapii
Toxandri
Batavorum I.
Cannefates
Frisii majores
Chauci alʾs
Chauci minores
Chamavi
Agrivari
Bructeri
Tungri
Treviri
Mediomatrici
Nemetes
Tribocci
Sequani
Helvetii
Rauraci
Lingones
Leuci
Remi
Aedui
Segusiani
Allobroges
Vocontii
Salyi
Cavares
Tricorii
Segalauni
Nervii
Ambiani
Bellovaci
Suessones
Rhemi
Velocasses
Lexovii
Aulerci
Diablindi
Eburovices
Carnutes
Cenomani
Tricasses
Senones
Aedui
Boii
Arverni
Santones
Pictones
Bituriges
Lemovices
Ruteni
Volcæ Tectosages
Volcæ Arecomici
Tolosates
Nemausus
Narbo Martius
Gabali
Helvii
Vellavi
Cadurci
Petrocorii
Tarbelli
Elusates
Vasates
Auscii
Convenæ
Aquitani
Gaul
Mediterranean Sea
Ocean
Pyrenees M.
Pt. of Spain
Ancient Gaul
Aquitan
Ocean
British Ocean
Streights of
German Ocean
Great Britain
Part of Ireland
Part of Great Germany
Germany
Gallia Cisalpina
Helvetia
Hetruria
Tuscia
Corsica
Sea
Ligustic
Gulf of Gaul
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatick Sea
Germania Inferior
Germania Superior
Maximæ Alpes
Alpes Graiæ
Alpes Penninæ
Alpes Cottiæ
Alpes Maritimæ
Rhine R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Garonne R.
Durance R.
Po
Tiber
Arno
Adige
Tesin
Addua
Mincio
Oglio
Serio
Lambro
Ticino
Sesia
Dora Baltea
Dora Riparia
Isara R.
Saône R.
Moselle R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt R.
Somme R.
Marne R.
Yonne R.
Allier R.
Vienne R.
Dordogne R.
Lot R.
Tarn R.
Aude R.
Hérault R.
Orb R.
Lez R.
Gardon R.
Rhône R.
Durance R.
Var R.
Argens R.
Siagne R.
Paillon R.
Roya R.
Vesubie R.
Tinée R.
Ubaye R.
Guil R.
Clarée R.
Cenis M.
Viso M.
Argentera M.
Tenda M.
Cabalus M.
Vesulus M.
Cottius M.
Matrona R.
Axona R.
Mosa R.
Sambre R.
Lys R.
Aa R.
Yser R.
Escaut R.
Rupel R.
Demer R.
Ourthe R.
Sambre R.
Lesse R.
Semois R.
Chiers R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Sarre R.
Nahe R.
Lauter R.
Rhine R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Tauber R.
Kocher R.
Jagst R.
Danube R.
Iller R.
Lech R.
Isar R.
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Enns R.
Traun R.
Ybbs R.
Erlaf R.
Traisen R.
Leitha R.
Rabnitz R.
Raab R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Kulpa R.
Unna R.
Verbas R.
Bosna R.
Drina R.
Lim R.
Ibar R.
Morava R.
Timok R.
Aluta R.
Olt R.
Argis R.
Maritsa R.
Hebrus R.
Strymon R.
Nestus R.
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Peneus R.
Sperchius R.
Achelous R.
Evenus R.
Mornus R.
Pindus M.
Olympus M.
Ossa M.
Pelion M.
Parnassus M.
Helicon M.
Cithæron M.
Parnes M.
Hymettus M.
Pentelicus M.
Laurium M.
Taygetus M.
Erymanthus M.
Cyllene M.
Lycæus M.
Maenalus M.
Parthenius M.
Olenus M.
Aroanius M.
Chelmos M.
Ida M.
Tmolus M.
Sipylus M.
Messogis M.
Cadmus M.
Latmus M.
Mycale M.
Cragus M.
Taurus M.
Amanus M.
Casius M.
Lebanon M.
Anti-Lebanon M.
Hermon M.
Carmel M.
Gilboa M.
Tabor M.
Gerizim M.
Ebal M.
Hor M.
Nebo M.
Pisgah M.
Sinai M.
Horeb M.
Serbal M.
Catherine M.
Libanus M.
Anti-Libanus M.
Hermon M.
Carmel M.
Gilboa M.
Tabor M.
Gerizim M.
Ebal M.
Hor M.
Nebo M.
Pisgah M.
Sinai M.
Horeb M.
Serbal M.
Catherine M.
Libanus M.
Anti-Libanus M.

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by ſome of their neighbours, whilſt they ſtill retained their primitive one of Gomerai, or deſendents of Gomer, as thoſe ſtill do, who retain their antient language in its purity, eſpecially the northern Welſh. Other names they were known by, ſuch as they either ſeem to have aſſumed upon ſome particular occaſions, or ſuch as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of Gaul, Galli, and Gallia, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewiſe thoſe other appellatives, by which Julius Cæſar [b], and other antient authors, diſtinguiſh one part of their country from another. Such are thoſe, for inſtance, of Ciſalpina or Citerior, Tranſalpina or Ulterior, and Subalpina, which was ſituate

[b] Comment. l. i. c. 1, &c.

(A) Of the firſt kind we may reaſonably reckon all thoſe, which are of Celtic extraction; ſuch as thoſe of Celte and Gaul, which ſignify brave and warlike, Armoric, maritim, and the like. Even that of Belga, which ſignifies fierce and quarrelſome, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceneſs, from which the reſt had poliſhed themſelves by their commerce and intercourſe with other nations; thoſe of Cis, Trans, and Subalpine, from their ſituation on either ſide of the Alps; that of Celto-Scythians from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of Celtiberians to thoſe that were ſeated on the other ſide the Pyrenees.

As they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue ſplit itſelf into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became ſo numerous, and ſo vaſtly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We ſhall therefore venture no farther, than upon ſuch ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer ſuch of our readers, who are curious of ſuch etymons, to the authors quoted in the margin (1). He may likewiſe read that vaſt variety of names in Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, Cæſar's commentaries, Diodorus Siculus, and other antient authors.

(1) Bochart. phaleg. Scalig. theſ. temp. Cluver. introd. Pezron. antiq. des Celtes. Rowland. Mona antiq. Pelloutier hiſt. des Celtes. Hortoman. Franco-Gall. & al. mult.

ſituate at the foot of the Alps [c]. The inhabitants however were formerly better known by the name of Celtes [d], and the country, in the whole, by that of Celto-Gallia [e], of which name we have given, in a former volume [f], the beſt etymon we could find. Cæſar afterwards diſtinguiſhed the whole country under the three following names, viz. Belgia, Aquitania, and Gallia Propria, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the Celtes or Gauls (B). This laſt was further diſtinguiſhed into Comata, whoſe inhabitants

[c] Plut. in Cæſ. & Marcel. Plin. hiſt. l. xvi. c. 11. Strab. Mela, Cluver. & al. [d] See Pauſan. in Attic. c. 3. [e] Ptol. l. ii. c. 7. Diod. Sic. l. xxxix. & alib. [f] Vol. v. p. 476.

(B) His words are theſe (2): "The whole country of Gaul "is divided into three parts, the firſt of which is inhabited by "the Belgæ, the ſecond by the Aquitani, and the third by thoſe "whom we call Gauls, but, in their own tongue, are called "Celtes. All theſe have their language, manners, and cuſtoms "different." The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he ſpeaks here of thoſe parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the Romans, and which retained ſtill their antient language and cuſtoms; whereas thoſe which were already ſubdued, had altered both by that time, to ſuch a degree, as to appear to him different from the reſt; ſuch was, for inſtance, that part, which was called Togata, from their having taken up the Roman dreſs, and, in all likelihood, ſeveral other of their cuſtoms, and, by their intercourſe with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the reſt.

One thing is very remarkable, that Cæſar makes this province, which he likewiſe calls Ciſalpina, to begin at the foot of the Alps, and to have extended itſelf along the Po, as far as the Adriatic ſea, and the Rubicon (3); whereas Strabo, who quotes his commentaries (4), and Diodorus Siculus (5), plainly intimate, that the Gauls or Celtes inhabited all thoſe parts from the Alps to the Pyrenees; and we ſhall ſhew by-and-by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part of Spain and Portugal.

However, the moſt that can be inferred from the paſſage quoted out of Cæſar, is, that he found Gaul ſo divided at his coming

(2) Cæſ. bell. Gall. l. i. c. 1. (3) Bell. Gall. l. iv. Mel. l. iii. c. 2. (4) Strab. l. v. (5) Diod. Sic. l. v.

habitants wore long hair; Brachata, from their wearing breeches; and Togata, from the Roman toga being worn there. We ſhall endeavour to ſettle the limits of each of theſe in the following paragraph, and refer our readers, for the other names by which it was occaſionally diſtinguiſhed; ſuch as that of Armorica, from its lying along the ſea-coaſts; of Aquitania, from its abundance of water; Cis and Tranſpadana, and ſome others; to the account given of them at the entrance of the Roman hiſtory above quoted [g]. All that needs be added here is, that the words Celte and Gaul, ſignifying, in the antient language, brave and warlike, that of Belga, fierce or quarrelſome, that of Armoric, maritim; theſe names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for thoſe of Cimmerians, Cimbrians, Cumbrians, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of Gomerians or Gomerai, as thoſe of Galatians and Celto-Galatians were of Celto-Gaul.

As for the Galatia or Celto-Græcia of Aſia Minor, in which theſe European Gauls were ſettled by Nicomedes, who had called them thither to his aſſiſtance, we ſhall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in ſome preceding volumes [h], to avoid unneceſſary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had Cappadocia on the eaſt; Bithynia on the weſt; Pamphylia on the ſouth; and the Euxine on the north. Here St. Paul founded a church, to which he directed that epiſtle, which is ſtill known by the name of the epiſtle to the Galatians, and was written to reduce them from thoſe Jewiſh obſervances, to which ſome falſe teachers of the circumciſion had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true goſpel liberty, which had been preached to them. We know little elſe of theſe Galatians, beſides what has been ſaid in the two volumes laſt quoted, except that we read in the ſecond book of the Maccabees of a ſignal overthrow, which the Jews gave them in the province of Babylon,

[g] Vol. xi. p. 252.

[h] See vol. ix. ad initium.

coming thither; and that, by this time, their language, manners, &c. were grown very different, though originally one and the ſame, as they were originally one and the ſame people.

bylon, where theſe, with a ſmall army of eight thouſand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thouſand of the former. The text ſays nothing further concerning this ſignal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; ſo that we are left in the dark, whether it ſpeaks there of the Galatians ſettled in the province we are ſpeaking of, or, which is more probable, of the Gauls themſelves, who had by this time, if not long before, ſpread themſelves all over Aſia; for it muſt be obſerved here, that the name of Galatai was indifferently given, eſpecially by Greek authors, to the one and to the other. But to return to the antient Gaul:

The extent of Gaul.

We have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of the antient Celtes [i], that they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of Europe. There is ſcarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left ſome evident monument of themſelves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, and ſuch-like. In every part of it, where either the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, ſent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the Celtes or Gauls already ſettled [k]: not that they do expreſly mention them by thoſe two names, for we have juſt obſerved on what account they had ſeveral other appellatives given them, but yet ſuch as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, cuſtoms, &c. to have meant one and the ſame nation. However, we will not venture to ſay, that they were all of the ſame Celtic extract, that inhabited thoſe parts of Europe, either towards the ſea-ſide, ſuch as Spain, Portugal, and the French coaſts, along the Mediterranean, or towards the north-eaſt, where they ſeem to have been ſo blended with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that it is next to impoſſible to aſſert their boundaries on that ſide. All that we pretend to conclude from thoſe antient writers, who have written moſt clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the Celtes or Gauls plainly appear to have been the firſt, that peopled and poſſeſſed themſelves of, or claimed a dominion over, them. After the general diſperſion, that followed the flood, other nations might probably come afterwards, ſome by ſea, others by land, and have been permitted to ſettle amongſt

[i] Vol. v. p. 476.

[k] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. v. Lucian. l. vi. Sil. Ital. l. iii. Appian. Ptol. & al.

amongſt them, there being more want of inhabitants than of room in thoſe early days, and in regions ſo remote from the place of their firſt migrations, as we have formerly hinted at the beginning of this univerſal hiſtory, and elſewhere [l].

Gauls in Spain and Portugal.

THE greateſt difficulty, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, is to prove the Gauls, or Celtes rather, to have been ſettled in Spain and Portugal before any other nation; firſt, becauſe they were here called by the name of Iberians, or, at moſt, Celtiberians, from which ſome are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the firſt inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the Celtes, who came over the Pyrenees, and ſettled amongſt them. And, ſecondly, becauſe Varro [m] mentions no leſs than five different nations, that were found there, when the Romans firſt invaded that country. Theſe were, according to him, the Iberians, Perſians (C), Phœnicians, Celtes, and Carthaginians (D). As to the firſt, we have formerly ſhewn,

[l] Vol. i. p. 490, & vol. v. p. 476. [m] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. Vide & Lucian. Appian. Diodor. &c. ubi ſup.

(C) As it doth not appear from any antient author, that the Perſians ſent any colonies into this country, it is ſomewhat difficult to gueſs, who theſe were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of Celtic extract, and ſignifying ſevered or divided, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was given to ſome tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the reſt, either in their cuſtoms, laws, and ſuch-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilſt theſe had altered theirs, in complaiſance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

(D) We are not without ſome collateral proofs of this. The Phœnicians, as diſtinct from the Carthaginians, were the antient Tyrians (6); and theſe are known to have ſent a colony, and to have built a famous temple to Hercules, in the iſle of Gades, and to have founded ſeveral conſiderable cities in Spain (7). And as to the Carthaginians, who were neareſt neighbours to it, we have

(6) Strab. l. i. ſub. init. Mel. l. iii. c. 6. See alſo vol. ii. p. 386. 393. paſſ. & (I), (K) P. 730.

(7) See vol. xvi. p. 558, 628.

ſhewn, that the word Iberian ſignified, in the antient Celtic, any people, country, or place, that was ſituate over, or on the other ſide of, a ſea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like [n]; ſo that theſe might be naturally called Iberians, on account of their ſituation over the Pyrenees, by thoſe that lived on this ſide; and Celtiberians, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of Varro, we have had occaſion to hint, in the hiſtory of antient Spain, that neither the Tyrian or Phœnician colonies, nor thoſe of the Carthaginians, came thither till a long time after the Celtes or Gauls had been ſettled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this ſeems ſelf-evident, firſt, from the conſentient teſtimony of antient authors, the greateſt part of whom expreſly affirm it [o], and make theſe inhabitants to be of the ſame extract with thoſe, that filled the hither parts of Europe, to all whom they give the ſame common name of Celtes and Gauls, and ſometimes the more antient one of Cymmerians and Cymbrians [p]. And, ſecondly, from thoſe traces and monuments they have left in almoſt every canton and province of that country; ſuch as the names of ſeas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all which are manifeſtly of Celtic extraction.

In Italy. ITALY cannot be ſuppoſed to have been long unpoſſeſſed by them, if they were not the firſt peoplers of it, concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid on that head in ſome former volumes [q]. It was indeed too fair a ſpot not to invite ſuch a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever ſo well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at leaſt very probable, that they came thither ſooner than any other; for if the Humbri or Umbri really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been [r], the aborigines or antienteſt people of Italy, and they were deſcended

[n] Vol. v. p. 469, & ſeq. [o] Herodot, l. ii. c. 33. l. iv. c. 49, & alib. Ephor. apud Strab. l. iv. Vide & Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 4. [p] Strab. ubi ſup. Sicul. l. v. & al. [q] See vol. v. p. 476, & vol. xi. p. 256. [r] Flor. l. i. c. 17. Plin. Dio Halicar. & al.

have ſeen likewiſe, in a former volume, how early they invaded and ſettled in it (8).

(8) Vol. xvii. p. 22, & alib.

deſcended from the Celtes (E), as their name, and other concurring circumſtances, ſeem plainly to intimate [s], then it will ſcarcely be doubted, that they muſt have entered and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devaſtations the Hetrurians made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they deſtroyed in that invaſion, which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which, we refer our readers to a former volume [t].

We ſhall ſhortly come to ſpeak of the Germans, and other northern nations, as well as of the iſles of Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, and others leſs conſiderable, all which do plainly appear to have been firſt diſcovered and peopled by the Gauls or Celtes. As for the Germans, they were ſo like the Celtes in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, except, as Strabo obſerves [u], their retaining ſome of their original fierceneſs, which was doubtleſs owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that they ſeem to have been one and the ſame nation; and this our author thinks to be the occaſion of their being called Germans (F). We ſhall find a much properer etymon for that name in the ſequel. What made us mention it here, was as a proof, that Germany was part of the Celtic or Gauliſh territories, at leaſt as

[s] Compare vol. ii. p. 246, and vol. iv. p. 416, v. p. 476. and vol. xi. p. 266. [t] Vol. [u] Lib. iv. & vii.

(E) Pliny derives their name from the Greek ὄμβρος, which ſignifies a ſhower; becauſe they had been diſlodged from their country by a flood, occaſioned by violent ſhowers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unleſs we will admit, that it carried the memory of their eſcaping the univerſal deluge with it; in which caſe it muſt be ſuppoſed, that they came early into thoſe parts, and ſet up ſome monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of Umbrians or Humbrians, it ſeems rather a ſoftening of the original one of Gomerians or Cymbrians.

(F) The word Germanus was that by which the Romans diſtinguiſhed brothers by the ſame father and mother from thoſe which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed uterini or conſanguinei. And though the etymon itſelf be uncertainly falſe with reſpect to the Germans, yet it ſhews the great affinity, which that author obſerved between them and the Gauls.

(9) Nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 4.

as far as the Rhine [w], if not as far as the Danube [x], though, as we have already obſerved, all that inhabited the countries between theſe two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the Scythians, Sarmatians, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the Helveti, Rhætii, Norici, and Pannonians, of whom we have given an accountin ſome former volumes [y], are ſometimes called Celtes, and ſometimes Gauls, indifferently; and that their troops were ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of Celtic and Gauliſh legions in Aurelian's time [z], as were alſo thoſe that lived along the foot of, or upon, the Alps themſelves.

UPON the whole then it appears evidently, that the antient Gauls or Celtes were poſſeſſed of the far greateſt part of Europe; that the Mediterranean on the ſouth, the Atlantic ocean on the weſt, the Britiſh and northern on the north-weſt, were the boundaries of their country; and that they extended towards the north as far as Scandinavia, Polonia, and Muſcovy; though theſe three nations, as well as thoſe that lived betwixt the Rhine and Danube, were intermixed with a multitude of other people, of the greateſt part of whom we know but little, except their names. And thus much may ſuffice for the extent and limits of antient Gaul. How they came afterwards to be reduced within that narrow compaſs, in which we find them when the Romans firſt invaded them, may be eaſily gathered from what has been already ſaid in the Roman hiſtory, and will further appear in the ſequel of this.

How they came firſt into Europe.

IN the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to enquire, how this antient nation came at firſt to ſpread itſelf, as we have ſhewn they did, all over Europe; that is, whether they advanced by gradual ſteps from the place of their firſt diſperſion, which we formerly fixed in Phrygia [a]; or whether they came thither

[w] Diodor. l. xxxviii & ſeq. Ptol. l. ii. c. 9. [x] Tacit. German. c. 1. Ptol. l. viii. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iv. c. 12. [y] See vol. xi, & xii. [z] Zoſ. l. li. c. 2. Liv. l. xxi. c. 30, & ſeq. Polyb. l. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 20, & alib. [a] Vol. i. p. 467,

(G) Such were the Saxons, Franks, Sicambri, Burgundi, Quadi, Goths, Hunns, Baſtarnæ, the Rhœtii, Norici, Pannonians, Mœſians, Thracians, aud many more, whoſe names and ſituation the reader will find in the ſeveral maps at the head of this hiſtory; and for the deſcription and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this work.

thither by ſea, and, landing at firſt on ſome of the Italic or Mediterranean ſhores, dilated themſelves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypotheſis has its difficulties. If that of Beroſus and his followers could be credited, that Gomer's ſons ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of Spain and Italy ſo early as an hundred and forty-years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have extended themſelves to ſuch vaſt tracts of ground in ſo ſhort a time; and it will be more natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſailed thither from Leſſer Aſia. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the ſhort ſpace of an hundred and forty-two years, become ſuch expert mariners, as this ſuppoſes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer ſpace for making themſelves ſo far maſters of navigation, they may be as reaſonably thought to have expanded themſelves thus far by ſuch gradual migrations, as either want of room, curioſity, or deſire of change, may be ſuppoſed to have led them to. That they began betimes to navigate, or to coaſt at leaſt, not only the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and other ſeas, but even on the main ocean, we ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of their arts, commerce, &c. But it is ſcarcely to be believed, all things conſidered, that their rude ſkill in this art could bring them thither ſo ſoon as the others could get thither by land. However, ſince ſome antient authors have affirmed, that the firſt inhabitants of Spain came thither by ſea, ſome ſay from Aſia, and others from Afric, the moſt reaſonable opinion ſeems to be that, which allows theſe to have indeed come thither from thoſe parts, and to have ſettled in thoſe countries, though not till ſome conſiderable time after they had been diſcovered and peopled by thoſe, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects and cuſtoms, which ſuch an intermixture muſt, of neceſſity, be ſuppoſed to produce, and for the loſs of that whole country in proceſs of time, when the Gauls were partly driven out of it, and the reſt ſubdued by their conquerors, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter.

THE ſame fate having attended them, not only in Italy, but likewiſe on this ſide of the Alps, where the provinces of Noricum, Helvetia, Rhœtia, and the whole tract, which lies between thoſe mountains and the lake of Geneva, were

The boundaries of Gaul ſtreightened.

taken from them, as we have ſeen in the Roman hiſtory [b], the whole Gauliſh extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the Pyrenees, having ſtill the Mediterranean on the ſouth, the Rhine on the north, and the Britiſh chanel on the weſt; for, by this time, the Britiſh and other iſlands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they ſtill kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of juriſdiction over them, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. This was the ſtate of Gaul, and theſe its limits, when Julius Cæſar firſt came into it, as we have ſeen in a former volume, where we likewiſe took notice of ſeveral other changes, which were made in their boundaries, and new diviſions of their provinces and diſtricts by the conquering Romans, particularly by Auguſtus, and to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity [c].

For the ſame reaſon we think it ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to ſpend any longer time in deſcribing a country ſo near, and ſo well known to us. We have deſcribed its antient ſtate in a former volume [d], and there given an account of its moſt conſiderable rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. We have there likewiſe taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of Mercury, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without ſome ſubſtantial proofs, to have reigned in Gaul, when it was in its full extent, and, by his wholeſome laws, and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to have raiſed the Gauliſh nation to a ſurpriſing height of power and glory [e]. This reign hath indeed been very much ſuſpected by ſome other authors, who have written ſince [f], as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either againſt it, or in favour of the Cteſian hiſtory, which, we hope, we have, notwithſtanding all its many and learned advocates, ſufficiently confuted in our Aſſyrian hiſtory [g]. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it

Its fertility, &c.

[b] Vol. xiii. p. 407, & ſeq. [c] Vol. xi. p. 258, & ſeq. 575, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. & vol. xiii. p. 33, & ſeq. p. 374, & ſeq & alib.
[d] vol. v. p. 397, & ſeq. [e] vol. v. p. 403, & ſeq.
[f] Fourmont. Vide & Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. ſub indic. auctor. Bedford. chronol. & al. [g] vol. iv. p. 214, & ſeq.

ia

is generally allowed, that this country was in a flouriſhing condition, when the Romans firſt invaded it, as any in Europe, and their lands, commerce arts, &c. cultivated and improved by its induſtrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether anſwerable to its excellent ſituation and climate (H), as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

(H) The antient Celts indeed, and thoſe Gauls, who were intermixed with the Scythians, did ſtill obſerve their old cuſtom of living in tents and waggons, or at moſt in huts, built juſt to laſt them one year, after which they removed into freſh quarters; and as they lived chiefly on the fruits of the earth, and the milk of their cattle, they either wholly neglected agriculture, and all property in lands, or, at moſt, built themſelves a little houſe or cottage big enough for their family, in the midſt of as much ground as they thought fit to cultivate for that year. The Germans and Suevi are obſerved by Julius Cæſar to have followed the ſame cuſtom in his days; who adds, that it was one of the chief taſks of their yearly magiſtrates to aſſign them ſuch lands, according to the exigence of their families; and, as ſoon as the year was over, they removed into ſome other country (10).

Hence came the name and uſe of cantons: every tribe had a canton aſſigned to it, which was governed by its own magiſtrates, who were choſen from among them. This cuſtom, being derived from the antient Celtes, had, it plainly appears, ſpread itſelf all over Europe, and beyond (11). The Romans called thoſe cantons pagi, which took up more or leſs ground, according to the largeneſs of the tribe; and as ſoon as it was parcelled out among their families, each of them built a cot in the centre of his own ground; ſo that there were not any two to be ſeen contiguous to one another (12).

Even when they came to live in cities, as the Gauls did as ſoon as any others in Europe, if we except perhaps Italy and Spain, they neither walled nor fortified them, alledging, that ſuch ſtrong places ſerved only to abate the courage and fierceneſs of its inhabitants, and often proved the occaſion of their being brought into ſlavery (13). Whenever therefore they found themſelves invaded, they all marched out under their leaders, and engaged the enemy in open field, or, if they found themſelves unequal to the fight, they retired into either woods, marſhes, or other places of difficult acceſs, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(10) l. i. c. 14. l. iv. c. 1. l. vi. c. 22. (11) Idem, l. i. c. 12, 37. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxi. c. 3. Strab. l. iv. Polyb. l. ii (12) Iidem ibid. Vide & Diod Halicarn. l. i. Sil. Ital. l. xv. & ſeq. Appian. Diodor. & al. (13) Tacit. l. iv. Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 29, l. 4. c. 19, & ſeq. & alib.

HOWEVER, it muſt be obſerved here, that theſe improvements were of much later date than their firſt ſettlements; and that, if we except Spain, Italy, and the ſouthern parts of France, the reſt of their territories were too cold and diſcouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and ſuch-like exerciſes, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is moſt probable, that the fruitfulneſs of the warmer climates firſt put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to ſupply by art the defects of their ſoil and climate; for even in the times of the Roman emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn [h]; and moſt authors, who have written on this ſubject, ſeem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were expoſed. It is indeed very likely that thoſe authors, being uſed to warmer climates, have ſomewhat exaggerated the coldneſs of theſe, which experience ſhews are nothing ſo ſevere as they have repreſented them [i]; but it is, at the ſame time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in thoſe antient times, partly by deſtroying a vaſt number of foreſts, which ſtagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the ſun; by the draining many ſtanding waters, and marſhy grounds; by cheriſhing it with warm manure, and other ſuch improvements, which are obvious to every naturaliſt. The Romans themſelves ſeem to have been ſenſible of this change, though they attributed it to ſome favourable alteration in the poſition of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous Greek aſtronomer Hipparchus [k]. But however that be, it is plain, that theſe countries are ſo far from being ſo conſtantly covered with ice and ſnow, and their great rivers from being always ſo hard frozen, as to ſerve them, inſtead of bridges, for croſſing whole armies over them in their winter excurſions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any ſuch rate.

Climate grown warmer.

SECT

[h] Excerpt. ex Appian. de Celt. Var. de re ruſtic. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. v. Strab. l. iv. Cic. de conſuet. prov. Petron. ſat & al.

[i] Vide auct. ſup. citat. & Herod. l. v. Plin. jun. panegyr. cxii. Amm. Marcel. l. xix. c. 2. l xxxi. c. 9. Ovid. de triſt. eleg. x. ver. 8, & al.

[k] Vide int. al. Columell. de re ruſtic. l. i. c. i.

SECT. II.

The religion of the Gauls.

Their religion derived from the antient Celts.

WE have already given an account of the religion of the antient Celtes in a former volume [a]; and as the Gauls were deſcended from them, as we have ſhewn under the laſt article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongſt them, in the ſame manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourſe with other nations, or perhaps rather their ſubjection to them, gave birth to thoſe changes and intermixtures, which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true Gauliſh religion, we ſhould ſeek it among thoſe Gauls, who were leaſt converſant with other people, and had leaſt occaſion or neceſſity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; inſtead of having recourſe to that of the Greeks and Romans, from whom whatever they might, in proceſs of time, borrow, that might cauſe a kind of reſemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almoſt all other reſpects, as black from white. Much worſe have they ſucceeded in this point, who have transformed the Gauliſh deities into Greek and Roman ones, and ſpent a deal of time and pains to no purpoſe, to prove them to have been ſuch [b]; whereas we hope, in the ſequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of Celtic extraction. For the ſame reaſon we muſt be very wary how we depend too much on thoſe few antient authors, whether Greeks or Romans, who have occaſionally ſpoken of them (A). Theſe few ſcraps they have left us of Gauliſh

[a] Vol. v. p. 405, & ſeq. [b] Sched. bibliot. hiſt. Franc. p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul, pref. p. 4.

(A) The moſt conſiderable of theſe are, Julius Cæſar, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and Pliny, and they have written of it in ſuch a looſe, and yet conciſe a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if theſe pages were to be reduced to their juſt value, would loſe one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that

(1) Relig. des Gaul. pref. p. 2.

religion, sufficiently shew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in those points in which they do not clash against one another (B), they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account Josephus makes no scruple to affirm [c], that all that the best of these had written of the Gauls, was without any foundation, and owing to an itch of saying such things of them, as no man had ever said before, or indeed could say. And,

[c] Cont. Apion. l. i.

that these authors, have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things.

(B) According to those quoted in the last note, both the religion and customs of the Gauls are drawn in such colours, as would incline one to suspect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. Diodorus, among the rest, makes no scruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, says he (2), nothing could be more impious, than the victims, which they offered, nor more inhuman, than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believe Procopius (3), it seems as if this barbarous custom had been still in vogue some centuries after their embracing christianity.

A modern writer however has been at the pains to quote other authors, to disculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both sides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worst, the Gauls do not appear to have much outdone those other nations, who cry out so bitterly against them, in these execrable customs of offering human victims to their gods, of murdering some captives in their auguries, and such-like. On the contrary, we have shewed in some former parts of this work (5), that not only the antient Egyptians, Canaanites, &c. but even the Romans, Carthaginians, and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a resemblance, whichsoever of them were the inventors of these bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have said in the volumes above-quoted.

(2) Histor. l. v. (3) Gother. l. ii. c. 25. (4) Vide Lewis, histor Britan. c. 2. & auctor. ab eo citat. (5) See vol. i. p. 382, (W), p. 566, & alib. pass.

And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwiſe, conſidering that the Gauls made it a conſtant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a ſettled maxim amongſt them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to ſpeak and write well [d]. Beſides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could theſe have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, ſince their druids or bards made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable points of it, even from their own laity, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

It will appear ſtill more unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Gauls received any part of their religion from either the Greeks or Romans, if we conſider, beſides what has been hinted at the end of the laſt note, that their gods and goddeſſes, and their very names, plainly appear to be of Celtic extract, and exactly anſwering ſome eminent part of

[d] See Cæſ. comment. l. vi. Salluſt. bell. Catilin.

(C) Joſephus (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was in ſome meaſures, inacceſſible, becauſe nature had fortified them on all ſides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, ſuch as were the Alps, the Pyrenees, the ocean, and Mediterranean, the Rhine, &c. and with ſtrength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no leſs improbable, that their religion was brought in amongſt them, either over any of theſe then inacceſſible mountains, ſeas, or rivers; becauſe, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the Pyrenees, Alps, and on the other ſide the Rhine, Danube, &c. were, as we have ſhewn, of the ſame Celtic extract with the Gauls, and had received the ſame religion, laws and cuſtoms, with them from their anceſtors; ſo that we muſt, of courſe, ſuppoſe, that it was ſettled and practiſed amongſt them ſome ages before they either thought of making excurſions out of their own territories, or others, among whom they had, by their conqueſts, colonies, and warlike exploits, injected an univerſal dread, took it into their heads to invade them. On the contrary, it appears from ſome authors, that even the Romans did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be ſufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and diſcipline (7).

(6) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3.

(7) Pauſan. in Phocic.

their character (D), not as gods and goddeſſes, but as heroes and heroines, famed for ſome peculiar excellency, and as ſuch deified, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, by the courteſy of their deſcendents; whereas the Greeks and Romans did not adopt, much leſs challenge them for their own, till many ages after, that is, as a learned author ſeems rightly to ſuppoſe [c], not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of Dodona to adopt the deities of the barbarians [f]; and the latter made it a ſtanding law not to invade any nations, till they had previouſly implored the favour of their gods, and promiſed to build them temples, and eſtabliſh their worſhip amongſt them.

WHETHER the Gauls, or antient Celtes rather, were the firſt introducers of theſe hypotheſes, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a ſupreme Being under the name of Eſus, which ſeems only a corruption of the old Celtic word Dhew, from which the Greeks probably borrowed their Θεὸς and Ζεὺς, and the Romans their Deus. This notion was religiouſly preſerved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to pleaſe the people, whoſe impetuous deſire after this novelty they could not reſiſt, ſuffered the worſhip and images of theſe gods to be introduced amongſt them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in proceſs of time; but the worſhip of the true God was ſtill carefully kept up, and the oak eſteemed the ſymbol of the Deity, as fire was among the Perſes, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [g]. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we muſt not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the prieſts and philoſophers, but as it was believed and profeſſed by thoſe, who had the care of it. And in this caſe we ſhall perhaps find the moſt material difference between that of the Gauls, and that of the Greeks and Romans, even in thoſe points in

[c] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3. [f] Plin. l. xxviii. c. 3.
[g] See vol. v. p. 31,

(D) This our reader will be beſt able to judge of, by turning to the fourth ſection, under the note (L), to which we refer, to avoid needleſs repetitions.

in which they ſeem moſt to agree, we mean, the worſhip of the ſame gods, with reſpect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter ſeeming calculated to ſooth the moſt inordinate paſſions, and authorize the worſt of crimes, and the former rather quite oppoſite to it; and this is what the modern author laſt quoted has taken no ſmall pains to ſhew in two main inſtances, viz. from the contrary notions which theſe entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids. It is indeed no hard matter to imagine how the religion and precepts of Noah (and theſe were free enough from all idolatry, and the ſuperſtitious traſh, which crept in afterwards among his deſcendents) ſhould be preſerved for a conſiderable time in the family of Japheth, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar bleſſing [h]; but we cannot be ſo ſanguine in favour of thoſe druids, as to believe with that author, that they preſerved them ſo pure among themſelves during ſuch a ſeries of ages, as he ſeems to ſuppoſe. If they did, they were guilty of a very ſhameful remiſſneſs and condeſcenſion to the laity, in ſuffering them to run themſelves into ſuch vile idolatries, horrid ſuperſtitions deteſtable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they muſt be owned to have done, in ſpite of all falſe gloſſes, that have been uſed to palliate their degeneracy, or the ſuppoſition of their having been too much miſrepreſented by Greek and Latin authors. We have, on the contrary, ſhewn in a former volume [i], that the antient Celtes, even in the times of their primitive ſimplicity of life, and when they were as yet freeſt from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worſhip, auguries, &c. Even the Scythians, a younger branch of Japheth's family, who lived ſtill in a much greater ſimplicity, and were more unmixed, and had leſs intercourſe, with other nations, did yet even exceed the Celtes in the barbarity of their religion and cuſtoms [k]; and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the Gauls, Germans, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; ſo that tho' they muſt be allowed, for reaſons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great meaſure, deſignedly

[h] Geneſ. xix. 27. See Mona antiqua. p. 43, & ſeq. p. 98, & ſeq. p. 105, & ſeq. [i] Vol. v. p. 405, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. p. 383, & p. 446.

ſignedly miſrepreſented by, thoſe authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifeſt partiality, be diſculpated from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many abſurd and unſocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, tho' not in the ſame degree with them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be ſuppoſed ever ſo averſe and oppoſite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be ſaid for their countenancing, if not encouraging, thoſe abominable ceremonies, ſuch as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation, their auguries from the reeking blood and entrails of their captives, and others of the ſame nature, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

The Gauliſh religion the mother of all the northern ones.

WE think ourſelves obliged to be the more particular in our enquiry into the religion of the Gauls, as it is the ſource and foundation, not only of that of the antient Germans, and other more northern nations, but likewiſe of that of the antient Britains, who, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter, were deſcended from, and had received their religion, laws, cuſtoms, &c. originally from them; ſo that what is ſaid on that ſubject in this chapter, will ſerve as a clue to that of thoſe other nations we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the following ones; by which means we ſhall avoid many needleſs repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to thoſe points, in which they either differed from this their common mother, or in ſuch caſes, where there appears a neceſſity to ſhew the affinity they bear to each other. As for thoſe of the antient inhabitants of Italy, Spain, &c. who became intermingled with the Gauls, the reader will find the former already done in a former volume [1], and the reſt will come in their turn in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. And here we ſhall, for order-ſake, begin with an account of the different deities worſhipped by the antient Gauls, and the particular ceremonies and ſacrifices uſed to each of them, not as they were tranſmitted to them from their Celtic anceſtors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been ſaid in their hiſtory, but as they were found in the times of the Romans invading of, and becoming firſt acquainted with them.

Eſus the ſupreme Deity.

WE have already hinted, that they antiently worſhipped the ſupreme Deity, under the name of Eſus or Heſus (E),

[1] Vol. xi. p. 315, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

(E), and the ſymbol of the oak; and it will not be thought ſtrange, that this notion of a ſupreme Being ſhould have been preſerved

(E) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, beſides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us ſeems the moſt natural, becauſe the Celtic Dh being pronounced with a kind of preceding aſpiration, and not unlike our ſofter th in ſuch pronouns as thee, thou, &c. foreigners, who were unuſed to it, could not well expreſs the ſound of the word Dhew, but by the letters Eſu. As for the final s, it might be ſuperadded by the Greeks and Romans, according to their way of terminating the maſculine gender in us, and os, as they did likewiſe in the plural Eſi, Aiſoi, as they may be ſeen in Heſychius.

The antient Etruſcans, according to Suetonius (8), called the Deity Æſar; for he obſerves there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded Auguſtus's death, a flaſh of lightning having eraſed the C from the word Cæſar, as it ſtood engraved on a pedeſtal that ſupported his ſtatue, the diviners told him, that the C being a numerical letter ſignifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but ſo many days to live, after which he would be deified, becauſe Æſar, or the remainder of the word Cæſar, ſignified God in the Etruſcan language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning theſe two names, Eſus among the Gauls, and Æſar among the Etruſcans, it would be, that they might be both of Hebrew extract; and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the old Celtic, with which the Etruſcan has a vaſt affinity, appears viſibly to have been a dialect of the Hebrew (9). The word עזוז hezus ſignifies ſtrong and mighty, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the pſalmiſt (10); and עזר ezer ſignifies help or helper (11), and is likewiſe given to Him, as he is emphatically ſo, when all other helps fail. The patriarch Abraham, and his deſcendents, knew him by the name of אל שדי el-ſaddai, the mighty or ſelf-ſufficient God, till he made his peculiar name Jehovah known unto them (12); and it is remarkable, that the Thracians, a branch of the Celtes, did, according to Macrobius, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount Zilmiſſus, Sabazius, which is a plain corruption of the Hebrew word Tzabaoth, eſpecially conſidering, that, in their religious rites to Bacchus, they were wont to cry out, Evohe Sabbai, which

is

(8) In vit. Auguſt.
(9) Vol. v. p. 410, (B).
(10) Vide int. al. Pſal. xxiv. 8.
(11) Gen. ii. 18.
(12) Conf. Gen. xvii. 1. & Exod. vi. 3.

ſerved among the deſcendents of Japheth, when we find ſuch lively traces of it even among the idolatrous Syrians, Midianites, and even the Canaanites, as in the family of Laban [m], of Jethro [n], and of the two Abimelechs kings of Gerar in the times of Abraham and Iſaac [o], and ſome others we could name, particularly the Gibeonites in Joſhua's time [p], Adonibezek in the time of the judges [q], and Hiram king of Tyre in the reigns of David and Solomon [r]; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithſtanding their idolatry, but had likewiſe a peculiar name for it,

[m] Geneſ. xxxi. 48, & ſeq. [n] Compare Exod. ii. 21, & ſeq. and xviii. 9, & ſeq. [o] Geneſ. xx. 3, & ſeq. xxvi. 8, & ſeq. [p] Joſh. ix. 9, & ſeq. [q] Judg. i. 7. [r] 1 Kings v. 7, & ſeq.

is the Elohe, or, if you pleaſe, the Jehovah Tzabbaoth of the Hebrews, as God is emphatically called by the pſalmiſt in the pſalm above-quoted, and ſignifies "Lord of hoſts," a title that well ſuited the martial Thracians. As theſe therefore were rather attributes, than the names of the Godhead, each nation may be ſuppoſed to have choſen that which ſuited their genius beſt; and the Gauls that of Heſus, as ſuiting moſt with their warlike ſpirit.

That not only the names of the Deity, but this way of worſhipping Him under oaks, and in oaky groves, was common to all the deſcendents of Noah, we have undoubted proof out of the old teſtament, as we ſhall preſently ſhew; and we only mention it here to confute the notion of thoſe, who ſuppoſe the Eſus of the Gauls to have been the god Mars; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worſhipped under theſe oaks, or with the ſame rites with Eſus; and therefore Pliny, in his deſcription of the ceremony which they uſed in gathering the miſleto of thoſe ſacred oaks, has theſe words, which plainly ſhew, that theſe trees were dedicated to the Deity itſelf: "The druids, ſays he, (13) believe, that the miſleto is a ſign, "that God hath choſen that tree to himſelf;" and a little lower, after having particularly deſcribed their manner of gathering it, he adds, "that they offered up victims and prayers to "God, that he would bleſs and proſper his own gift to them "that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither ſpeaks here of Mars, Jupiter, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itſelf.

(13) Hiſt. nat. l. xvi. c. 44.

it, diſtinct from thoſe of their other gods. To this let us add, with reſpect to the Gauls we are now ſpeaking of, that the natural fondneſs, which they had for the religion and cuſtoms of their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluſe and ſolitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and their ſtrict and conſtant practice, founded upon it, of ſacrificing, and performing their other religious rites under the oak only, as conſecrated to that ſupreme Being, were moſt effectual means to preſerve that fundamental notion ſtill uppermoſt among them; whatever other ſuperſtitions might be, in proceſs of time, introduced among them; for we muſt here obſerve, that they kept conſtant to this cuſtom, or, rather, as ſeems, law, of performing their religious worſhip under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account. To this we muſt add, that, in the midſt of thoſe heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, they never erected any either temples or idols unto this Eſus or ſupreme Deity; ſo that he ſeems to have been acknowledged by them much in the ſame manner, that the Athenians did the unknown God mentioned by St. Paul [s]; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them: others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned themſelves his offspring, though their notion and worſhip of Him were very imperfect, and, in many caſes, too unworthy of Him, as even the Gauls did, when they came to intermingle the Roman theology with their own. However, antiently they ſeem to have entertained ſome ſublime notions of Him, to confirm which we need but add what Tacitus ſays of the Senones, who were a branch of the Celtes, and had the ſame religion: They, ſays that author [t], have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unleſs he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and owning the ſupreme dominion, which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none muſt dare to help him up; but he muſt either roll himſelf, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion conſiſts in an acknowledgment, that the deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and

[s] Acts xvii. 23. [t] De mor. German.

and ought to obey him. Strabo ſays much the ſame of the Celtiberians, another branch of the Celtes; and adds, that they worſhipped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houſes, all the night in honour of him [u]. And might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author obſerves [w], that Lucan rallies the Maſſilian druids, when he tells them [x], that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, ſpeaking of their groves, ſays, that their ignorance of the deities they worſhipped under them, was the cauſe of that veneration they paid to thoſe ſturdy and ſhapeleſs trees. He ſpeaks there indeed of deities in the plural, Roman and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worſhipped in thoſe groves, is plain from what he ſays at the end of his deſcription of the Maſſilian grove (F); viz. that the prieſt or druid, who officiated there, was afraid

[u] Geogr. l. iii. [w] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 2. [x] Luc. Pharſal. l. iii.

(F) This deſcription, though disfigured with ſatire and ridicule, being curious, and pertinent to our preſent ſubject, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of it to our Engliſh readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of Marſeilles a ſacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew ſo thick and interwoven, that they ſuffered not the rays of the ſun to come through their branches, but a perfect damp and darkneſs reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor ſylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being deſtined for the moſt inhuman myſteries. There was nothing to be ſeen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they ſacrificed human victims, whoſe blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimſon colour If antient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beaſt ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them. Theſe ſtately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different chanels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of ſtanding, rude, and ſhapeleſs trunks, covered over with a diſmal yellow moſs. It is the genius of the Gauls (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unleſs they be thus repreſented, in a manner quite oppoſite to the taſte of other nations; for which reaſon their fear and regard for them increaſes, in proportion to their

fraid of meeting dominum luci, by which he could mean nothing elſe but the deity worſhipped there, a notion probably common to them and the Jews, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note.

ANOTHER remarkable thing in their religion was their great veneration for the oak. This ſeems likewiſe to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and Jews, among whom that tree was in high eſteem, though not in the ſame ſuperſtitious degree. Abraham is recorded to have pitched his tents under ſome famed oaks, ſuch as thoſe of Mamre, of More [y]; which, though our verſion, and ſome others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, do plainly ſignify an oak or oaky grove, as we have obſerved in a former volume [z]. He is ſaid moreover to have planted groves of them; and where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the LORD, and to have given ſome ſignificant name to the place, ſuch as that of Beer- Their veneration for the oak.

[y] Geneſ. xii. 6. xiii. ult. & alib. paſſ. [z] Vol. ii. p. 399, (G).

their ignorance of thoſe gods which they worſhip. There is a report, that this grove is often ſhaken, and ſtrangely moved, and that dreadful ſounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themſelves; that the grove is ſometimes in a blaze, without being conſumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monſtrous dragons. The Gauls dare not live in it, out of reſpect to the deity that inhabits it, and to which they entirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight a prieſt goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful myſteries; and is in continual fear, leſt the deity, to which it is conſecrated, ſhould appear unto him. Thus far our poet.

We have already obſerved, that tho' he expreſſes himſelf in the plural in ſpeaking of the Gauliſh gods, rather as a poet and a Roman, yet his laſt words plainly ſhew, that he intended to ſpeak of one deity here. All that we would further obſerve of the prieſt's dread of ſeeing that deity, ſeems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and antient Jews had, that no man could ſee God, and live (14). As for the dreadful deſcription of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great meaſure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the Gauliſh worſhip, might it not be that of the druids themſelves, to prevent their laity, as well as ſtrangers, from entering, and prying too curiouſly into it?

(14) Vide int. al. Geneſ. xxviii. 16, & ſeq. Judic. vi. 22. xiii. 22, & ſeq.

Beerſheba [a], Bethel, and the like (G). The Gauls in particular ſeem to have improved upon this patriarchal cuſtom, the origin of which ſeems rather owing to what we hinted in the laſt note, than to any ſanctity, or extraordinary virtue, which either Abraham, or any of his anceſtors or ſucceſſors, could imagine to be in thoſe trees; whereas, among both Celtes and Gauls, the oak was looked upon and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar reſidence, of the Deity.

And miſſeto. The fruit of it, eſpecially the miſſoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was uſed as a kind of panacea for man and beaſt, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contuſions, and cuticular ailments, as well

[a] Vide int. al. Gen. xxi. 33.

(G) It muſt be obſerved, that the original word alon ſignifies both an oak, and a grove or thicket of oaks. Theſe were, at firſt, choſen in thoſe hot countries for the ſake of coolneſs and ſhade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for paſture, but wanted ſuch woods or groves, they planted them, as Abraham is recorded to have done at Beerſheba. Theſe, in time, came to be in great eſteem by his deſcendents, not only on account of their extreme uſefulneſs, and long duration, but out of regard to thoſe patriarchs, who had dwelt and ſacrificed under them. Jacob, we read, buried his beloved Rachel's nurſe under an oak, which he called the "The oak of mourning." He buried all the idolatrous traſh, which he found in his houſhold, under another (15). This laſt became famous among the Shechemites (16), probably becauſe Joſhua reared a ſtone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed juſt before his death between God and the Iſraelites (17).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright ſuperſtition, not only among the Jews, but even among chriſtians, Mohammedans, and other nations As to the former, they became infamous for their ſacrificing and burning incenſe in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are juſtly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (18), notwithſtanding God's prohibitions, and ſevere threatenings. As for the latter, we have ſhewn in a former volume, in ſpeaking of the oaks under which Abraham dwelt, that they were ſtill ſhewn in Conſtantine's time, and reſorted to with great devotion by chriſtians, Turks, and even heathens (19).

(15) Geneſ. xxxv. 4, 8. (16) Judic. ix. 6. (17) Joſh. xxiv. 26. (18) See 2 Kings xvi. 4. Iſai. lvi. 5, & ſeq. Jerem. ii. 20. Hoſea iv. 13. Judith iii. 8. (19) Vol. ii. p. 399, (G), & alib.

well as for inward diſeaſes, or even barrenneſs and abortion in men, women, and cattle (H). The leaves, or ſome ſmall boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were conſtantly performed, as we hinted above, under thoſe trees, or in oaky groves. Theſe, if we may gueſs from the few fragments we have left of

(H) Pliny, who has given us this account more accurately than any other author, tells us (20), that they called the miſleto, as well as the particular day or feſtival on which they gathered it, by a name which ſignified cures all. We ſhall quote the whole paſſage, as it is both ſuccinct and curious:

" The druids, ſays he, who are among the Gauls what the " magi are elſewhere, hold nothing ſo ſacred as the miſſoldine, " and the tree that bears it. This is conſtantly the oak, for " which they have ſuch a high eſteem, that they do not perform " the leaſt religious ceremony without being adorned with gar- " lands of its leaves. It is, in all likelihood, from the Greek " name of the oak, that the Gauliſh prieſts are called druids. " Theſe philoſophers believe, that every thing that grows upon " that tree doth come from heaven; and that it is an evident " proof, that God hath choſen it above all others.

" The miſſoldine of the oak being ſcarce, and rarely found, " when any of it has been diſcovered, they go, with great cere- " mony and reſpect, to gather it. This is always done on the " ſixth day of the moon, a day ſo eſteemed among them, that " they have made their months and years, and even ages, which " conſiſt but of thirty years, to take their beginning from it. The " reaſon of their chuſing that day is, becauſe the moon is, by that " time, grown ſtrong enough, though not come to the half of its " fulneſs; and this day they call by a name, which, in their tongue, " ſignifies curer of all ills.

" When the druids have got ready under the oak all the appara- " tus for the ſacrifice, and the banquet which they uſually make, " they tie, for the firſt time, two white bulls to it by the horns. " Then one of the prieſts, cloathed in white, gets up the tree, " and, with a gold ſcythe, cuts off the miſſoldine, which is received " in a white ſagum; which done, they begin to offer their ſacri- " ces, and pray to God to give a bleſſing to his own gift unto " them that are honoured with it. He adds, that the water of " the miſſoldine gives fertility to man and beaſt, is a ſpecific " againſt all kind of poiſon; an eminent inſtance, ſays he, that " human religion has often no other object than frivolous things."

(20) Nat. hiſt. l. xvi. c. 44.

Their groves for worship.

of them in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of Anglesey [b], and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by some inferior druids, to stop all strangers from intruding into their mysteries: we say, if we may guess at them by these few antient helps, these groves were of different forms, some quite circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeness of the district or canton, to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks, set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices, and other most solemn parts of their worship. In the centre, or near it, of these small circles, were placed solid stones of a large size, and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, dissected, and offered up. Each of these being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was surrounded with another row of stones, the use of which cannot be easily guessed at, unless it was to keep the people at a due distance from the priests that officiated. Some of these interior circles are likewise thought to have served, one or more for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or assembly, or for such other purposes as can only be guessed at [c]; though we very much doubt, considering the vast reverence that was paid to those groves, as they were consecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would suffer any secular matters to be transacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that these cinctures might all serve for the same religious ends, one for human victims, another for those of beasts, a third for auguries, and such-like; not but they may be reasonably enough supposed to have had other groves, designed for such secular purposes as we just now mentioned; and these might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the sacredness of those trees might strike these courts and councils with due awe, and prevent such quarrels and indecencies as might otherwise happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than guess-work) seems more agreeable to what we have

[b] See Mona antiqua, p. 91, & seq. Keyzler. antiq. septentrion. p. 77. & in addend. [c] Idem ibid.

have lately quoted of their worſhip out of Tacitus, Pliny, and Lucan.

How the Eſus, or ſupreme deity of the Gauls came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, Jupiter, which, if we may believe Lactantius, did not happen till about the fourth century at ſooneſt, we ſhall endeavour to account in the ſequel. But, by what we have ſaid of him and his worſhip, and of the oaks and groves conſecrated to him, &c. the reader cannot but have obſerved a great deal of conformity between the Gauliſh and the patriarchal and Jewiſh religion, though, if this had been all, we ſhould hardly have inſerted this remark; neither could Celſus have had ſo much reaſon to oppoſe the antiquity and wiſdom of the druidiſh religion, and its conformity to that of the antient Jews, againſt the novelty of the goſpel [d]. We ſhall therefore beg leave, in ſpeaking of the other branches of the Gauliſh religion and ceremonies, to obſerve to him the ſame conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head [e]; and from which we may be able to ſatisfy ourſelves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the ſame ſource.

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

1. The Gauls had a ſovereign pontiff or head of the druidiſh order, to whom both theſe, and the whole nation, paid the higheſt regard. The ſame we find among the Jews, to ſay nothing of Melchiſedech, to whom Abraham paid tythes of the ſpoil he had lately gained. 2. The druids, under this their head, had ſuch an uncontroulable power and ſway, that whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their deciſions, not only in religious but civil matters, (even to the putting an immediate ſtop to an engagement, when both armies were ready for the onſet, if the druids did not like the prognoſtics) was interdicted from aſſiſting at their ſolemnities, which was looked upon by the Gauls as the moſt grievous puniſhment [f]. The Jewiſh high-prieſt, at the head of the ſanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all cauſes; and excommunication, the greateſt puniſhment among the Jews, was to be the lot of thoſe, who refuſed to abide by their deciſion [g]. 3. The druids were obliged to aſſemble themſelves in the territories of Chartrain once a year. The Jews had their three grand feſtivals, on

[d] Vide Origen. cont. Celſum. [e] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. p. 53, & ſeq. [f] Diod. Sic. l. v. Cæſ. comment. l. vi [g] See vol. iii. p. 252, &c.

which their males were obliged to repair to Jeruſalem. 4. The druids wore white garments. The ſame did the Jewiſh prieſts. 5. The druids lived in woods and groves. The ſame did generally the patriarchs, the ſons of the prophets, and the Eſſenians, a kind of monks among the Jews. The Gauls had their female druids, propheteſſes, and aruſpices. The Jews had Miriam Aaron's ſiſter, Deborah, Huldah, and other propheteſſes, to ſay nothing of other women, who kept familiar ſpirits. Some of thoſe females were in high repute among the Gauls, and bore a great ſway in the government. And Deborah was a famed judge in Iſrael. 6. The Gauls vowed to Mars ſome parts of the ſpoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The ſame was among the Iſraelites with reſpect to thoſe cities and kingdoms, which were ſubject to anathema, as in the caſe of Jericho. The reſt they divided among themſelves, according to certain laws and cuſtoms ſettled amongſt them. Moſes, Joſhua, and David, made alſo laws on the ſame head, what portion ſhould be offered to God, what given to the prieſts, and how the reſt ſhould be divided between the combatants and thoſe who guarded the camp and baggage. 7. The Gauls worſhipped a braſen bull. And the Iſraelites golden calves. 8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they threw all the curſes that threatened them. The Jews did the ſame by their ſcape-goat [h]. 9. The Gauls had power of life and death over their ſervants. The ſame had the patriarchs and Jews, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the inſtance of Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar [i]. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and Jews, and, like them, diſtinguiſhed the year only into three ſeaſons, viz. ſpring, ſummer or harveſt, and winter. The autumn was ſo unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The ſame is affirmed likewiſe of the Egyptians by Diodorus Siculus. 10. They gave ſignificant names to their children, to places, &c. as theſe did. 11. The Gauls believed the immortality of the ſoul; ſo that no people under heaven could ſhew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and Jews, if we except the upſtart ſect of the Sadducees, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere paſſage into a better. 12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own ſer-

[h] Ibid. p. 222, (V). & Cæſ. comment, l. vi. [i] Geneſ. xxxviii. 24.

ſervants [k]. We have an inſtance of this in Jephtha, one of the Iſraelitiſh judges, and his raſh vow [e], though it was more common among the Phœnicians, and other antient nations. 13. The Jews had the waters of jealouſy to aſſure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The Gauls had ſome kinds of ordeals or trials to the ſame ſenſe; and Julian the emperor tells us, that the waters of the Rhine had ſome ſecret virtue to puniſh thoſe wives, who had gone aſtray (I). The druids made it a conſtant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philoſophy, or hiſtory, to writing, but to couch them in ſet poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and ſung at proper places and ſeaſons. Theſe ſongs were, it ſeems, ſo multiplied in Cæſar's time, that it took up ſome druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them [m]. We do not find but that this was the antient cuſtom of the patriarchs and other nations in Canaan before Moſes, who quotes ſome of thoſe canticles, and compoſed ſome of them himſelf, as did other prophets after him, in memory of ſome ſignal victories, deliverances, and the like. Some Gauliſh nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the Iſraelites their ark, and their apoſtates the tabernacles of Moloch, Chiun, and Rempham. The Gauls did perſonify and deify their rivers, lakes, woods, &c. and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the ſacred poets, who called upon thoſe, and all other creatures, to praiſe god? as, in all probability, their offering human victims, common likewiſe to other nations, and even to the apoſtate Iſraelites, in imitation

[k] Comment. ubi ſupra. [l] Judg. xi. 30, & ſeq. [m] Comment. ubi ſup.

(I) This is not a proper plale to ſpeak of thoſe ordeals and other trials, as paſſed, in all probality, from Gaul into Great Britain, and which might, in all likelihood, have their riſe from the Jewiſh waters of jealouſy. But that, which the apoſtate Julian mentions concerning the Rhine, can ſcarcely be owing to any thing elſe.

He tells us (21), that, when a Gaul ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they ſunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they ſwam, and moved towards the place where ſhe ſtood trembling at a convenient diſtance, and ready to receive them, ſhe was cleared, and reſtored to her huſband's favour.

(21) Orat. xvi.

of them, ſeems to have had its riſe from the example of Abraham's readineſs to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to what we have ſaid in a former volume [n]. We ſhall now give our readers a ſhort account of this inhuman rite, as it was practiſed among the Gauls, and leave our readers the pleaſure of diſcovering, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, many more inſtances of that conformity we have been ſpeaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

Human victims how offered.

As to this bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, which began ſo early with the Gauls, and which, if we may believe Procopius [o], did not end till ſome centuries after their embracing chriſtianity, we can only ſpeak of it as it was tranſacted out of their groves or places of worſhip; for as to what was done within them, no ſtranger being made acquainted with, much leſs admitted to ſee it, we muſt be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning thoſe unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, Cæſar and Plutarch give us the following account: When a man's life is in danger, either through ſickneſs or other accident, they immediately ſacrifice, or at leaſt make a vow ſo to do, ſome human victims; for, beſides that they think them the moſt perfect and pleaſing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no ſatisfaction could be made to them for their goodneſs to men. And theſe are the ceremonies eſtabliſhed amongſt them upon all ſuch occaſions [p]: They erect a huge, hollow pile of oſier, which they fill with theſe unhappy wretches, who are quickly ſuffocated by the ſmoak, and reduced to aſhes ſoon after. They imagine however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent muſt go in their ſtead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceaſed delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long ſince they threw likewiſe into it all his favourite ſervants and ſlaves. Some of his near relations, continues Cæſar, did likewiſe fling themſelves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world. This cuſtom was exactly like that of burying the Jewiſh kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may ſee in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony. [q].

At funerals.

We

[n] See vol. ii. p. 415, 417, paſſ. [o] See vol. ii. p. 508. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. [p] Comment. l. vi. Plut. de ſuperſtit. [q] Vol. iii. p. 393, & not.

In their auguries and other ſuperſtitions.

We lately hinted at their imitating, in ſome meaſure, the Jewiſh ſcape-goat, by devoting ſome vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curſes due to them might fall upon it. The Maſſilians, among the reſt, are reported to have, in times of peſtilence, made choice of ſome indigent perſon, that offered himſelf, voluntarily, whom they took care to fatten with the daintieſt fare during a whole year; after which they dreſſed him with garlands, and other rich ornaments, and led him through the ſtreets, loaded with the bittereſt imprecations, to his death [r]. We have formerly had occaſion to account for this cuſtom, which was likewiſe common to other nations, as well as the Gauls, and had its riſe from the ſame ſource [s]. However, if the Gauls, in ſuch calamitious times, could procure any of the handſomer and nobler ſort to offer themſelves to ſuch a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. Theſe were led, like the poorer ſort, out of the city, and ſtoned, and the former thrown down from ſome high precipice. The common notion among them was, that ſuch a ſpontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth entitled them to a rank among the gods. In other caſes they either tied or nailed them to ſome tree or poſt, and ſhot them to death with arrows. Others they burnt, with a number of beaſts, on a pile of hay [t]. It was alſo cuſtomary among them to reſerve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in ſacrifice with the firſt-fruits of their ground [u]. The ſame author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards [w]. As for their brute victims, they were left, in ſome meaſure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments (K), both in this, and all other parts of their worſhip. Only the horſes, which they took in battle, or at leaſt part of them, they burnt with the bodies of the ſlain [x]. All theſe ſacrifices were occaſional, and unlimited, except

[r] Petron. ſatir. ad fin. Vide & Serv. comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 58. [s] See the note (Y), in vol. iii. p. 226. [t] Strab. l. iv. [u] Diodor. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. [w] Ibid. l. v. [x] Tacit. German.

(K) Some add, that they were ſtriped with purple, which dwindled, either at one or both ends, into a point like a ſpindle, to

thoſe which Lucan calls national, and which were conſtantly performed at noon, and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the Gauls were addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition (L), they uſed to be exceeding watchful of the ſinging and flight of birds, and other ſuch kind of ominous traſh. They never undertook any thing of conſequence, without the advice of their aruſpices, who were, for that reaſon, in high requeſt among them. Theſe carefully examined the entrails, blood, &c. of their victims; and when they offered any human one,

to diſtinguiſh them from the laity. But there ſeems to be no need of ſuppoſing ſuch a diſtinction, ſeeing the white robe was peculiar to the druids, and no one dared to wear it but they and the druideſſes, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in due time (22).

(L) According to the Greek and Roman writers, the Gauls exceeded all other nations in cruelty and ſuperſtition; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their own writings, we ſhall ſcarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the oppoſite ſide. It muſt be owned however, that ſome of the Gallic nations were very famed for their ſuperſtition, ſince Alexander Severus is upbraided with having even outdone ſome of them, viz. the Vaſcones or Gaſcons, in it (23).

Our deſign is not to extenuate thoſe inhuman and abominable practices of the Gauls, but to obſerve how little reaſon other authors, eſpecially the Romans, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themſelves outdid almoſt all that ever went before or ſince. We have given a ſufficient number of inſtances of it in their hiſtory under ſeveral of their emperors, eſpecially Severus above-mentioned, Nero, and Julian; and we ſhall cloſe this note with another, which happened juſt upon the breaking out of the war between the Gauls under Viridomarus and them, when, as Plutarch tells us (24), they found themſelves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the Sibylline books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two Gauls, and two Greeks, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, ſays he, they ſtill offer ſome private ſacrifices in the month of November, which the people are not allowed to be preſent at; which very ſacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (25), were ſince repeated at the ſame place on ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially at the firſt opening of the Punic war, which immediately ſucceeded that of the Gauls above-mentioned.

(22) Comment. ubi ſupra. Vide Keyzler. antiq. ſeptent. p. 305, 459. Pelloutier. hiſt. def. Celt. Relig. def. Gaul. & al.
(23) Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. (24) In vit. Marcel.
(25) Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 57. Plin. l. xxviii. c. 3.

one, as they did conſtantly before they held a council, whether of the nation or diſtrict, they ſtabbed him behind with a cutlaſs, a little above the diaphragma, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left ſide, or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the caſe be what it would, or the appearances be ever ſo much againſt it; inſomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and ſtopped the fight, which was juſt going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account [y].

Their altars.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had ſome large ſtones, which were ſuppoſed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are ſtill extant in ſeveral parts of France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland, and the iſle of Angleſey, and are of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the ſuperſtitious inhabitants, to have been the work of thoſe demons, that were ſuppoſed to attend on that kind of worſhip, eſpecially conſidering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of ſuch ſtones within any reaſonable diſtance from the place where theſe altars ſtood. Of theſe one, that is to be ſeen in the confines of Alſace, meaſures about thirty-ſix foot in circumference, twelve foot and a half in breadth, and four foot and a quarter in thickneſs. It is reared on a parcel of other ſtones about three foot and a half from the ground [z]. Some of theſe altar ſtones were round, others oval, ſome ſquare, others oblong, and ſome triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament either of bas-relief or inſcriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally ſo, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or baſon on the ſurface, ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to receive the blood or entrails of the victims [a]. One of theſe is recorded to have had a hollow kind of naſty paſſage under it, through which they made thoſe ſtrangers, whom they deſigned for ſacrifice, to paſs, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that paſſage is, it ſeems, called to this day cunnus dæmonis, duvels-ſkut, or devil's hole [b].

The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent

[y] Strab. l. iv. Juſt. l. xxiv. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Comment. l. vi. [z] Keyzler. ubi ſup. p. 41, & ſeq.
[a] Cæſ. comm. ubi ſup. [b] Schoen. de ſedib. Franc. apud Matth. Analect. & Keyzler. ubi ſup.

diligent in their accounts of thoſe altars, and other piles of huge ſtones, which are to be met with in almoſt every kingdom and province of Europe, together with ſuch other monuments as deſcribe thoſe ſacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and inſtruments that were uſed in them; but they generally deal ſo much in conjectures, and agree ſo little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of learning has been ſo diſreliſhed by the far greater part of the learned; ſo that it would be loſt time for us to enter further on this ſubject, and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the Gauls are affirmed by the generality of authors to have conſtantly aſſiſted at theſe ſacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried ſome ſmall thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands [c], after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

They had no temples till long after Cæſar.

TEMPLES, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the Romans, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after Cæſar's conqueſt of them. An author, who lived long after him, tells us expreſly, that they had not any other ſtatue of Jupiter but a tall oak [d], which could hardly be ſuppoſed to be growing in a temple, any more than thoſe coloſſian piles of hay and other combuſtibles, in which, we are told by other authors [e], they uſed to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any ſuch cloſe places, much leſs ſtill the trees on which they faſtened thoſe whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, were much fitter for thoſe ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the Gauls and the Greeks and Romans [f]. When Mars came to be adopted among their inferior deities, they only worſhipped him under the figure of a naked ſword, that was repoſited upon an altar in one of thoſe groves; but as they had then a cuſtom to vow to him what ſpoil they took from their enemies, Cæſar tells us they generally depoſited them in any place where they chanced to be. There they ſacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the reſt of the plunder in vaſt heaps in the open country, which were nevertheleſs held ſo ſacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongſt them great quantities of gold and ſilver, and other rich ſtuff; for he tells us, that thoſe

[c] Cæſ. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. Mel. l. iii. & al. [d] Maxim. Tyr. ſerm. xxxviii. [e] Cæſ. comm. Diod. Strab. ubi ſup. [f] See Voſſ. in Maimon. Aboda Zara, c. 1. n. 2. Reineſ. apud relig. des Gaul. p. 119, & ſeq.

thoſe conſecreated heaps were to be found in moſt cities in Gaul [g]. This ſeems likewiſe another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who choſe to ſhut up thoſe treaſures in their temples, as in places of greateſt ſafety; whereas the Gauls left them expoſed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at moſt, in ſome lakes and groves, which were on that very account eſteemed ſacred (M). The Germans appear to have been ſtill more averſe to the

[g] Cæſ. comm. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 2.

(M) It muſt be owned, however, that ſome of theſe authors give to theſe places the name of temples or oratories, and Cæſar is affirmed to have rifled them to ſupport his army (25); but then they ſpoke like Greeks and Romans, among whom it was cuſtomary to recond ſuch ſacred treaſures in their moſt famous temples, and even to call ſuch conſecrated places by the names of ἱερὸν and templum. Thus Tacitus, though he affirms that the Germans had no temples, tells us, that their goddeſs Hertza uſed ſometimes to come out of her grove or Caſtum nemus, to air herſelf, and, when ſhe was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the ſame author tells us afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddeſs reſided (26).

The ſame may be ſaid of that famed one of Thouloufe, upon whoſe account the aurum Tholoſanum became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vaſt quantity that was repoſited in it. This place Strabo, ſpeaking of it, calls a temple: There was, ſays he, a very famous temple at Thouloufe, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immenſely rich, becauſe none dared to touch any part of what was conſecrated in it (27); and yet the ſame author, when he accounts for the vaſt quantities of gold that were found there, from ſome rich mines which he ſuppoſes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it encreaſe upon them to ſuch a ſtupendous height, he adds, that they had other treaſures in many ſuch-like places, which, ſays he, were depoſited and conſecrated in whole ingots, in lakes, as in ſo many ſacred aſyla. So that this Thoulouſan temple, and thoſe other lakes he ſpeaks of, were in all probability the ſame thing, or meant, at moſt, but ſome more ſacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was conſecrated.

What confirms it ſtill more is, that Strabo, ſpeaking of the ſacrilege

(25) Sueton. in Cæſar. (26) De morib. German. (27) See before vol. xii. p. 475.

the introduction of temples amongſt them, as we learn from Tacitus and other authors, and ſhall ſee in the next chapter; and even the Britons, who certainly muſt have had them, if any other Gauls had, becauſe they were the ſtandard of the Gauliſh religion, from whom all the others received it; for we are told [h], that theſe uſed to croſs over in great numbers into Britain, or, as ſome think, into the iſle of Angleſey [i], and to ſpend there ſome years in the ſtudy of their religion and myſteries, as it was indeed the ſeat and nurſery of it, and the reſidence of the grand druid, or chief pontif, and conſequently of all the learned doctors of the Gauliſh religion; and yet, when Tacitus ſpeaks of the deſcent of the Romans into this iſland [k], he tells us, that their firſt care was to deſtroy thoſe groves and woods which the druids had polluted with the blood of ſo many human victims; and would they not, upon the ſame account, have done ſo by their temples, if any ſuch had been in this country? And ſince all the other Gauls appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from theſe, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they could, at leaſt in Tacitus's time, have had any temples any-where elſe, what ever they did afterwards more by force than out of choice, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by. Some ſtatutes they might have, and in all probability had, before Cæſar's time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any reſemblance with thoſe of the Greeks and Romans, either as to their figure or deſign, or that they were ſet up by the prieſts, and not rather by

[h] Comment. ubi ſup. ſeq. p. 53, & ſeq. 78, & ſeq.

[i] See Mona antiqua, ſect. viii. &

[k] Annal. lib. xiv. c. 3.

ſacrilege committed by Cepio (28), mentions only the lake out of which this famous Tholouſan gold was taken; and Juſtin, ſpeaking of the Tectoſagi, whom he ſuppoſes to have brought it from the temple of Delphos, ſays, that, being returned to Thoulouſe, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake (29). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of this Thouloufan treaſure, and its being expoſed to ſale, in the ſequel; and we only mention it here to ſhew upon what account Strabo called it a temple, though no more than a ſacred lake, with a σηκὸς or niche, with ſome emblem of a deity in the richeſt, and, conſequently, moſt ſacred part of it.

(28) Vide Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 13. (29) Geogr. l. iv.

by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the conſent of their guides, who appear to have been moſt ſtrict obſervers of the old patriarchal way of worſhipping the Deity; for as, on the one hand, they ſeem to have kept all along ſome kind of tradition from their progenitor, who was but a third in deſcent from Noah, not to ſay any thing of thoſe before the flood, of which they could not ſo ſoon loſe all memory, and whoſe cuſtom it was to worſhip GOD without temples or images; ſo, on the other, their great veneration and tenaciouſneſs for their antient rites and cuſtoms, joined to the contempt they had for thoſe of other nations, muſt have proved an effectual and long-winded preſervative againſt their introducing them. At leaſt it is very probable, that theſe ſtatues or images we are ſpeaking of, if there were really any ſuch among them, might be no other than monuments of ſome eminent perſons and tranſacti-ons, ſuch as that which Laban and Jacob reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter ſet up in the place where he buried his favourite Rachel[1]; or perhaps to point out thoſe ſacred treaſures, which were conſecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or ſeizing upon them; all which might be eaſily miſtaken for ſtatues and idols by thoſe Greek and Roman authors who beheld or heard of them.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this point, it will not be thought unſeaſonable to make ſome further enquiry into thoſe vaſt piles of ſtones which remain to this day both in England, and in other parts of Europe; concerning which ſo many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries, and others, whilſt ſome have maintained them to have been erected by the Romans, others by the antient Gauls and Britons; one ſort taking them for monuments erected in memory of ſome famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third ſort, though with leſs reaſon, as we think, for temples, or places of worſhip. We ſhall, however, willingly ſave ourſelves the trouble of entering into a detail of them, conſidering how difficult it is to deſcribe ſuch kind of antiques, ſo as to give our readers any tolerable idea of them, without having conſtant recourſe to ſome iconography of them, which are not in many caſes eaſy to be had, and in moſt not without greater expence than they would perhaps think they deſerve. But ſince that famous one of Stonehenge, which has been ſeen by all the curious, and of which we

[1] See Geneſ. xxxi. 45, & ſeq. xxxv. 19, 20.

An account of Stonehenge on Salisbury plain.

we have so many descriptions in many of our English authors, may be justly affirmed to exceed all the rest, as well in the largeness of the stones as the perfection of its figure, we shall, notwithstanding its more properly belonging to a subsequent chapter, venture to speak of it here, and give the best light we can concerning that truly curious piece of antiquity; especially as we proposed at the beginning of this chapter, to treat of every thing that related to the Gauls, and those other nations that are descended from them, in so full a manner, as might save us the trouble of needless repetitions in those that follow. But what more effectually calls upon us to treat of it here, is, that a reverend and learned author lately, in that curious and elaborate account he has given of that stately edifice [m], hath endeavoured to prove it an antient druidish temple, which, if it had been such, would overthrow all that we have hitherto said, on the testimony of so many antient authors as we have produced, in favour of the opposite opinion. Had that learned author contented himself with calling it a druidish edifice of any kind but that of a temple, we should have readily agreed to it; because we think he has given us full proofs of its being not only much antienter than the Romans, and, consequently, much more so than the Saxons, but has further demonstrated, as far as the subject is capable of demonstration, that it never could be a fabric of the former; so that upon the whole it must be owned to have been a British or druidish work: and thus far we readily agree with him, tho' we shall take the liberty, as we think we ought, to differ from him in his origin of the druids, as well as in this of their having erected temples in imitation of the patriarchs, who are no where recorded to have reared any thing but bare altars of unhewn stones, or, at most, some groves over them, rather for shade and coolness, than out of any superstitious regard for either the oaks, or any other trees. And as our author offers nothing but far-off conjectures on a subject of such remote and dark antiquity, there seems to be one insuperable obstacle against his hypothesis of their coming from Phœnice; namely, that if these druids had [n] been of so different a nation from the Celts the ancestors of the Gauls, let them have come into Britain when they would, either before or after the Celtes, it is not to be supposed, that

Allowed a druidish fabric.

[m] Stukeley's Stonehenge. p. 1, 17, 60, & seq. [n] Idem, p. 31, & seq. 50. & seq. 61, & seq.

that theſe, much leſs all their Gauliſh deſcendents, who were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly tenacious of their antient rites, laws and cuſtoms, could have ever paid ſuch a blind and univerſal ſubjection to them, not only in religious, but in all civil and military concerns, as we have ſeen from the univerſal conſent of Greek and Roman authors they actually did: and if thoſe druids had had ſuch ſublime notions of the Deity, and been ſuch ſtrict followers of the partiarchal religion and rites, it is ſcarcely to be imagined they could have fallen into ſuch horrid exceſſes, ſuperſtitions, and cruelties, as we have ſhewn they did, even from the earlieſt times.

We come now to ſpeak of this famous fabric of Stonehenge, and to give our readers ſuch an account of it as may afford them an idea of the excellent taſte of thoſe druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and may ſerve to ſhew the nature and deſign of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of Europe (N), where they bore any ſway; and herein we ſhall make no difficulty to follow

(N) Though there are many of theſe to be found in Germany, France, Spain, Brabant, Holland, &c. yet they are no-where ſo frequent as in theſe Britiſh iſles, even, as our author obſerves, from the very Land's-end in Cornwall to the utmoſt promontory in Scotland, where the Roman power never reached. They are to be ſeen in all the iſlands between Scotland and Ireland, in the iſle of Man, in all the Orkneys, and numerous in Ireland; and all pretty near after the ſame deſign, being generally arches of rude ſtones, of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open heaths and downs, and chiefly made of ſtones taken from the ſurface of the earth, though ſome of them appear to be of different forms, and ſo decayed and disfigured by time, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at their original uſe or intention, but from ſome analogy which they ſeem to bear with thoſe that are more perfect, as this we are upon (30).

Thoſe on the continent have ſuffered ſtill more, not only from the Romans, who took ſingular pride in deſtroying them, and introducing ſome of their own in their ſtead, and bringing the Gauls over to their religion and cuſtoms; but likewiſe from the blind zeal of weak chriſtians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to deſtroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry, and ſuperſtitious cruelties. The reader may conſult concerning them the authors quoted in the margin (31).

(30) See before vol. xii. p. 475. (31) Vide. relig. des Gaul. lib. i. acp. 13. Keyzler antiq. ſeptentr. &c.

low our learned author's description of it in every case but that we have excepted above, it being, in all other respects, the most exact and accurate we have; tho' we shall refer those who desire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate description here referred to.

And not built by either Saxons or Danes.

The name of Stonehenge, being of Saxon extract, and signifying barely a heap of hanging or gallows stones, is so contemptible a one for so noble a work, that it plainly shews it to have been reared long before their coming into England. Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had there, in their time, remained any traces of its builders, and their design in it, they would doubtless have called it by a much more honourable name. The antient Britons, in the time of the Romans invading them, spake of it only by long and immemorial tradition, and as of a work far above human power; and called it, in the language, Choir Ghaur, which some interpret the choir or dance of giants, on account of a general notion that ran through all those countries, where such heaps of vast stones were set up, that it was done by giants, though others, more absurdly, by the assistance of dæmons, probably from the reputation which the druids were in for their skill in magic, and by the help of which they were supposed to have reared those stupendous piles in the form they stood; though our author very judiciously observes, that Choir Ghaur might be more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all other works of this kind in bigness, and, not unlikely, in dignity, on account of the arch-druid, or of his holding his grand assembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This etymon is altogether suitable to the grandeur of the fabric, and the design of it, whether we suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, or, as seems more probable to us, for some other public use, in either of which it appears equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way to convince us, that it never was reared by the Romans; for the antient Britons would hardly have given such a grand name, to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our author has taken a much more effectual way to convince us, that it could be none of their work, much less such a one as our famed architect Inigo Jones (if he really was the author of that plan and performance which Mr Webb published under his name, and has been so amply confuted by Dr. Charlton [o] and Keyzler) has endeavoured to prove it, and

The notion of its being a Roman temple confuted.

[o] Chorea gigant.

and in which he aſſerts it to be a round Roman temple, like the Pantheon (O).

Dr. Charlton, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the Danes; upon which he was ſoon after confuted by Olaus Vormius [P], there being really no ſuch monuments to be found among the Gothic nations. Beſides, this of Stonehenge is mentioned in ſome manuſcripts of Ninnius, who wrote two hundred years before they ſet foot in Britain; all which is a ſufficient confutation of its being a Daniſh work. Keyzler, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our Britiſh antiquities, after having confuted the notion of Inigo Jones, of its being a Roman temple, or having any relation to public worſhip, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being ſome old broken remains of the flood (P), endeavours

[P] Faſt. & Monument. Danic.

(O) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publiſher, to make the dimenſions anſwer to his ſcheme, has been forced to alter and miſrepreſent them, to diſplace ſome of thoſe huge ſtones, and remove them at ſuch a diſtance as beſt anſwered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards diſcovered by a new ſurvey of it before perſons of taſte and judgment. Jones not publiſhing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that he never deſigned it; and that, upon a ſerious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But upon his death, Mr. Webb his ſon-in-law, it is thought, found an expedient of ſurmounting that difficulty by the alterations we have mentioned; and by way of ſalvo tells the world, that if his father-in-law had lived to finiſh it, it would have appeared in a much better guiſe.

(P) There are two other vulgar errors more worth confuting than any of theſe, becauſe they have proved exceedingly detrimental to theſe antient monuments. The one is, the notion of the ſtones being factitious, or caſt by art, which hath and doth ſtill induce ſtupid pretenders to antiquity to come and diſfigure thoſe curious ſtones with chizels and hammers, to find out whether they are really ſo or not. The other is, their digging near and round about them, in hopes of finding out ſome hidden treaſures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others ſo very near doing ſo, that, if this humour continues much longer, thoſe noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into a heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left, either of their ſtructure, deſign, or magnificence, but what we find in ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe given by this and other authors.

vours to prove it a ſepulchral monument erected by the Anglo-Saxons [q]. We hope we have already ſaid enough to prove, that, if it was ſuch a ſepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the antient Britons; though he is pleaſed, in order to prove them every way unqualified for ſuch a work, to repreſent them as ſuch ignorant ſavages, and ſo like the wild Americans [r], that he thinks it argument ſufficient, and indeed it is the only one he gives, againſt any one believing them to have been the contrivers of it. But how truly ſoever this character may ſuit to his antient Germans, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, we hope to ſhew in the ſequel of this, beſides what has been occaſionally ſaid of the Britons, and their druids, that they were the very reverſe of what he has painted them: he has ſucceeded much better in his proofs, that it was a monumental work, from many more of the like nature and form, which are known and allowed to be ſuch. Our very author himſelf tells us of one in Ireland, which, by his deſcription, is Stonehenge in miniature, and which he owns to have been the monument of a famed druideſs [s]; though he inſinuates it to be her temple likewiſe. What he mentions in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than a ſepulchral monument, viz. the horns, bones, charcoal, and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite inſufficient, it being common, at the funerals of antient Britons and Gauls, not only to offer hecatombs of victims, which alone would anſwer for theſe horns, bones, &c. but likewiſe to bury their favourite horſes and ſlaves, as we ſhall ſee in its due place: and if the reader will be pleaſed to look back at what we have ſaid of the funerals of their brethren the Scythians, eſpecially of thoſe of the higheſt rank [t], and compare it with the form and diſpoſition of the ſtones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more decent refinement upon that antient and inhuman Scythian cuſtom; and only rearing a number of huge ſtones in this form, inſtead of the ſkins of men and horſes, which they uſed to ſtuff, and ſet up round their monuments; for as it favoured leſs of barbarity, ſo it was of a much more laſting nature. But this we offer only as our own conjecture, and conjecture is all that can be offered, in favour of any other hypotheſis about it at this vaſt diſtance of time, and with thoſe little helps we have

[q] Antiquit. ſeptentr. p. 50, & ſeq. 97, & ſeq. 109. & ſeq. 230, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 13, & ſeq. [s] Stonehenge reſtored, p. 3. & 4. [t] See before vol. v. p. 450.

have left. For this reaſon we ſhall omit mentioning ſome other notions which people have entertained; ſuch as, that it was the place where the grand council of Britain met, a Roman trophy, the monument of the famous queen Boadicia, of king Vortigern, and ſuch-like, all which, carrying ſtill leſs probability than any of the preceding ones, are not worth dwelling longer upon.

We ſhall now give a ſhort deſcription of the fabric itſelf, out of that accurate ſurvey which the reverend author laſt quoted made of it. It is ſituate on a pleaſant part of Saliſbury plain, about two miles from Amberſbury, and ſix from Saliſbury, and is ſituate not upon the ſummit of a hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle aſcent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile diſtance the appearance of it is quite ſtately, awful, and auguſt, eſpecially on the north-eaſt ſide, which is the moſt perfect. According to his plan or iconography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outſide of St. Paul's cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen feet complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for theſe, for reaſons to be mentioned hereafter, are not all of equal height. Thus the height of the inner circle, or rather ellipſis, as our author has proved it, bears a juſt proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at preſent ſome of theſe ſtones either ſtooping, or by long time being ſunk lower, come ſomewhat ſhort of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleneſs likewiſe of their lights and ſhades, as well as the variety ariſing from their circular form, adds to the elegance of the proſpect; ſo that it is not without reaſon that our great Jones blamed Mr. Camden for calling it ſo ſenſleſly as he doth in his Britannia, inſana ſubſtructio, a huge, or, as he engliſhes it, "a will kind of ſtructure;" whereas it plainly appears to have been the very reverſe. But it is manifeſt, that he never ſaw it, or took but a ſlight view of it; and his deſcription is ſo faulty and incorrect, that he ſeems not to have thought it worth a more exact ſurvey, though he had ſeen thoſe of Mr. Aubrey and Inigo Jones; but theſe likewiſe he ſeems to have had but little opinion of, and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them; and we own, that he has very judiciouſly exploded both their notions, as well as all thoſe other vulgar ones, which aſcribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but to the antient Britons. But

to return to the fabric itſelf: the whole is encloſed within a circular ditch, which being croſſed, one aſcends thirty-five yards before he comes to the work; ſo that the area, as it is encloſed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the diſtance from the ditch within-ſide, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horſeback, you are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of the vaſt ſtones, whether you view thoſe that are ſtill ſtanding in their antient ſite, or thoſe which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or thoſe which lie down, and, by their immenſe weight, have cruſhed a number of others under them, eſpecially that which our author ſuppoſes to have been the altar-ſtone (Q), and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What encreaſes the wonder, eſpecially to a man verſed in theſe antique works, is, that, among thoſe dreadful dilapidations, in which every ſtone lieth, like the carcaſe of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains ſtill as much of it undemoliſhed, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect ſtate, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contraſt, which the view of the inſide gives you, when joined to the vaſt and beautiful proſpect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to thoſe huge ſtones, and the vaſt ponderous impoſts over them, the chaſm of ſky between the jambs of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you ſee whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havock below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inſide out. The other gives you a moſt ſpacious and variegated proſpect of the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call Veſpaſian's camp; a beautiful pro-

Proſpects from Stone-Henge.

ſpect

(Q) And ſo it may really have been, let the fabric be ſuppoſed a temple, a ſepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, ſeeing that, as we have obſerved before, ſacrifices were uſed in great numbers in all thoſe ſolemnities, and an altar cannot but be ſuppoſed to have been fixed in ſome convenient part of the building; but why ſo cloſe to one part of the cell or nich as Mr. Jones has made it, and not in the centre, where Keyzler would rather have it, this reaſon may be well enough aſſigned, that it is moſt likely to have ſtood where we find the huge fragments ſtill lying, and cruſhed by one of the large impoſts falling upon it; for, had it ſtood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.

ſpect it is ! another the antient hippodrome, or place for horſe and chariot-races ; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author ſuppoſes, begins ſome miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interſperſed with a vaſt number of mounts, or, as they are called, barrows, ſome larger than others. The largeſt of them is encloſed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. Theſe are ſet thicker and cloſer in one place, and thinner at another ; and, upon digging ſome of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and ſome kinds of beads, and other pieces of glaſs, cryſtal, jet, amber, and ſuch-like female trinkets, of different colours and metals ; as alſo ſome ſwords, hatchets, and other weapons [k], have been dug out of them ; which plainly ſhew them to have been burying-places ; but whether of the antient Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes, is not eaſy to determine, though the firſt ſeems moſt probable upon one account, which the reader will find in the margin (R). Theſe barrows however are ſo thick about

The barrows or burying-places.

[k] Stonehenge reſtored, p, 10, 43, & ſeq.

(R) The author obſerves, that the via Icenia, or Ikening-ſtreet, a road made by the Romans, which reached from Norfolk into Dorſetſhire infringes upon one of thoſe barrows, and croſſes ſome part of it ; from which it is reaſonable to conclude, that theſe barrows were older than that road (29).

In theſe barrows, beſides thoſe human and other bones, and materials, which have been digged out of them, there was a broad ſword taken out of one, and ſent to Oxford ; in another was found a weapon of the ſame metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel Wyndham ; out of a third was dug a braſs inſtrument, called celt, and is ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome druid, and to have been uſed for cutting the miſleto off the oaks. We have taken notice above, that the Gauliſh druids uſed one made of gold for that purpoſe. In one of the female barrows was found, beſides ſome other ornaments and trinkets, the head of a javelin of braſs, at the ſocket of which were two holes for the pins, that faſtened it to the ſtaff, and a ſharp bodkin, round at one end, and ſquare at the other, where it went into a handle. Some of the trinkets ſeem to have been originally covered with metal ; and one of them had ſtill a thin film

(29) Stukeley's Stonehenge, p. 3, & ſeq. Mona antiq. ſect. ix. p. 88, & ſeq. p. 92, & ſeq.

the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, that, from ſome heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in ſight [l]. Among them one may obſerve, in ſome places, two or more, ſometimes to the number of ſix or ſeven, incloſed in the ſame circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the reſt, and ſeems to be the tomb of ſome head of a family, and the reſt that of the family itſelf. The moſt remarkable of all the reſt are, that which is called the tomb of king Carviſius, who was the famed king of the Iceni, who fought againſt Julius Cæſar. It ſtands on the other ſide Wilton, antiently Carvitium, ſo named, as is ſuppoſed, from, if not built by, him. It is ſituate on an eminence, and of a handſome heighth, and has four tall ſtately trees planted on the top. From this mount you have the proſpect of Old and New Sarum, of Wilton houſe and park, the Ikening road, and ſome diſtant hills. The other, called Buſhbarrow, is beautifully planted by the ſhepherds, and commands the proſpect of Stonehenge, of the curſus or antient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, beſides a moſt elegant and ſpacious landſchape [m]. Thus much may ſerve to give an idea of the grand proſpect, which this noble ſtructure affords you from without.

Stonehenge probably a ſepulchral monument.

BUT, before we come to ſpeak of its ſymmetry, and the form and bigneſs of its ſtones, it may not be amiſs to obviate a difficulty, which will, in all probability, occur to our readers from what we have juſt now ſaid of thoſe barrows; for ſince they evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itſelf, which is, as it were, the centre and kebla of them, will not this deſtroy

[l] Ibid. p. 45. & plate xxxi.

[m] See p. 46. & plate xxxiii. & ſeq.

film of gold: all which ſufficiently ſhew this barrow to have been the ſepulchre of ſome heroine.

All that is further worth obſerving on this head is, that thoſe materials, as well as the bones, appear to have ſuffered the fire in ſome, though not in others. In ſome likewiſe the aſhes were depoſited in a ſmall urn of reddiſh earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally north and ſouth. From all which it is concluded, that the cuſtom of burning dead bodies was in uſe among the Britons, as well as that of burying without it, before the times of the coming in of the Romans.

deſtroy our ſuppoſition of the latter being likewiſe a ſepulchral monument? Will it not appear abſurd to ſuppoſe ſuch a noble fabric to have been ſubſervient to the ſame ends with thoſe hillocks, which are ſeen around it? And will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to anſwer, that we ſhould have made no difficulty of admitting it ſuch a temple, had we not ſo many convincing arguments, that neither Celtes, nor Gauls and Britons, had any ſuch buildings till long after the coming of the Romans. We have already given our reaſons, and hope they will appear as ſatisfactory to them, as they do to us, when duly weighed. However, to ſhew that our conjecture is not ſo inconſiſtent at the bottom, as it may appear at the firſt ſight, we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that there is a manifeſt difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is deſigned only to incloſe the remains, and the other to preſerve the memory, of the deceaſed. Theſe might be appropriated for the ſepulture of the great ones, and their family; and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards depoſited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the ſtone fabric might be the ſepulchre of kings, and conſequently deſerve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high eſteem; or more particularly of the head of that order, or grand druid, and require not only to make a more ſtately appearance, but likewiſe to bear ſome kind of affinity, as, in fact, it ſeems to do, in its ſtructure, to thoſe ſacred groves, in which they performed their religious ceremonies. But laſtly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the moſt probable conjecture, from the relation which thoſe barrows bear to the building, is, that this laſt was, as it were, the centre or kebla, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of diſtance, to all the reſt, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be deſigned, not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majeſtic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more eſpecially to thoſe of a ſuperior rank and merit, but likewiſe to aſcertain the property of each barrow to its reſpective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they ſtood eaſt or weſt, &c. from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compaſs, and of geometry, is evident from the very planting, ſtructure, ſituation and ſymmetry of the

fabric, as has been demonſtrated by our author himſelf, as well as by ſome others, who have written before him of it.

THIS conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile ſeems to confirm it, (viz. the long and ſpacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itſelf at a convenient diſtance, the one road towards the curſus, and the other to Radſin and the adjacent plains, the ſituation and ſtructure of the edifice, its proſpect and command over all the country, eſpecially the barrows and curſus, above-mentioned) we may carry it on a little farther, and ſuppoſe the corſe of the deceaſed, eſpecially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to have proceeded with a ſuitable funeral pomp, ſuch as we have formerly ſhewn was obſerved by the Scythians to their monarchs [n], from the place of his reſidence to this ſepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it, which conſiſted chiefly, at leaſt as far as related to their office, in offering ſacrifices, rehearſing the genealogy and heroic exploits of the dead, ſinging their encomia on him and his anceſtors, and, if the body was to be burnt, in aſſiſting to, if not performing, that ceremony, committing the aſhes to the funeral urn, and conveying it, with all its apparatus of ornaments, weapons, &c. to the proper place of its interment. The area on the outſide might ſerve for exhibiting ſuch games, ſhews, and fights, as were uſual on ſuch occaſions, to the numerous ſpectators round about, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place. After which, the company might proceed to the curſus, and there cloſe the ceremony with races, and other ſuch-like exerciſes. Every one of theſe places ſeems indeed ſo excellently ſituate, as if they had been deſigned for this grand ceremony. They all ſtand at a convenient diſtance from one another, and each commands the proſpect of the others, and may be viewed at a great diſtance by the largeſt number of ſpectators which we can ſuppoſe to have aſſiſted at it. We ſhall only add, that this notion, which we have been offering here, doth include all the various conjectures, which our beſt antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various antient traditions of it, or from their own diſcoveries. It anſwers to that of a temple, by reaſon of its ſacredneſs, its reſemblance to the antient religious groves, and

[n] See vol. v. p. 450.

and the ſacrifices and other rites performed there. It anſwers to that of a ſepulchral monument, on account of its being appropriated to the grandeſt funeral ceremonies, and its being the centre or kebla to all the adjacent monuments round about: to that of an amphitheatre, on account of the funeral games and ſhews exhibited at it; and may alſo have ſerved for a convening-place of the national council for the election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand druid, whilſt rhey aſſiſted at the obſequies of a deceaſed one. Laſtly, it appears not to have been reared by either Romans, Saxons, or Danes, becauſe it is evidently prior to them all, for the reaſons we have alleged a little higher, to which we ſhall ſubjoin one more, as we are come now to ſpeak of the huge ſtones, that compoſe this ſtupendous fabric.

The ſtones whence and how brought hither.

We have already hinted, that their monſtrous largeneſs, joined to their apparent great diſtance from any quarry, and the many ups and downs through which they muſt have been conveyed hither, led the unthinking vulgar into the notion, that they were brought hither by magic, or the help of demons, according to ſome, and by giants, according to others, either of which were readily enough ſuppoſed able to bring them upon their backs from Africa (S); whilſt the wiſer ſort rather imagined them to be factitious, and caſt from ſome ſuch compoſition as ſand and morter, and the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion, as we hinted in a late note, has been ſufficiently, and, we may ſay, experimentally, diſproved, though to the great detriment and diſfiguring of the ſtones themſelves, and the endangering of the ſtructure. Theſe ſtones, rough and battered as they have been by theſe pretended curioſoes, as well as by a long ſeries of ages, appear to have been originally ſmoothed by the chizel, at leaſt as far as they ſtand above ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth, it ſhews itſelf, upon digging round it, to be in its primitive roughneſs, and as it was digged up out of the quarry, or, as our author rather ſuppoſes, and with greater ſeem-

ing

(S) From a notion, which our author has likewiſe adopted, which ſuppoſes Afer to have been the ſame with Hepher, one of the ſons of Abraham by Keturah, to have come hither from Africa with Hercules, and to have brought with him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now ſpeaking of,

ing probability, as they were found lying on the ſurface of the ground in great numbers, and various dimenſions, perhaps ever ſince the creation of the world (T), and as they are to be ſeen ſtill in vaſt quantities upon Marlborough downs near Abury, at a place called from thence the Grey Wethers, and are of the ſame kind, viz. a baſtard white marble. Hence another argument is drawn of its being of antienter date than the coming of the Romans; for, by this time, the Belgæ, a colony of the Gauls, had ſeized upon, and ſeated themſelves in, that part of the country; ſo that the Britons muſt have fetched theſe ſtones from, and drawn them ſome miles through, an enemy's country, unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that thoſe Belgæ were the builders of Stonehenge; which is leſs probable than that the Britons did, becauſe theſe have left ſuch kinds of monumental piles where-ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher.

their bulk and weight.

The difficulty is, to convince how ſtones of that immenſe weight, one of which, though neither the largeſt nor heavieſt, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and conſequently would have required

(T) This is at leaſt our author's conjecture (30), which we muſt be content to ſubmit to our readers, till a more probable one be found out. We never had an opportunity of viewing thoſe Grey Wethers but at a diſtance, whence they appeared as huge ſtones dug from ſome neighbouring quarry, which, though not now to be found, might have been exhauſted, or covered up; in which caſe, theſe might have been deſigned by our antient Britiſh druids for ſome other edifices of the ſame nature, which they were obliged to ſet aſide, upon their being forced from this iſle into thoſe of Ireland, &c. and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place; but doubtleſs our author, who has been a curious examiner into all theſe particulars, had his reaſons, though he doth not mention them, for not thinking them to have been dug out of any quarry, but to have lain there ſcattered from the beginning.

One thing is remarkable, that all theſe Britiſh ſtructures in Wiltſhire, and no others, are built of the ſame kind of ſtone as that of the Wethers; whereas the cathedral of Saliſbury, all their great churches, and other large edifices, are of quite another kind, and were hewn out of the quarry called Chilmark, in the ſame county and neighbourhood.

(30) B. Montfaucon. ſeplem. de l'antiquit. Mahudei. Relig. des Gaul. Keyzler. Chorier. Hiſtor. Delphinal. La Faille annal. Toloſan. & al.

required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original ſeat to Stonehenge, which is ſixteen computed miles, and along ſuch uneven ground, and in ſuch quantities as compoſe the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been ſunk into the ground by ſuch a monſtrous weight, unleſs it be that of rollers; but even this muſt appear a more than Herculean labour; the arduouſneſs of which cannot be extenuated, but by the ſuppoſition, that the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, of the nation contributed their help towards it, in their turns.

Diſpoſition and form.

THE rearing of them afterwards in ſuch form and ſituation, was a work of no leſs difficulty; for though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they were all pecked and chizelled, had their mortiſes and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the deſign, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will eaſily perceive what an immenſe labour it muſt be to rear ſtones of that vaſt bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at ſuch due diſtances, that the architraves or impoſts, that locked them to each other at the top, ſhould fall ſo exactly every mortiſe upon his own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of theſe tenons are ſo exactly fitted to its mortiſe, that if either of the ſtanding ſtones had been ſet ever ſo little out of its place, and perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due diſtance and poſition; eſpecially conſidering that there were at leaſt fifteen in number of this large ſort, ſet up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, neareſt to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigneſs. Each tenon is a druidiſh cubit, ſomewhat above twenty inches in diameter (V) on the broadeſt ſide; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortiſes exactly anſwerable

(V) Dr. Stukeley hath clearly demonſtrated, that this fabric was never built according to the Roman meaſure, from the great number of fractions and uncouth numbers, that occur in the meaſuring of each part, but according to the antient cubit, &c. which was common to the Hebrews, Phœnicians, Egyptians, &c. as well as, as it appears here, to the druids and antient Celtes. His proofs the reader will ſee in the work itſelf (31); for it is not for us to dwell on thoſe.

(31) P. 6, & ſeq. & plat. vi.

ſwerable to it. By this contrivance the impoſts or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and theſe are kept firm to each other. Where the impoſts are heavieſt, the tenons are ſhorteſt; and where thoſe are lighteſt, and conſequently more in danger to be ſhaken, as in thoſe of the outward circle, theſe are made longeſt, and the mortiſes deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impoſt be divided into three ſquares, the two mortiſes will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they interſect is the center of the mortiſe; which central diſtance from one to the other is ſeven druidiſh cubits, or about eight of ours. We might mention ſeveral other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from ſuch plain and ſimple principles, as would beſt anſwer every purpoſe of the grand deſign; but for theſe we muſt, in a work of this nature, refer our readers to the author's account [o], to avoid prolixity. But from what has been ſaid, the reader may frame an idea of the curiouſneſs, as well as arduouſneſs, of the work, which, conſidering its regular complexity and ſymmetry, muſt be owned to outvie all that we read of ſingle obeliſks, pillars, and ſtatues, how gigantic ſoever, if we except the pyramids of Egypt, and the Rhodian coloſſus, of which we have given an account in former volumes [p].

The fabric deſcribed.

THE whole fabric conſiſted of four circles, or rather ovals, of ſtones, the moſt conſiderable of which had ten uprights, and five architraves or impoſts, making up five trilithons, each trilithon conſiſting of two uprights and one impoſt, which locked together at the top by the tenons and mortiſes above-mentioned. Theſe trilithons were not all of the ſame height, as our author obſerved, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegancy; but each of them raiſed its head or impoſt ſomewhat higher, as it drew neareſt to that before which the altar is judged to have ſtood, and which appears to have been not only the higheſt, but fineſt, both for the ſmoothneſs and beauty of the ſtones. The height of theſe trilithons, with their architrave or cornice, is computed in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimenſion in a work ſo decayed by time and weather; the uprights being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and leſſening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and a half, making up

[o] Ubi ſup. p. 26, & ſeq. vol. vii. p. 400, & ſeq.

[p] See vol. i. p. 570, & ſeq.

up the complement of twenty-four feet. Theſe impoſts, on the outward face, bore the ſame ſweep with the oval which they compoſed; but, on the inſide, went in a ſtrait line. They ſeem likewiſe to have been ſomewhat broader on the top than at the bottom; ſo that their ſides bear a little ſlant downwards, whether to preſerve them the better from the weather, or to make up the ſhortening, which is cauſed by their elevation from the ſight. The gradual aſcent of theſe three orders, as they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to our author [q], thirteen, fourteen and fifteen druidiſh cubits. The breadth of each trilithon is computed, in a medium, about ten cubits of the ſame meaſure, and is conſequently the length at leaſt of the impoſt. Each upright is about three feet nine inches thick, and twice that, i. e. ſeven feet and an half in breadth, or four cubits and an half druidiſh. Each trilithon, which compoſes this oval cell, ſtands at ſuch convenient diſtance from the other, as to yield a beautiful proſpect into it, which is not a little heightened by the ſpace which ſtands between the two uprights, and which widens upwards, as theſe leſſen in their breadth, and form an oval from its two centres, whoſe longeſt radius is fifteen, and ſhorteſt twelve, druidiſh cubits; ſo that the ellipſis is formed by a line of ſixty cubits; which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longeſt, and twenty-five at the ſhorteſt, five cubits being the ſuppoſed diſtance between the two centres (W).

THIS was the figure and greatneſs of that which Mr. Jones called the cell, and our author the adytum or the concha, of, what they ſuppoſed the fabric to be, the temple, and which we have taken the more pains in deſcribing, as it is indeed the grandeſt part of the whole. As for the remainder of the ſtructure, though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we ſhall

[q] P. 26.

(W) Hence, among ſeveral other arguments, one may infer, that this nich or cell could not be originally ſuch an hexagon, as Mr. Jones ſuppoſed it; much leſs could it be formed, as he pretended at the ſix points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this had been the caſe, there muſt have been ſix inſtead of five trilithons; but here is not the leaſt footſtep of a ſixth, no ſtump or fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be ſuppſed to have ſtood; ſo that three ſtones of that immenſe weight and magnitude, as we have deſcribed them, muſt be imagined to have been ſpirited away by the ſame magic art, by which the vulgar ſuppoſed the whole to have been reared, before we can think, that it ever had this trigonometrical form,

ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much leſſer, though harder and finer ſtones. This circle, together with the long ſtone now broken, which is ſuppoſed to have been the altar; and is of a darkiſh-blue marble, ſuch as is often ſet upon common altar tombs, and about ſixteen feet in length, conſiſts of twenty ſtones, the greateſt part of which are ſadly broken and mangled; but not ſo much as to hinder a curious obſerver from recovering the form and order in which they ſtood, though their uſe and deſign is hard to be gueſſed at. Another circle or oval of forty ſtones ſurrounded the cell or adytum at a proper diſtance. Theſe were likewiſe of a much leſſer ſize; after which one comes out to the greateſt or outer circle, compoſed of thirty ſtones, likewiſe harder, and ſomewhat of a pyramidal form. It ſeems as if the founders had wiſely provided, that their leſſer bulk ſhould be compenſated by their ſolidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, conſiſted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preſerved the ſame diſtance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; whereas, in the former or outward circle, the ſtanders were joined by a continued cornice. Each ſtander or upright here had two tenons, at equal diſtances on the top, by which the two impoſts were locked by their mortiſes, and ſo continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was ſurrounded by a vallum or deep ditch at a proportionate diſtance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual aſcent up to the fabric, afforded a noble proſpect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed from it all the champaign country round about it. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for us to ſay on this ſtupendous Britiſh fabric, which has aſtoniſhed and puzzled all the architects, antiquaries, and curioſoes, that have either ſeen or read of it. We hope we have made a ſufficient apology for our anticipating this ſhort account of it here, which might otherwiſe have more properly belonged to the Britiſh hiſtory; and that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the moſt conſiderable and curious part of it, will not take it amiſs, that we have not followed his hypotheſis of its having been a druidiſh temple, when he conſiders the reaſons we have given for aſſerting, that neither Gauls, Germans, nor antient Britons, had ever any ſuch buildings, till long after their being conquered by the Romans, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongſt them, that is, the worſhip

of

of Jupiter Mars, Mercury, and a great number of other inferior deities. How and when this was moſt probably brought about, we ſhall endeavour to account for in the next ſection.

SECT. III.

How and when the antient Gauls introduced the worſhip of inferior deities among them.

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of Cæſar, Strabo, Lucan, and others, that though the Romans had had a conſiderable footing in Gaul before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to perſuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, Cæſar would not have failed hinting ſomething of it, it being one of the chief maxims of his republic, to ſpread their religion, laws, and cuſtoms where-ever they came; ſo that, if the Gauls had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any ſuch temples in their country, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took ſuch pleaſure to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the Roman intereſt, and to a fondneſs for ſome of their cuſtoms. Since then there is not the leaſt hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may ſafely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign cuſtom, tho' could it be made appear, that any ſuch ſtructures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the Gauls, but would appear more probably to have been done by the Romans, who, as we obſerved at the beginning of the laſt ſection, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and ſtatues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas the Gauls made it a conſtant maxim of theirs to wage open war againſt, to plunder and demoliſh, all ſuch ſtructures, from a principle bred amongſt them, in common with the Perſes, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made Cicero, who was not deeply verſed in the Gauliſh religion, ſay, that it chiefly conſiſted in a hoſtile contrariety to all others (A).

When temples, altars, and ſtatues, began to be reared in Gaul.

WE

(A) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a deſign to make his client's cauſe appear

We cannot affirm with the ſame certainty, that they did not imitate the Romans in another part of their religion, the worſhip of a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, before their conqueſt. We are told, that they worſhipped Mars under the emblem of a naked ſword, and that Mercury was in the higheſt veneration among them all over Gaul [a], doubtleſs on account of the vaſt benefits and improvements, which their trade, commerce, arts, and ſciences, had received from him, and of which we have ſpoken in a former volume [b]. Here is indeed no mention of temples, altars, but only of ſtatues reared to them; and probably that worſhip might, at firſt, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheiſm. Theſe two deities, as well as Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Venus, Diana,

[a] Comment. ubi ſup. l. vi. [b] See vol. v. p. 434, (D), & ſeq.

pear more juſtifiable (1), he expreſſes himſelf in theſe virulent terms againſt the Gauls, that they profeſſed no other religion than that of waging war againſt thoſe of all other nations, and againſt the very gods themſelves. He accuſes them of having left their native ſoil, and croſſed immenſe tracts of land, merely to go and attack the Delphic Apollo, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldneſs to beſiege our capitol, and even the great Jupiter himſelf in it.

We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, to explode the greateſt part of this charge, for which that orator ſo foully inveighs againſt them. All that we ſhall obſerve here is, that they had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended ſanctity of their temples, but rather a ſingular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this ſhews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the Greek or Roman rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be obſerved, that the general character, which the authors of both theſe nations give of the Gauls, is a continued contradiction, one while repreſenting them as people of no religion or principles, and at other time as the moſt addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were ſo tenacious, that they deſpiſed all others for the ſake of it.

(1) Orat. pro M. Fonteio.

Diana, &c. being all of Celtic extraction, as has been formerly ſhewn, it was much more natural for the Gauls to deify them, as having formerly reigned over their nation, than for the Romans and Greeks to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in proceſs of time, to ſtrive to outvie them in thoſe divine honours, which the reſt of the world paid to them. This will, in ſome meaſure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they ſuffered to be made in their antient religion, for thoſe temples which they erected, and for thoſe ſacrifices which they offered, to all thoſe deified monarchs, till at length they ſunk down into the ſame abſurd notions concerning them with the reſt of the idolatrous world; and the notion of Eſus, or ſupreme Deity, was ſwallowed up into that of a Jupiter, as it had been every-where elſe; and this might reach no farther neither than the vulgar, whilſt the druids and wiſe men among the Gauls, as well as the philoſophers among the Greeks and Romans, ſtill preſerved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the reſt of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and fooliſh ſuperſtition.

The druids forced to it.

BUT neither is this account altogether ſatisfactory, conſidering the averſion and contempt which the Gauls had of all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can ſhew, with any probability, that they were rather forced to it by thoſe, under whoſe tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of reſpect for their deceaſed princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to ſuch a brave and warlike nation as the Gauls, among whom one conſtant maxim was univerſally followed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, to prefer the worſt of deaths to the loſs of liberty, the Roman yoke muſt appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to ſubmit to it longer than they were forced to it by the ſuperior power of their tyrants; and as theſe made it their conſtant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averſe to all ſuch changes, and uſe all their power and authority, which was ſtill very great, and almoſt uncontroulable (B), either to oppoſe

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very antient date; and that they raiſed themſelves to it in proceſs of time, by the help of the people's

oppoſe them, or to prevail on the people to ſhake off the yoke. This their hiſtory will ſhew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity for the Romans to find out ſome plauſible pretence to ſtrip them of their great ſway, and force them to a blind and thorough ſubmiſſion. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral emperors took an effectual method to ſuppreſs the druidiſh power (C), by iſſuing out ſome ſevere edicts againſt their bloody

people's ſuperſtition. Antiently the women ſeem to have had a greater ſway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their firſt expedition into Italy; and it appears that they held it ſtill, when Hannibal paſſed through Gaul to croſs the Alps; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a Gaul offered any injury to a Carthaginian, he ſhould be tried before the court of the Gauliſh women (2). The reaſon of this great ſway is variouſly accounted for: ſome think, that they were looked upon as inſpired; others think, it was owing to their having ſhewn a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themſelves. The Germans, according to Tacitus (3), allowed them the very ſame privileges; and we find ſomething like this practiſed by the Elians, who, having in vain ſued for ſatisfaction from Demophoon tyrant of Piſa, agreed with the Piſans, after his death, to ſubmit their difference to a court of ſixteen women, to be choſen out of ſixteen cities of the Elians. Our author adds (4), that their deciſion ſo pleaſed both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of ſixteen matrons to preſide over the Junonian games, and to aſſign the prize to whom they thought worthieſt of it.

However, with reſpect to the Gauliſh women, though we cannot aſcertain the time when they loſt this their authority, yet it is plain, by what Cæſar ſays of that extenſive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to ſtrip thoſe female heroes of theirs.

(C) We are told by three Roman authors, that Claudius did quite aboliſh this ſect, and their inhuman ſuperſtition (6). The laſt quoted calls him indeed Tiberius, from which ſome have aſcribed this edict to the emperor of that name, though wrongfully; for he only calls Claudius by his prenomen, Claudius being called Tiberius Claudius Nero Druſus; and it doth not appear,

(2) Plut. de mulier. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vii. (3) Hiſt. l. iv. c. 61. (4) Pauſan. Eliac. (5) Comm. l. vi. (6) Suet. in vit. Claud. Senec. in luctu de morte Claud. Plin. hiſt. nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

bloody cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices. Auguſtus was the firſt who iſſued out a decree againſt them, and at the ſame time introduced a cenſus among the Gauls; upon which the whole nation was juſt ready for a revolt. But by the addreſs and authority of Druſus, who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from riſing, but prevailed upon to aſſiſt at the dedication of Julius Cæſar's temple, and to build an altar to Auguſtus [c]. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there, and the druids, by this time in leſs authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him; and this is the reaſon why Claudius renewed it againſt them. But, whatever the pretence of thoſe edicts might be, it is ſcarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, ſince none was exempt from this barbarous cuſtom, much leſs the Romans, as the reader may infer from what we have ſaid in their hiſtory, and elſewhere [d]. However that be, it doth not appear, that even theſe took any more effect againſt them than that of Auguſtus, ſince we find them ſtill not only in high vogue ſome centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors Severus, Aurelian, and Diocleſian. They ſubſiſted ſtill, even down to the times of Solinus Polyhiſtor, and of Euſebius of Cæſarea [e], and much

[c] See vol. xiii. p. 416. [d] See vol. xiv. p. 599, 600, 645. vol. xv. p. 104, 153. vol. xvi. p. 608, 639, & ſeq. [e] Polyhiſt. c. 21. Præp. evang. l. iv. c. 17.

appear, that the other Tiberius made any ſuch edict againſt that cuſtom, but only againſt aſtrologers, whom he baniſhed from Rome (7). And here we beg leave to rectify a miſtake, which inadvertently ſlided into our Carthaginian hiſtory (8), where we ſaid, that the emperor Tiberius puniſhed the African prieſts for their practice of theſe human ſacrifices; whereas it ſhould have been ſaid, Tiberius the proconſul of Afric under the emperor Adrian; for it appears by Tertullian's account of it, that his own father was a centurion under him (9); which can by no means agree with the rank, nor with the times of the emperor of that name. We hope our readers will be candid enough to overlook ſuch overſights in a work of this extenſive nature, eſpecially when they find how ready we are to acknowledge and rectify them, as ſoon as we have diſcovered them.

(7) Vide Xiphil. ex Dion. lvii. (8) Vol. xvi. p. 639. (9) Vide apolog. c. 9.

longer ſtill in their chief abode in the province of Chartrain, where whole towns continued in their antient paganiſm, even down to the fifth century[f]. Neither did thoſe edicts ſuppreſs the practice of human victims amongſt the Romans themſelves, among whom they continued to the time of Conſtantime the Great, and even down to that of Gratian, who gave the finiſhing blow to it[g].

How and where introduced.

FROM all this it appears very probable, that theſe edicts againſt the druids, and their bloody rites, were not ſo much iſſued out to aboliſh their ſect and religion, as to intimidate them, and ſuppreſs their exorbitant power, which, ſomewhat before this time, was grown to ſuch a height, that they over-ruled in all courts and councils, raiſed whom they liked to the higheſt dignities, and even to the crown, and often aſpired at and obtained it for ſome of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the Romans, could ſtir up the people to a general revolt; and ſo jealous were they grown of their uſurped authority, that they puniſhed, as we have hinted a little higher, all that diſobeyed or diſputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more ſuitable to the Roman policy, than to uſe all poſſible means to ſuppreſs and cruſh ſo dangerous a ſet of men; and ſince religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant ſway, ſo that there was no poſſibility of pulling down the one, without aboliſhing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to uſe all their power and addreſs to bring about ſuch a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongſt them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered them, when the Gauliſh nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no ſmall eaſe to be rid at leaſt of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, ſeemed the moſt intolerable of the two; for it muſt be remembered, that the Romans ſeldom made uſe of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promiſes, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the Roman authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrouled ſway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forſaken by their own people, they were at length forced

[f] Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 32.

[g] See vol. xiv. p. 645.

forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for, those of their conquerors.

THIS at least appears, by several concurring circumstances, to have happened about the time of these edicts; for, in Cæsar's time, who left the Gauls to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and customs, there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of worship, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the Lugdunenses building a stately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to Augustus, then on the throne, and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his successor Tiberius, their chief deity Esus is transformed into Jupiter the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it should seem, divides his worship with him for a while (D). Both are worshipped at first in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former is quite swallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and statues, are erected to him after the Roman manner over all the conquered parts of Gaul. After a few reigns more, during which they were still greatly oppressed,

Gaul at length overrun with them.

(D) This is inferred from some antient bas-reliefs found in the great church of Paris, in which both these deities are carved one close to the other, the inscription of which is indeed to Jupiter; but the ceremony of the oaky mistleto, with the words Senani veilo, shews, that Esus was looked upon still as the chief godhead there represented.

We would not rely too much upon these dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wrests according to his own favourite hypothesis. Sure it is, that, in the time of Maximus Tyriensis, who lived about an hundred years after Tiberius, Esus was already transformed into Jupiter, and worshipped under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old superstition to christianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large size, called the oak of Jove, and the strength of Jove (10). The same is said to have been done, with like success, by still later preachers (11). So long did this veneration for those trees continue, as one may say, in the heart of christianity. We may add, that the name of Jupiter doth not appear to have been adopted by the Gauls, but only that of Jove, which we have already shewn is of Celtic original (12).

(9) Max. Tyr. serm. xxxviii. (10) Hensch. apud relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c 5. (11) Bzovii annal. sub ann. 1233. ap. eand. (12) See before vol. v. p. 428, & seq.

and made ſeveral vain attempts to regain their liberty, eſpecially under Caligula and Claudius [h], who ſucceeded Tiberius, the whole country is filled with Roman temples, all their deities adopted and worſhipped, and ſcarce any traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to theſe new deities, and perhaps alſo in their auguries; which occaſioned the above-mentioned decrees againſt them. To theſe we may add the great veneration which they ſtill retained for their oaks, notwithſtanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to ſome authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of theſe was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by the inſcription engraven on a neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the margin (E). However, the ſluice thus broken, an inundation of ſuperſtition and idolatry enſued, which nothing could reſiſt; and the Gauls, having once ſhaken off the yoke of their druids, became ſo enamoured with the pagcantry of polytheiſm, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marſhes, and even fountains, to all which they aſcribed ſome peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the higheſt ſacrilege to fiſh in them, to draw or drain them, and eſpecially to lay hands on any treaſures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all theſe changes

Run into all kinds of ſuperſtition.

[h] See vol. xiv. p. 76, & ſeq.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. Severus, the inſcription engraven was to preſerve the memory of it; ARBOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERTIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and ſilver, which was laid out by that ſaint in the building of a church ſince dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (13).

(F) Of theſe lakes, fountains, &c. ſome were dedicated to one deity, ſome to another. Tacitus pretends to give us the reaſon why the Gauls deified them, becauſe, ſays he, they were nearer heaven, and conſequently nearer the ear of thoſe deities, to whom they pray from thence (14). This is a very fooliſh one; and it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they fanſied thoſe deities to be

(13) Jo. de Boſc. antiq. Vien. p. 4. Tableau des prov. Franç. tom. ii. p. 107. apud eund. (14) Annal. l. xv.

changes the druids found themſelves obliged to ſubmit, to avoid the penalties of thoſe edicts; and ſo compliable did they ſhew themſelves, that, from that time, whether to ſhew their complaiſance to the Romans, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of Senani, which, in their language, ſignified the ſame as elder or venerable with us. From hence we may date their downfal, though not their total abolition till ſome ages after; for, being once reduced to ſuch a low ebb of authority, or rather being once ſtripped of it, and become ſuch ſervile creatures to their new and potent maſters, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe would ever ſuffer them to recover it again, but, if they ſtill permitted them to make a gain of religion, it ſhould be only in the worſhip and rites of thoſe new deities, which they had now adopted. This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all kinds of Roman and Greek ſuperſtitions, or even to outdo them in it, ſince it would open a new door to their intereſt, inſtead of the old one that had been ſtopped up.

be more immediately preſent there. However, ſuch regard they had for them, that the ſame author tells us, that the Hermonduri and Catti waged a bloody war againſt each other for the property of one of theſe fountains, which was a ſalt one; and that the former at length gained their point againſt the latter, by a vow which they made to ſacrifice their enemies, and all their ſpoil, to Mars and Mercury; which was accordingly done; the Catti were all maſſacred without mercy, together with their horſes, cattle, and all their ſpoil, and flung into the lake (15).

However, unleſs it be upon ſuch bloody devowments, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, ſilver, rich cloaths, and other coſtly things, they flung into them, which it was ſacrilege to touch. We have ſpoken of the famous like of Tholouſe dedicated to Apollo, whoſe treaſures, eſpecially in gold and ſilver ingots, and maſſy utenſils, amounted to immenſe ſums, and was continually encreaſed by freſh offerings (16). In time theſe places became ſo liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, that they began to repoſit thoſe ſacred treaſures in their temples, of which they had ſoon after a vaſt number, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

(15) Ibid. ſub fin.

(16) Oroſ. l. v. c. 15. Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 9.

up. We have taken notice, in the laſt note, of the immenſe treaſures, which were flung into their conſecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine thoſe druids and prieſts to have been as ſcrupulous as the ſtupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uſes? But this we muſt ſubmit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we ſubjoin here ſome few more inſtances of this kind of ſuperſtition; for it were endleſs to mention them all, they were grown to ſuch number and variety.

One lake they had in ſome part of Gaul neareſt the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitiſh wings, which conſtantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it [i]. Amongſt others, it was much reſorted to in matters of controverſy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the ſame plank, which was ſet afloat on the lake, to be expoſed to theſe ravens, whoſe cuſtom, it ſeems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and ſcatter the other; and this laſt gave the cauſe to its owner. Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of Savoy, dedicated to the moon, under the name of Helanus, which ſignifies ſplendor. It was reſorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it, ſome cloaths, linen, fleeces of wool; others bread, cheeſe, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a ſumptuous feaſt, which laſted three whole days, a ſufficient quantity of proviſions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told [k], when they were ready to return home, there conſtantly aroſe ſuch ſtorms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives. We have taken notice how they uſed the waters of the Rhine to diſcover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their iſſue. They ſeem to have had a much greater veneration for this river, than for any other. The offerings and ſacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the ſight of it, or of any of its waters, inſpired the ſoldiers with courage and bravery [l]. Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by ſome deity, and had ſome peculiar and extraordinary virtues aſcribed to it, for the ſake of which the credulous

[i] Strab. l. iv. ad fin.
[k] Greg. Tur. glor. conf. c. 2.
[l] Tacit. hiſt. l. v. c. 18.

credulous people resorted to them in shoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability. Some others of their superstitions we shall haye occasion to hint in the sequel; and these shall suffice to shew into what lengths they ran in their imitation of the Greeks and Romans, and what profit their druids, bards, &c. are like to have made of them (G).

This multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marshes, &c. consecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars and statues to them after the Roman manner, and not only in great number, but some of them very stately, and in the grand taste, as one may infer from some remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in these they commonly sacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human sacrifices, they still offered them, it seems [m], under their oaks, and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the Romans, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or still retained their antient notion of that supreme being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, is not easy to determine (H). To give our readers a specimen of these new buildings, we are told, that the statues of these gods, such as Pennin, Mercury, Diana, &c. of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were placed sometimes on a pedestal, which served

[m] See relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15.

(G) It may not be amiss to observe here to our readers, that this deifying of lakes, rivers, and springs, might probably be owing to some extraordinary qualities and virtues they observed in their waters, especially such as were of a hot and medicinal nature. Even lakes and rivers, though less extraordinary on any such account, might yet rise to this height of veneration, on that of their perpetual flowing, and discharging such constant streams of water, without being exhausted; of all which the druids, though well enough acquainted with the natural reason, (for they were great philosophers) might yet make a mystery with the vulgar, for their own politic ends.

(H) The former seems the most probable, because they did likewise choose to offer these victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other desert and unfrequented places, which they chose sometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times

ſerved likewiſe for an altar, ſometimes on a column of a prodigious height [n]. In ſome they were expoſed to the open air, and in others ſheltered by an edifice of poliſhed ſtones in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no leſs rich and magnificent, witneſs that famed one called Vaſſo at Clermont in Auvergne, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outſide, with carved ſtones, and on the inſide with ſmall ones nicely wrought and poliſhed, and on the top incruſtated with marble, and compartments of Moſaic work. The pavement was likewiſe of marble, and the top covered with lead [o]. A learned French antiquary mentions eight of theſe ſtately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whoſe eight faces were adorned with a number of Gauliſh deities, generally eight in number in thoſe which he himſelf obſerved; which made him ſuſpect, that this combination of numbers contained ſome druidiſh myſteries, which are now quite out of our reach [p] (I). We ſhall refer our readers to the two authors

Their temples deſcribed.

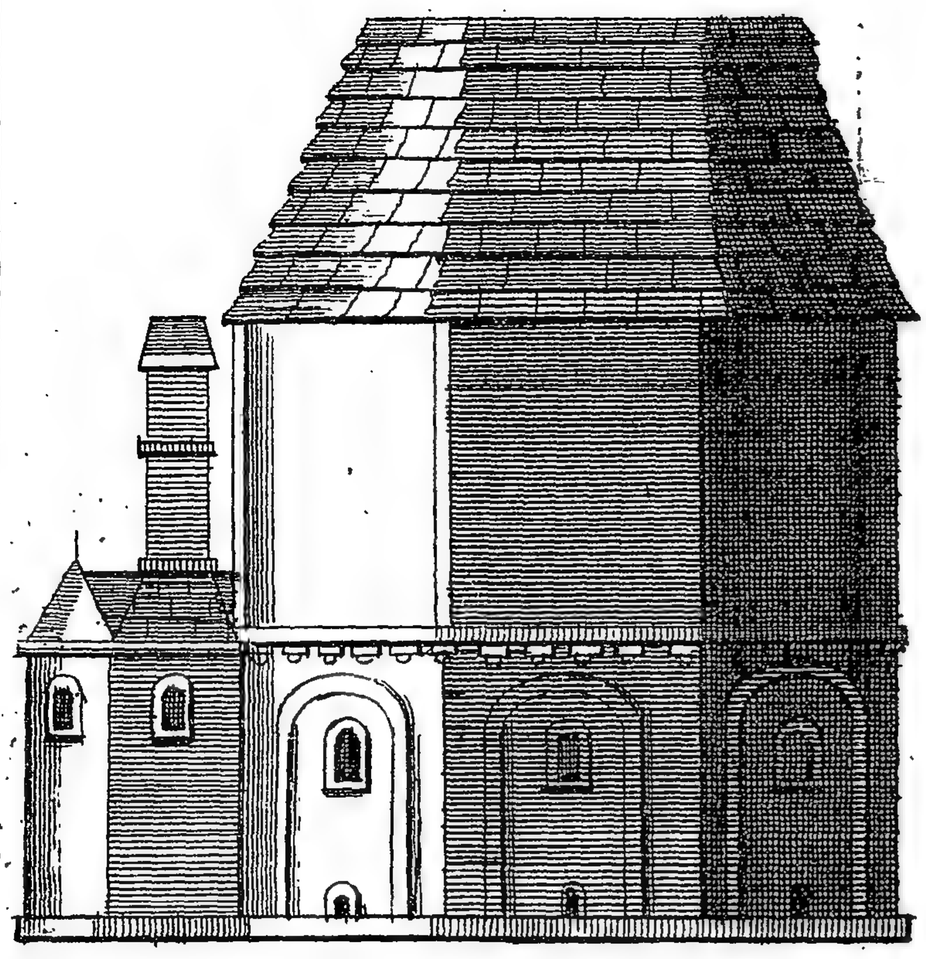
[n] Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 15. Sulp. Sever. dial. l. iii. c. 9, & ſeq. Guich. hiſt. des ſcavant. ap. relig. des Gaul. ubi ſup.
[o] Iidem ibid. [p] Suplement de l' antiq. tom. ii. See alſo relig. des Gaul. ubi ſup. c. 16, & ſeq.

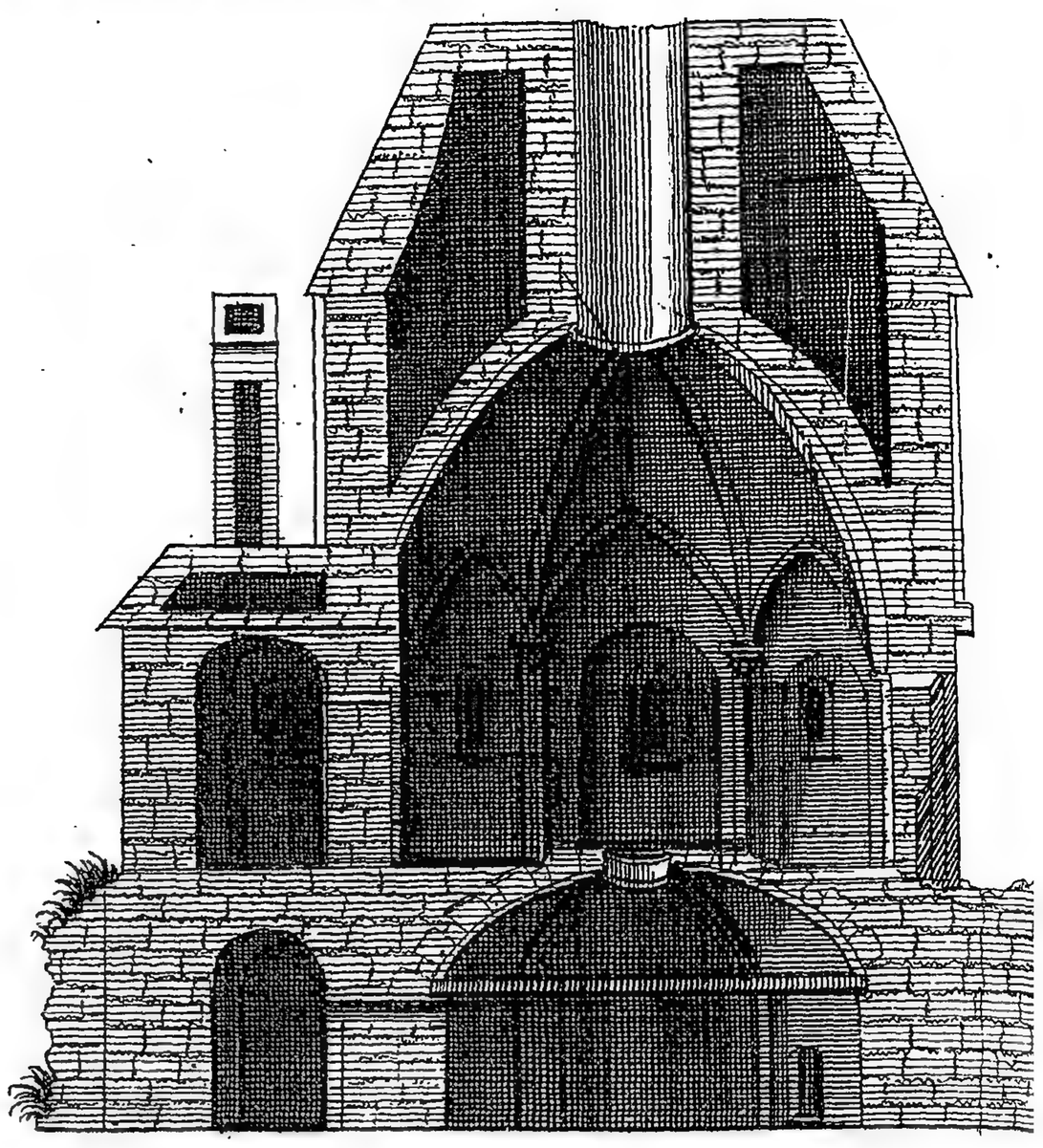
times by their auguries and lots: all which ſeems to intimate, that they avoided being ſeen at theſe bloody ceremonies by any other people (17), eſpecially the Romans, who had ſo ſtrictly forbid them.

(I) The author of the religion of the Gauls has however diſproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by ſhewing (18), that this octagonal form was common among the Romans, as well as the Gauls; and that the latter had temples of different forms, ſome round, ſome oblong, ſome decagonal, without any apparent myſtical deſign. The thing is not worth diſputing at this diſtance; and it doth not appear, that the Gauls had any ſuch regard for the number eight. They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe Pliny (19), for the number ſix, which was held ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they overturned the order of months, years, &c. in honour of it; but on what accout they did ſo, doth not appear.

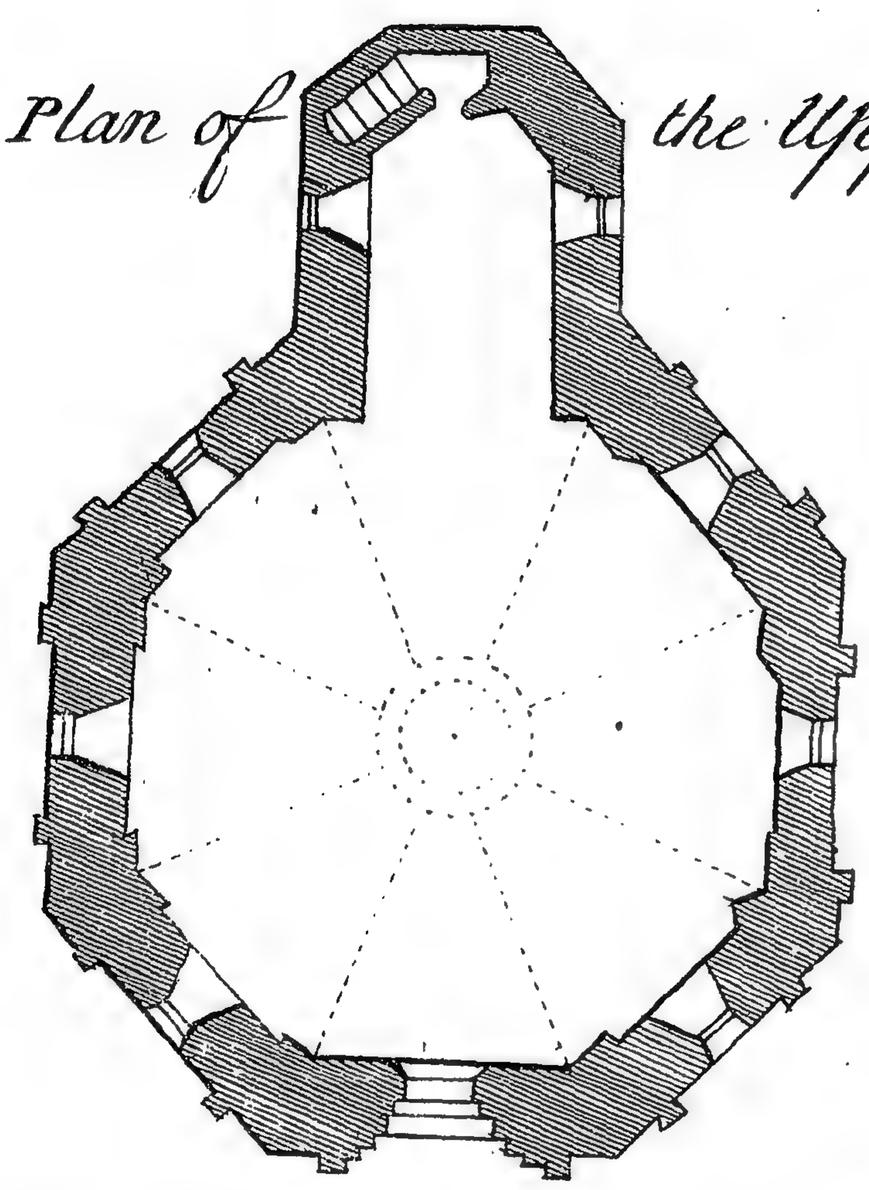
(18) Vide Burchard. decret. l. x. c. 10. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. apud relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. ad fin. (17) Ibid. c. 16. (19) Idem, l. xvi. c. 44.

PLAN OF Y^E FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON. BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.

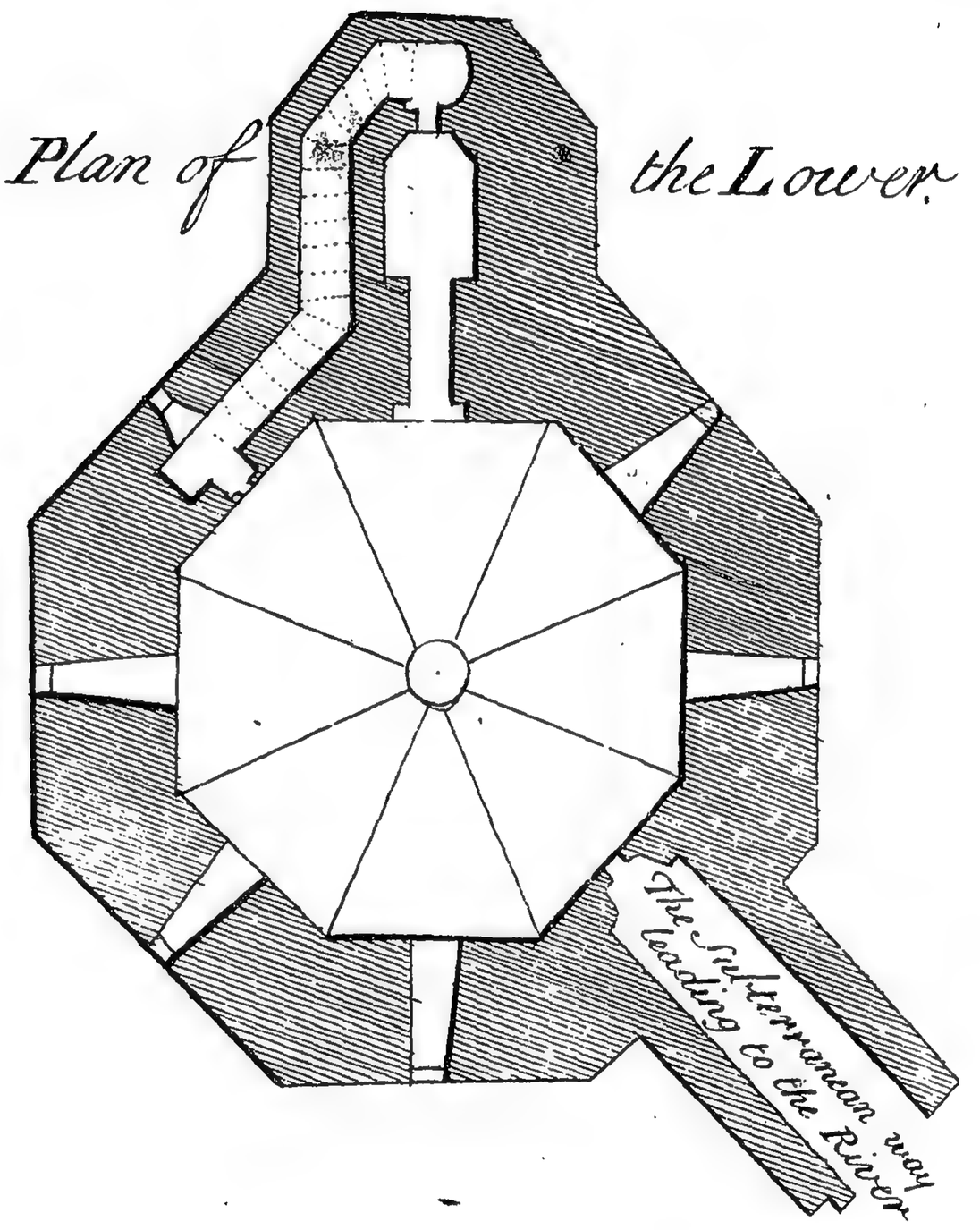




Plan of the Upper.



Plan of the Lower.



The side on w.ch the eight figures stand over the Temple gate.

The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.



P. Simms Sculpt

authors laſt quoted for a further account of thoſe famous edifices, that we may not draw this ſection into an exceſſive length, and content ourſelves with giving them a ſhort deſcription of one of the moſt curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which they may frame an idea of

(K) This octagonal ſtructure ſtands at Montmorillon, in the province of Poitou, and conſiſts of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, ſomewhat like our St. Faith and St. Paul, the loweſt of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric on the oppoſite ſide. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which reſembles that in the Rotonda of Rome, gives likewiſe ſome light to the building, tho' not much, becauſe it deſcends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain, that falls thro' it, gathers itſelf to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declenſion, and empties itſelf through another, and much leſſer hole, into the lower temple, and is ſucked up by the earth, this laſt having neither ſink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the ſides of the octagon, is equal to it, that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That, which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a ſtair-caſe, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the ſame age and ſtructure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of ſquare tower of about the ſame height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as ſome think, who imagine it to have been ſince turned into a church, is not eaſy to determine. This advanced building ſeems to have ſerved for a kind of veſtry to the prieſts and druids Juſt over-againſt this, acroſs the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one ſide of it, in the ſubterranean temple, begins a covert way above ſix feet broad, and about ſix hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the druids went to waſh themſelves, and their victims, whenever they performed the prieſtly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures, coarſely carved, ſuppoſed to have been ſo many Gauliſh deities. Of theſe, ſix are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are females. The former are differently

of the Gauliſh taſte in architecture. All that we ſhall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in ſome

ferently dreſſed. Thoſe that face you, and ſtand fartheſt out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one group the figure that faces you is ſhod, and the other two on each ſide are barefooted. In the other group, that which faces you is unſhod, and the other two ſhod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardleſs; ſo that in the firſt there are two old men unſhod, and one ſhod; and in the other two young men ſhod, and one unſhod. This odd contraſt was not, doubtleſs, without ſome myſterious meaning.

Of the two women, which ſtand one at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each ſide before her, and is dreſſed ſomewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of ſtiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her ſides, and hath a kind of mittens which cover about one-half-way her arms. That, which ſtands on the oppoſite ſide, is quite naked, and hath two ſerpents twiſted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breaſts, as if they were ſucking at them, whilſt ſhe holds them by her hands, as it were, cloſe to the ſides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author inferts, that that number was looked upon by the Gauls as ſacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intablature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly conſiſted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated, the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not eaſy to gueſs. As to the figures themſelves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we ſhall refer our readers to the place quoted in the margin (19): The naked woman, with two ſerpents, he ſuppoſes to have repreſented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their diſciples, and the number ſix to have been deſigned to ſignify the ſacredneſs in which it was held by the Gauls, it being on the ſixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the miſſeto, as we have already hinted. The ſerpents, ſucking at her breaſts, may ſignify properly enough the virtue, which that planet imparted,

(19) Idem, l. i. c. 31.

ſome of them, they ſeem to have had a vaſt number of ſtatues in them, which are ſince moſtly demoliſhed, upon their converſion to chriſtianity; and ſome of them, ſince dug up out of their ruins, are ſo ſadly broken and mangled, that it is hard to gueſs, whether they were Gauliſh deities, or ſtatues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, ſince the Gauls were grown ſo fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe with Montfaucon, that they might ſhew the ſame fondneſs for multiplying their idols in thoſe temples, in imitation of the Romans? A great many of theſe edifices have been preſerved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of chriſtianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demoliſhed, of which there are ſtill ſome fragments remaining, and may be ſeen more particularly deſcribed in the authors above quoted.

The gods worſhipped by the Gauls.

WE are now come to ſpeak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worſhipped by the Gauls. We have already ſeen, how their antient Eſus came to be changed into Jupiter, at firſt indeed under the ſymbol of an oak, and even of a ſhapeleſs ſtump of a tree. But at length, as they gave wholly into the Roman ſuperſtition, they came to erect altars and ſtatues to him, and to repreſent him after the Roman manner: thus in ſome antient ſtatues and bas-reliefs he is

parted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the ſnakes are ſaid to renew their age with their ſkins. As for the other woman, he ſuppoſes her to have been deſigned for Venus, becauſe ſuch a kind of figure had been dug up at Chalons, with her treſſes plaited ſomewhat like this. If ſo, we would rather ſuppoſe the three young men, which ſtand next to her, to have been deſigned for her prieſts. But if the naked one, ſuckling two ſerpents, ſignifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dreſſed in a cloſe-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been deſigned to expreſs the old one, and to ſignify, that, after ſhe is paſt the full, ſhe ceaſes to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well verſed, for thoſe times, in aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and much addicted to aſtrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the encreaſe of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, ſo her decreaſe did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?

is carved with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and bosom bare; his head is sometimes surrounded with a radial crown; his name of Jupiter is never met in any of his inscriptions; but only that of Jou, or Jovis, which, being of Celtic extract, was designedly retained by them, instead of the Roman. He is likewise surnamed Taran, which, in the same tongue, signifies thunderer: we would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this last name is the Taramis, or Taranis, of Lucan, or that the Gauls did not give it to any other god but the great Jupiter: but we may be well assured, that that of Jovis was peculiar to him, and has been preserved not only by the antient Gauls and Welsh, but is still retained by the French in many of their compound words (L). In that part of Gaul nearer the Alps he was called Peninus, and those high mountains Peninæ, from the old Celtic word Pen, which signifies an head, an height, a summit (M). He was represented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount St. Bernard the Less, by L. Lucilius, and is styled Optimus Maximous; whence it is concluded, that he was the same with the Gaulish Jovis. What seems to confirm this beyond all question, is, that the column on which it stood is

Jupiter.

(L) Particularly in those that follow Joudy or Jeudy, Thursday, or day of Jove; Joumont, Joubarb, the mount of Jove, a mountain so called by the Romans, and the beard of Jove, an herb so called, from its resemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of Taran, which is still kept in many words which express any loud and fearful noise, and from which we take the Greek ταραχὴ and ταράττω to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been also given to Mars, on account of the thundering noise which the Gauls made upon their shields, when they invoked him, either before an onset, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called Apenina by Cato the elder, who derives it from Apis, the first king of Italy, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (20). Servius (21) calls her Penina. But the figure and inscription which Guichenon has given us of it, shew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inscription is, LVCIVS LVCILIVS DEO PENINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(20) Apud Marcrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 21. (21) Comment. in Æneid. x.

is indifferently called the column of Jove and of Peninus, and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of Jove, and the eye of Peninus [l]; but, ſince by the eye of Jupiter was meant the ſun from all antiquity [m], and the carbuncle was a very proper emblem of this laſt deity, why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it rather than to Jupiter? However that be, as this laſt ſucceeded their great Eſus, they paid much the ſame worſhip to him, and, in particular offered human victims to him, as the Romans did to their Jupiter Latialis; ſome inſtances of which we have given in the laſt ſection of this chapter, and in a former volume [n].

THEIR next deity was Mars, whom they eſteemed as the chief protector of the Gauliſh nation. Their invincible warlike temper inſpired them with ſuch a veneration for, and confidence in him (N), that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their poſſeſſions, and about the time of the onſet they vowed to him all the plunder [o]. If they came off with victory, they frequently ſacrificed their priſoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their ſlain enemies about the necks of their horſes, in token of their valour. They even encloſed ſome of the moſt conſidera- Their cruel vows to him.

ble

[l] Guichenon. hiſt of Savoy, tom. i. l. i. c. 4. Vide relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 29. [m] Vide Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 21 [n] P. 453, & ſeq. (D). [o] Ulp. fragam. tit. 21. Comment. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Athen. l. iv.

(N) Julian the apoſtate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and ſucceſs of the Gauls to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (22). But it is far more reaſonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enſlaving Romans, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they antiently worſhipped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which ſquared moſt with their warlike temper, as we have had occaſion to hint in a former note (23).

(22) Vide Cyril. Alexand. l. iv. cont. Jul. (23) Before, p. 411. note (E).

ble ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occaſions, ſhewed them to ſtrangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them [o]. Another barbarous cuſtom they are juſtly branded with, of poiſoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a quite deadly quality [p]. In times of ſickneſs, or imminent danger, they immediately ſacrificed ſome human victims to Mars, or vowed to do it, as ſoon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in preſſing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to maſſacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or diſtinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worſhipped under the emblem of a naked ſword, and under the name of Mars or Mavors, or Mawr-ruiſc, which ſignifies warlike or powerful. Since then, we find him repreſented in the habit of a Roman warrior, with a ſpear in one hand, and a ſhield in the other, and with the ſurname of Camulus (O). We are told, that the Accitani of Spain, or the inhabitants of Cadiz, a Gauliſh colony, repreſented him ſurrounded with rays of light, becauſe, ſays our author [q], the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal ſpirits, which are the cauſe

[o] Strab. l. iv. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [p] Rhodig. l. xxiii. c. 12. [q] Macrob. Saturn l. i. c.

(O) This appears from two inſcriptions which Gruter has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods, viz. Arduinne, Camulus, Jove, Mercury, and Hercules, all which have their names engraven over their heads. The inſcription underneath ſhews it to have been dedicated to them by one Quartinus, who is there ſtyled Civis Sabinus Remus; from which that great critic, not obſerving, that the laſt word ſhews him to have been a citizen of Rheims, miſtook thoſe deities to be of Sabinian extract, and Camulus to be the ſame as Camillus (24), one of the names which the Sabines gave to Mercury.

But there is another inſcription, of older date by an hundred years, which ſhews, that the Rhemenſes in Gaul worſhipped Mars under that title. It runs thus; MARTI CAMVLO OB SALVTEM TIBERI CLAVDI CÆS. CIVES REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVERVNT (25). Hence it is plain, that if Camulus was known in that part of Italy, it was by means of this Quartinus, a Rhemiſh citizen, who dedicated this inſcription there to him, under the reign of

(24) P. 40. num. 9. (25) Idem, p. 56. n. 11.

cauſe of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the ſun. The variety of inſcriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, ſhews him to have been in the higheſt eſteem. We took notice formerly, that all the treaſures and plunder, that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as ſo ſacred, that no Gaul dared to meddle with them. Some ſtones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inſcription, appear to have been dedicated to him, and theſe heads to have belonged to thoſe human victims, which they were accuſtomed to vow to him in times of peril and ſickneſs In ſome of theſe inſcriptions he is called plainly Mars; in others he has the title of Segomen; in others Vincius or Britovius, the meaning of which names is not very clear. The reader may ſee the moſt probable conjectures about them in the next note (P).

Apollo of Antoninus; whereas that city appears, by the ſecond inſcription, to have dedicated their temple in that of Claudius: ſo that, upon the whole, all theſe five deities here appear to have been Gauliſh, not only by their names, which are of Celtic extract, but from the reſemblance of their dreſs, attitudes, &c. with thoſe that have been found among the antient monuments of Gaul, eſpecially in the the great cathedral of Paris (26).

As for the etymon of Camulus, it is not eaſily decyphered. It may be derived from the Celtic camp, a field of battle; from campa, to fight, and ulvu, a fire, blaze; whence perhaps the Greek cammonia, by which they called the victory gained in ſingle combat. It may perhaps alſo come from the cam or chant, or ſongs, which the Gauls uſed when they went to fight. But we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve throughout this work, that there is nothing more uncertain, and apt to miſlead men, than ſtrained etymologies. Beſides, the Gauls having received, as we have ſeen, their polytheiim from the Romans, it were unreaſonable to expect, that names and ſurnames of thoſe deities ſhould all be of Gauliſh extract. As for Arduina, her dreſs, as well as name, ſhews her to have been Diana, who was worſhipped in Gaul, as well as in Greece and Rome.

(P) That of Segomen appears to be Celtic, and ſignifies rich, or making rich. Hence the Segones, who inhabited the moſt fruitful part of Gaul, and were reckoned the moſt opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of Vincius ſeems to have been

(26) Vide relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 36.

Apollo. APOLLO was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of phyſic, as Mars was for being the god of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as prieſts, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their materia medica, which chiefly conſiſted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, which they uſed in the gathering, preparing, and adminiſtring (Q). The Aquileians and Tectoſagi choſe him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vaſt territory about Tholoſa, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is ſuppoſed to be the

been given him on account of his ſtately temple at Vincia, now Vences, in Provence; and, in all likelihood, that of Britovius from ſome other city, where he was more particularly worſhipped; perhaps that of Britonium, in Galicia, which was a colony of the Gauls, and became afterwards an epiſcopal ſee, but is now deſtroyed (26).

(Q) We have already given ſome hints of this, in ſpeaking of their miſſeto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were needleſs, as well as tedious, to follow them through all their other ſuperſtitious quackeries; but one inſtance we cannot omit, becauſe it ſhews not only the ſtupidity of them, but likewiſe their fondneſs for them; ſince this laſt continued in vogue, it ſeems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to Apollo, or Belenus, which they called, from him, Belinuncia, and the Romans Apollinaris; and is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of henbane. The Spaniards and Hungarians retain ſtill the former of theſe names, the one calling it Veleno, and theothers Belend. With the juice of this herb they poiſoned their darts, when they went a ſtag-hunting; and could poiſon the creature with a ſlight wound, and eſteemed the fleſh the more tender and luſcious for it. Amongſt other ridiculous uſes they made of this plant, the following is remarkable, as well for its oddity, as long continuance.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women aſſembled themſelves, and choſe from amongſt them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She ſtripped herſelf naked, and went at the head of the reſt, in ſearch of this herb, which they then called Bæliſa: when ſhe had found it, ſhe plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a ſtring, the other end of which was faſtened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company did then cut off each ſome bough,

(26) Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.

the ſame that is mentioned by an antient author [r], on account of Conſtantine's repairing thither, to give thanks for his late ſucceſs (R), and the extraordinary preſents he made to it; upon which occaſion that author ſtyles it the fineſt temple of Apollo that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vaſt number of niches and ſtatues, and, among the reſt, that of Apollo, repreſented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyriſt compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulneſs of the god, the grandeur of an emperor. Some words he adds, which ſeem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had juſtly promiſed him the empire of the world; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been, likewiſe, an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of Delphos; and that Conſtantine had been conſulting it. But we would not lay too great ſtreſs on the ſwoln expreſſions of a panegyriſt. However that be, as Apollo was the ſame deity with the ſun, the Gauls worſhipped him under ſeveval names, and different forms. He is ſometimes called Apollo, Belenus, and Abellion, which ſignify fair; ſometimes by the Perſic name of Mithras; ſometimes that of Penninus, of which we have ſpoken under that of Jupiter; and at other times Dolichenus. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with diving for freſh etymons of all thoſe names,

[r] Eumenius, panegyr. Conſtant ſub fin.

bough, and carried them in their hands after her, whilſt ſhe dragged the plant after her, towards the next river, where ſhe plunged it in the water: the reſt dipped, likewiſe, their boughs, and ſprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they ſet out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (27).

(R) Conſtantine had, it ſeems, juſt taken the city of Marſeilles, and in it Hercules his father-in-law, who had ſworn his ruin; ſo that he was now enabled to reſume the purple which he had been forced to quit. And this being before his converſion, he went to pay his acknowledgment to Apollo, at this ſtately temple, which, upon many accounts, is ſuppoſed to have been that of Tholouſe.

The ſame panegyriſt tells us, that there was another temple of that god at Autun, where there was likewiſe a ſpring of hot waters, which were uſed for the puniſhment of perjury, and which, though they ſent up a continual ſmoak, had neither ill taſte or ſmell, but were both pleaſant and wholſome.

(27) Idem ibid. Burchar. decret. l. xix. c. 5.

which may, perhaps, have risen from the places where he was more particularly worshipped, or from other circumstances not now to be come at. He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses [t]. In some antient bustoes found of him, as well as in some antient coins, he is represented with a pole, or ring (S), and a link of a chain fastened to his skull, by which he was, it is supposed, suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fansied to be suspended by a golden chain [u]. But, after all, might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of some vows which the Gauls, and others, used to make to the deity in time of sickness; and who, upon their recovery, hung up the promised figure in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned? One head of his was dug up at the castle of Polignac, which place is supposed to have been so called from Apollo, and is still there to be seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved on a bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, and is surrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the sun shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique, is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded, to be here represented as delivering his answers [w]. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become such zealous mimics of the Greeks and Romans, that we

[t] Vide Euripid. Phœniss. Ælian. varior. l. i. c. 20. [u] Idem ibid. Vide & Anaxag. & al. [w] Simoni Limag d'Auvergne, p. 123 & seq. Corneil. diction. histor. relig. des Gaul. l. xi. c. 27.

(S) To understand what the antients meant by these kinds of poles, we must have recourse to Diodorus Siculus, who is the only one that has given us any light in it, and who, speaking of Alexander's funeral procession from Babylon to Alexandria, tells us, that in the canopy which was over the car, or herse, there was a pole so nicely wrought, that neither the roughness of the roads, nor the jolting of the wheels could move it (28). Hence his interpreters have concluded this pole to have been a kind of hinge, or ring, to which a certain number of springs were fastened, which kept the whole machine tight, and immoveable (29). And hence it is supposed to have been called a pole, from the number of chains and springs which centred in it to keep the hanging statue steady. But whether they have hit the point, we will not affirm.

(28) Hist. lib. xviii. (29) Antiquit. expliq. tom. v.

we need not doubt but they had ſome one or more of theſe oracles among them, though we could not find any other footſteps of it. There is an inſcription, in this temple, of Polignac, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary above quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor Claudius, who was of Lions, and conſequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this caſtle, and had been there, perhaps, either to conſult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very ſickly prince when he cauſed his name and titles to be ſet up there. For Cæſar tells us, that even in his time the Gauls looked upon Apollo as the god of phyſic [x]; and another author adds [y], that the ſick perſons that addreſſed themſelves to him for health, uſed to ſend thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or caſt in braſs. At Marſeilles was found a ſtatue like that of a Roman warrior armed cap-à-pé, about eleven or twelve feet high, and ſtanding on the crupper of a bull, between the belly of which, and the pedeſtal on which it ſtands, is carved an eagle, as it were, ſitting ſquat; and on the pedeſtal an inſcription, importing, that Octavius Paternus had dedicated it to the god Dolichenius. The bull and the eagle has made ſome antiquaries ſuppoſe that deity to have been Jupiter; but another author, often quoted in this ſection, has given ſome convincing proofs that it was Apollo: we ſhall refer the curious, for thoſe proofs, to the book itſelf [z], to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with reſpect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a Greek one, and ſignifies, according to ſome, a hippodrome, according to others, the poſts that directed the races, ſeems to intimate, that Apollo was looked upon by the Gauls to preſide over thoſe exerciſes.

But the deity in greateſt veneration among the Gauls, was Mercury. Mercury. We have already given ſome reaſons for it in the Celtic hiſtory [a]. Other deities had particular cities and provinces where they were more particularly worſhipped; but this, after he was adopted as the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was antiently eſteemed the author, and chief promoter, in Gaul, but likewiſe of arts and ſciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, ſtatues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is

[x] Com. ubi ſupra. [y] Greg. Turon. vit. patr. c. 6. [z] Relig. des Gaules, ubi ſupra. [a] Vol. v. p. 413, (D) & 433, & n. (Y) (Z).

called, by ſeveral antient authors, Theutat, and Theutates [b], the ſignification of which name we have given, as well as that of Mercury, in the volume above quoted; and we need not doubt but they both meant the ſame deity, or that he was worſhipped under both by the Gauls, ſince both are of Celtic extract, and expreſſive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of Theutat ſignifying the father of his people, they acknowledged him under that name, at firſt, as their founder; and afterwards boaſted

[b] Lucan. Pharſal. l. i. Liv. decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. Lactant. & al.

(T) To theſe two names, and thoſe we mentioned in a former volume, we muſt add that of Ognius, mentioned by Lucan, and which, though that author gives to Hercules, by miſtake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to Mercury. The deſcription he gives of him, as he ſaw it in Gaul, being ſomewhat curious, though the humour of it be ſomewhat exaggerated, we ſhall give our Engliſh readers the ſubſtance of it.

"The Gauls, ſays he, call Hercules Ognius, and repreſent "him as a decrepit old man, bald, wrinkled, and weather-beaten, "like ſome old ſailor. One would ſooner take him for old "Charon, or any one elſe, than for Hercules. But if one con- "ſiders him with his lion's ſkin, the bow and quiver in his left, "and the club in his right hand, he looks quite like a Hercules. "What is moſt curious, is, that the good old man holds a mul- "titude of people tied to him by the ear; the chains are of gold "and amber, and, though very fine and ſlight, not one of them "ſeems to ſtrive to break them, or even unwilling to follow him. "On the contrary, they ſeem ſo pleaſed, and the chains ſo looſe, "that there appears a viſible eagerneſs in them to keep cloſe to "him. His hands being both full, the painter has repreſented "thoſe chains as faſtened to a hole boared through Ognius's "tongue, whilſt he looks back ſmiling on his followers."

Lucan, having expreſſed his ſurprize at the oddneſs of the picture, introduces a Gaul accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: "You will ceaſe to be ſurpriſed at it, when I tell "you, that we Gauls make Hercules the god of eloquence, con- "trary to the Greeks, which give that honour to Mercury, who "is ſo far inferior to him in ſtrength. We repreſent him as an "old man, becauſe eloquence never ſhews itſelf ſo lively and "ſtrong as in the old people. The relation which the ear hath to "the tongue, juſtifies the picture of the old man, who holds ſo "many people faſt by his tongue; neither do we think it any "affront to Hercules, to paint him with his tongue bored; "ſince, to tell you all in one word, it was that which made

"him

boaſted themſelves to be ſprung from him (V), in imitation of the Thracian kings, who were another branch of the an-

 tient

" him ſucceed in every thing; and that it was by his wiſdom " that he ſubdued all hearts unto him " Thus far Lucan: and it is not eaſy to gueſs whether he was impoſed upon by his Gaul, or whether he himſelf introduces this ſtory as a burleſque upon the Gauliſh nation, who depended ſo far on their ſtrength and bravery, whilſt they as much valued themſelves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and ſo expoſe them for their veneration for Hercules, rather than Mercury. It is plain, however, that theſe ſlight and brittle chains, which held ſo many pleaſed captives faſt by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to Hercules, in any caſe, but to Mercury, the god of eloquence; and are, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of antient mythologiſts. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, &c. were indifferently given to Mercury, to whom, we are told, Hercules conſecrated them, after ſome ſucceſsful fight againſt the giants (30). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor Commodus, who affected to appear at public ſhews in the habit of Mercury, uſed to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilſt his officers carried the club, lion's ſkin, &c. before him. And in giving theſe to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wiſdom and eloquence were, there could be neither ſtrength nor courage wanting; becauſe the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worſt, to ſupply the want of the latter.

Many other reaſons might be aſſigned to prove, that this picture of Ognius repreſented a Mercury, and not an Hercules; however Lucan came to give it to the latter (31), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unneceſſary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature: and thoſe who rather chuſe to follow that author, have a Hercules here as worſhipped by the Gauls, under the name of Ognius, or, rather, as joined into one with Mercury by them, as he was antiently by the Egyptians, and other nations. But it is plain Lucan had no mind to admit the latter amongſt the Gauliſh gods, when he makes him tell Jupiter, that he doth not know which way to ſummon theſe to the aſſembly; becauſe, as he was a ſtranger to their language, he could neither underſtand them, nor be underſtood by them (32).

(V) We are told, that the famed Pythagoras, having paſſed over

(30) Vide Pauſan. Corinthiac. Lil. Gyrald. hiſt. decr. ſyntagm. ix. (31) Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod. (32) Vide antiq. expliq. tom. i. relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 11, & ſeq.

tient Celtes. Mercury was with them the god of riches [c]; no man could attain to them without his help: and hence he came to be confounded with Pluto, and to ſhare in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to gueſs nearer to the truth, Mercury, being dead, became Pluto, the god of riches, and of the lower regions; and hence both Gauls and Thracians claimed their deſcent from theſe two deities, after they had, by length of time, ſplit them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inſcriptions ſhew, that not only Mercury, but even Venus and Mars, were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worſhipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in thoſe ſtatues and inſcriptions erected to him, with the goddeſs Poſtverta, to aſſiſt women in labour. This goddeſs has much puzzled all mythologiſts, and may be only an epithet of Proſerpine, whom, Strabo ſays, they worſhipped as their mother [d] (X); or, perhaps, of Diana, who had the ſame office. According to all theſe diſtinctions, one may reckon three Gauliſh Mercuries, or rather the ſame god worſhipped under three different titles, and repreſented in three different forms.

As

[c] Cæſar, com. l. vi. [d] L. iv.

over into Gaul, to learn the myſteries of the druids, was ſo taken with this notion of theirs, that he boaſted the ſame deſcent, and that that god had promiſed to grant him whatever favour he ſhould aſk, except that of being made immortal (33).

(W) DIIS INFERNIS VENERI, MARTI, & MERCURIO ſacrum (34). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an antient witty inſcription at Lyons, in Latin, to this effect. "Mercury promiſes you gain here, Apollo health, and Septu-"manus a lodging; but he that brings his dinner with him, "will fare the better. After this, ſtranger, you muſt look out "where to lodge (35)." As this city was one of the moſt trading ones in Europe, the ſcarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous Septumanus give ſtrangers this odd invitation.

(X) As ſhe was ſuppoſed to aſſiſt women in labour, the names of Poſtverta, and Anteverta, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right poſition for the birth. Thoſe who make two goddeſſes of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was paſt, and the other to prevent what was to come.

(33) Dial. Jupit. tragœd. (34) Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. i. Diog. Laert. l. viii. (35) Hiſt. de l'academ. des inſcriptions, tom. iii.

As the god of eloquence, he was repreſented in the manner we have deſcribed him from Lucan, in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's ſkin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was repreſented naked, and without ſex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, &c. He is under this head, likewiſe, repreſented with a purſe in one hand, and ſometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the meſſenger of the gods. In ſome ſtatues he has a creſcent, over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the Gauliſh worſhip; and that, probably, upon theſe two accounts: Firſt, as the one was the diſpenſer of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, ſecondly, as both preſided over the highways, upon which account, the latter was called Trivia; and both protected the roads, the travellers, thieves, ſhepherds, and ſhepherdeſſes [e], as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account, theſe likewiſe offered ſacrifices to him [f]. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been repreſented with a beard; his winged cap rather reſembled a diſk, and inſtead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of ſcepture, and in the other a purſe. His body was ſurrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or paludamentum, tyed, or faſtened, by ſome ornament, on one of his ſhoulders. This we infer from an antient monument, an account of which may be ſeen in the margin (Y), in the inſcription of which he is ſtyled Auguſtus. There have been many

Three Mercuries among the Gauls.

[e] Porph. de abſt. l. ii. Macrob. ſomn. Scip. l. i. Auct. hymn, in Merc. verſ. 15, 290. [f] Euſtat. Odyſſ. ξ, Iliad. ξ.

come. In one of thoſe inſcriptions, under a double buſto, one of Mercury, and the other of that goddeſs, ſhe is called Roſmerte; in ſome others it is Mercury, and Fort. Verte, or Fortuna Verte, or happy return; as he is often ſtiled in others, Mercurio Negotiatori, Nundinatori, &c. (36).

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and ſix feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickneſs, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of Beauvais. The inſcription is, Sacrum Mercurio Auguſto C. Julius Healiſſus V S L M. It is plain, from ſome other inſcriptions in Gruter, that a bearded Mercury was common in Gaul, though not among the Greeks and Romans; and the title

(36) Menet, prép. à l'hiſtoire de Lion, p. 56.

many other conjectures offered, both concerning this antient monument, and the title there given him, as well as ſome others, which are met with in thoſe old inſcriptions [g]; ſuch as that of Artaius, Ciſſonius, Arvernus, and ſome others, which we ſhall not tire our readers with: we ſhall likewiſe paſs by ſome other dreſſes and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the Gauls have repreſented him, and only add, that from what we have obſerved of thoſe mounds in which the Gauls and Britains buried their dead, ſuch as thoſe we deſcribed on Saliſbury plain, and what Livy ſays of ſuch a kind of tumulus, or ſepulchral mount, which Scipio took notice of in the neighbourhood of New Carthage in Spain, and which the natives called Mercury Teutat [h], one may draw a probable conjecture, that he was buried there. We have formerly ſhewn, that he reigned in Gaul [i], which comprehended then the greateſt part of Europe, and particularly Spain; and may be reaſonably therefore ſuppoſed to have been there interred, after the Celtic or Gauliſh manner. Other heaps or mounds, there were, which likewiſe bore his name; but thoſe were of a different nature, as the reader may ſee in the next note (Z). How he was worſhipped by the Gauls under any of theſe three

His tomb.

Worſhip.

[g] See relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 17, & ſeq.

[h] Decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. chronic. Alex. Suid. Pezron.

[i] See vol. v. p. 433, & ſeq. & relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier. & al.

title Auguſtus, which we find in ſeveral antient medals given to other gods and goddeſſes, or rather to emperors and empreſſes deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to Mercury after he had been deified by the Gauls, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some diſtinction, doubtleſs, there muſt have been of his dreſs, &c. under this laſt denomination, and this ſeems the moſt likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(Z) Theſe laſt are known to have been heaps of ſtones, and other obſtacles, of which the highways were either cleared by his command; or in honour of him, as he was thought the god that preſided over them. Whenever, therefore, any traveller met with any ſuch, he took them up, and carried them till he found one of theſe heaps, which were in great numbers, and flung it in among the reſt; by which means they grew larger, and higher, and were called by his name (37).

The author of the vulgate verſion has alluded to this cuſtom, where

(37) Vide Gruter. ubi ſupra, & relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 18.

three denominations, is hard to gueſs; only as he was, in imitation of the Romans, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may ſuppoſe they borrowed ſome of their rites from the worſhip which the Roman merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully deſcribed by the poet [k], who cloſes his account of it with this reflection, that Mercury could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of theſe his votaries, when he remember'd how himſelf had been guilty of the like [l]. The chief victim with which they concluded his feaſt, was a ſow with pig.

THESE were the chief male deities which we find worſhipped by the Gauls; ſome others they had likewiſe adopted, ſuch as Mithras, from the Perſians (A), Neptune, Erebus, and Orcus, ſuppoſed both to be the ſame with Pluto; Bacchus, and ſome others, whom they adopted from the Greeks and Romans, concerning which we know very little, either of their worſhip, or of the notion which the Gauls had of them. As to their goddeſſes, the chief of them were, Diana, Goddeſſes.

or

[k] Faſt. l. v. ver. 663, & ſeq. [l] See hymn. in Merc. Lactant. l. iv. Sund. in voc. Euſtat. Iliad. ξ.

where he makes Solomon ſay (28), that "He who doth honour "to a fooliſh man, is like him that throws a ſtone in one of "Mercury's heaps." But the text in the original has no ſuch alluſion, but only compares the latter to one that binds a ſtone in a ſling. Theſe heaps were generally gathered up at ſome croſs-ways, and places where roads divided, and where there generally ſtood a terminus, or figure at half body; at the foot of which they threw thoſe ſtones (39).

Theſe ſerved, likewiſe, to remind people of the heavy curſes which this deity was thought to inflict on thoſe who abuſed travellers, or refuſed to put them in the right way (40). Their repreſenting him of no ſex, as he was the god of commerce and riches, was, in all likelihood, to intimate, that neither of them were confined to either ſex, but that both had an equal title to his protection and bleſſing; and we may add, that it might be likewiſe done in a modeſt oppoſition to the Greeks and Romans, who repreſented him as ambiſex, and with a ſpear in one hand, and a diſtaff in the other (41).

(A) It appears from ſeveral antient monuments and inſcriptions, that

(38) Proverb. xxvi 8. Odyſſ. ii. Anyt. in epigram. xxv. v. 5. evang. & al.

(39) Nicander. Ἑρμαϰ. ſcholiaſt.

(40) Vide Theocrit. idyl.

(41) Albric. de deor. imag. Huet. demonſt.

or Luna, Juno, Minerva, Venus, Proſerpine, Arduina, whom we take to be the moon, as we hinted a little higher, and Cybele, a ſtatue of which was dug up at Paris with a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of Autun, and whoſe prieſts were, it ſeems, all caſtrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called Galli (C). Before we cloſe this ſection,

that Mithras, the Sun, and Mercury, were worſhipped, among the Gauls, as one and the ſame deity; at leaſt, Mithras being the ſun, among the Perſians, is often repreſented as conjoined with him, that is, with a ſun over his head, and ſometimes on his breaſt, and with this inſcription, Mercurio ſoli ſacrum. Hence the author of the Gauliſh religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments, to prove that thoſe two deities were looked upon here as one and the ſame, or, at moſt, as aſſociated both in their virtues, and in their worſhip. And might not this be on account of the great and conſtant nearneſs the two planets, which bear theſe names, have to each other (42)?

(B) This appears, from what we read in the acts of Syphorianus, a zealous chriſtian ſince ſainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refuſing to worſhip her idol, on a day in which her ſtatue was carried about in proceſſion, alledged, among other reaſons for his refuſal, that he could not acknowledge a deity, whoſe myſteries and worſhip conſiſted in a ſhameful and unnatural caſtration. But whether theſe Galli, or prieſts, were Gauls, or ſent for from Phrygia, or elſewhere; or whether the Gauls, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations allowed of theſe Galli; or whether they did not rather belong only to the Romans, as ſome authors believe (43), we ſhall examine in the next note.

(C) That Cybele, or the mother of the gods, as ſhe is called, was a deity of Syrian, and not of Gallic extract, is univerſally acknowledged. So that if her worſhip was introduced into Gaul, it was either by force, or in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. If we conſider their abhorrence to all mutilations, we ſhall hardly think that they could willingly give into ſuch a kind of worſhip as this, which required every prieſt, and encouraged every votary of the goddeſs to become an eunuch, as Heliogabalus is ſaid to have done, in one of his mad fits (44). We are, moreover, told, that thoſe Galli were had in ſuch abhorrence, that no other people would converſe with them; and that they were put upon the

(42) L. ii. c. 36, & ſeq. Pelloutier. Keyzler, & al.

(43) Idem ibid. l. i. c. 33. ad fin.

(44) Lamprid. in Heliogab. Victor. epitom.

ſection, it will be neceſſary to give our readers ſome account of the Gauliſh druids, bards, &c. and of ſuch of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at leaſt as far as we can gather them from antient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we ſhould know much concerning that ſet of men, conſidering that they made a myſtery of their religion and philoſophy, and a conſtant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing [m].

Their druids.

We have already obſerved, that the order of the druids had the ſole care of all religious matters, which they ſo artfully and dexterouſly introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation [n]; and that this abſolute ſway of theirs laſted till at leaſt ſome time after their conqueſt by the Romans.

They

[m] Vide Cæſ. com. l. vi. & alib. paſſ. [n] See before, p. 449. (B).

the level with ſorcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (45); ſo that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddeſs about, and begging charity for her ſake; all which was moſt oppoſite to the genius of the Gallic nation.

Accordingly, St. Jerom has a paſſage which plainly intimates, that the Romans forced this emaſculated prieſthood upon the Gauls, and called thoſe eunuchs Galli, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and beſieged their capital (46). And we are told, by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, that no Roman took that office upon him, but that they had a Phrygian male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of Heliogabalus, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only ſhew, that he minded the laws and cuſtoms of Rome no more in this caſe, than he did in all others (47).

However, St. Jerom ſeems to have been miſtaken in his derivation of the word gallus and galli; which, if we may believe Pliny, and other Roman authors, were ſo called from a river of that name in Phrygia (48); and, in particular, Ovid, who, probably, to expoſe the unnatural caſtration of theſe prieſts, tells us, that the waters of that river had ſuch a dangerous quality, that whoſoever drank of them did run ſtark mad (49). But be that as it will, the contemptible name of Gallus may well enough

have

(45) Tertul. de reſurrect. c. 16. (46) Comment in Hoſ. c. 4. (47) See his horrid actions, vol. xv. p. 150, 151. & ſeq. (48) Plin nat. hiſt. l. v. Luc. de dea Syr. (49) Faſt. l. iv. v. 316, & ſeq.

They were called by ſeveral names (D), beſide that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume °. Their antiquity is looked upon of the ſame date with the brachmans

° Vol. v. p. 406, & ſeq. ſub not.

have been given to the Gauls by way of pun upon their national one, let thoſe prieſts have been called ſo on any other account. So that, upon the whole, if any Gauls were ever ſeen in that office, they muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been forced into it by their imperious conquerors: but, after all, this worſhip of Cybele, though eſtabliſhed in Gaul, as well as in Rome, may yet, for aught appears, have been countenanced by the latter, and diſapproved by the former.

Before we cloſe this note, it will not be amiſs to mention a noble teſtimony which a Roman writer gives of this averſion of the Gauls to mutilation (50); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, "We never find any "of them do, as ſome of us do in Italy, cut off their thumbs, "for fear of going to the wars, and upon which account they "call us, in deriſion, Murci."

To underſtand the ſting of this ſaying, it muſt be obſerved, that Murcia was reckoned, amongſt the Romans, the goddeſs of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called Murci (51). And from this ſhameful cuſtom of cutting off their thumbs, to diſqualify themſelves for ſervice, came the old Gallic word poltron, from pollex and trunco, which is ſtill retained to this day, by many other nations beſides the French.

(D) One of them was that of Semnothei (52), given to them, doubtleſs, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. Diodorus Siculus gives them that of Saronides, on account of their great regard to ſuch old oaks as were decayed, and ſtripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to Heſychius.

A Gauliſh antiquary, not content to derive that of druid from the Celtic derw, an oak, compounds it with that and hud, inchantment; whence he infers the Greek dryades to have come (53): but though they are charged, and that perhaps juſtly, to have uſed many ſuch practices, and in a moſt inhuman manner; yet it is not reaſonable to think that they would add ſo odious a ſyllable

(50) A Marcell. in fin. l. xv. (51) Vide Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 3. Sueton. in vit. Auguſt. Arnob. l. i. c. 4. Aug. de civit. l. iv. (52) Diog. Laert. in proœm. Suid. in voc. (53) Orig. de la nat. Celt.

brachmans of India, magi of Perſia, the Chaldees of Babylon and Aſſyria, and, in a word, with the oldeſt ſects of philoſophers [p]. And, indeed, conſidering their vaſt diſtance from each other, and the conformity of their doctrine, we can ſuppoſe no other but that they all received it from the ſame hand, viz. from Noah and his immediate deſcendents, and carried it each to the different places of their diſperſion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in thoſe early times; at leaſt the druids of Britain, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, and from whom the Gauls received all their religion and philoſophy, cannot be ſuppoſed to have had it from any of theſe foreign ſects, to whom they were utterly unknown. The Gauls, tenacious as they were till their conqueſt, of their religion, laws and cuſtoms, never belyed their origin, but owned themſelves to have received all from the Britiſh druids: thither they ſent their own to be inſtructed. Here was the grand ſeminary where they received their inſtruction, and here was the ſeat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-prieſt of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier reſort,

[p] Vide int. al. Laert. in proœm. Orig. cont. Celſ. l. v. Cl. Alex. ſtrom. l. iii. Polyhiſt. ap. eund. l. i. Celſ. ap. Orig. ubi ſupra.

ſyllable to their name: neither can the Greeks or Romans be ſuppoſed to have done it, becauſe the monoſyllabe, being Celtic, was unknown to them. Dryades was, therefore, no more than a Greek termination of the word druid.

The laſt name we ſhall take notice of was, that of Sanani, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleaſing to the Romans, it properly ſignifying a wiſe and venerable man; as their druideſſes were called ſenoe, and ſenes (54). This was probably done in imitation of the ſect of gymnoſophiſts, who agreed with them in many things, particularly, in having their ſocieties compoſed of males and females, like the Gauliſh druids, in ſtudying philoſophy, aſtrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (55). Theſe were by the Greeks called Semnones; the Gauls, among whom the "mn" was, and is ſtill, in many provinces, pronounced like "nn," called them Sennones, and, in the Latin termination, Sennoni and Sennani.

(54) Mela, l. iii.

(55) Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. Clem. Alexand. ſtromat. l. iii. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 21.

reſort, in all doubtful and controverted caſes [q]. It were, therefore, abſurd to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, either that theſe travelled into ſuch vaſt remote parts to learn their doctrines from the ſemnes of India, or any other ſects; or much leſs, as others too eagerly contend, that theſe travelled into Gaul and Britain to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reaſonable to derive that great reſemblance which is obſerved between them all, from thoſe antient times, when they were, in ſome meaſure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preſerved them in thoſe parts of the world where they ſettled themſelves (E).

Their exceſſive power.

AMONG other inſtances of the exceſſive power of the druidiſh tribe, Cæſar mentions one [r], by which we may gueſs at the reſt, viz. that they choſe the annual magiſtrates of every city, who had during that year the ſupreme authority, and ſometimes the title of king. And yet theſe could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not ſo much as call a council; ſo that, notwithſtanding their great pomp and ſtate, ſays another author, they were but the creatures and ſlaves of the druids [s]. They uſed the ſame arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other caſes, and were every-where eſteemed as the chiefs of every Gauliſh commonwealth,

[q] Cæſ. comment. l. iv. [r] Ibid. l. vii. Dio Chryſoſt. orat. xlix. [s] Cæſar. l. vi. A. Marcell. l. xv. D. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Lucan. l. i. & al.

(E) Some antient Roman authors, ſuch as Cæſar, Valerius Maximus, Am. Marcellinus, &c. have indeed affirmed, that the druids learned their doctrines from Pythagoras; and the ſame ſome have affirmed of Numa (56), though he was of ſo much older date. But we have formerly obſerved, that Pythagoras had made a voyage into Gaul, and had learned a great deal of his from them, as he did alſo from the brachmans (57). The truth is, Pythagoras was in ſuch high eſteem, that no man was hardly eſteemed wiſe, or learned, that was not his diſciple (58). And the Gauliſh druids, being found to have many doctrines in common with him, were of courſe ſuppoſed to have received them from him. Though that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which was likewiſe attributed to them, doth not appear to have been at all held by them, and it is likely that philoſopher brought it from thoſe of India.

(56) See Cicer. quæſt. Tuſcul. l. i. n. 38. (57) Clem. Alex. ubi ſupra, l. i. Diog. Laert. l. viii. (58) Cicero, ibid.

wealth, and had the ſole management and inſtruction of youth in every thing but the training up in the art of war. For in this laſt reſpect the druids, and their diſciples, were not only exempt from going to war unleſs they pleaſed, but from all kind of tribute likewiſe [t]; and this did not a little increaſe their credit with the people, as well as the number of their diſciples. For their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of Gaul, but every man had power to ſtand candidate for it, and, if approved by the ſociety, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was choſen from amongſt them by the plurality of votes; and, when any diſpute aroſe, it was often terminated here, as in other caſes, by the ſword, as we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel. We have already obſerved, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their myſteries and learning in verſe; and theſe, it ſeems, were multiplied in time to ſuch a number, that it took ſome of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And Cæſar aſſigns theſe two reaſons for this cuſtom, viz. that their doctrines might appear more myſterious, by being unknown to all but themſelves; and, ſecondly, that having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preſerve them in their memory [u]. And what contributed much to this laſt was, their living in ſeparate ſocieties, chiefly in woods, and obſerving a conſtant celibacy.

THE three grand fundamentals of their religion conſiſted, 1. In their worſhip of the gods; 2. In abſtaining from all evil; and, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occaſions [x]. In order to enforce this laſt, on which they valued themſelves moſt, they taught the immortality of the ſoul, and a life after this, of bliſs or miſery, according as they had lived. And this inſpired them with incredible courage, and contempt of death, of which we ſhall give ſome pregnant inſtances in its due place. This notion of a future life was ſo firmly believed by the people, that we are told they uſed to fling the account-books of the deceaſed into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make ſuch uſe of them in the next world, as would make his life more eaſy and comfortable there [y]. Several other ridiculous

Their principles.

[t] Lucan. ubi ſupra. [u] Comment. ubi ſupra. [x] Diog. Laert. l. i. [y] Cæſ. ubi ſupra.

diculous cuſtoms are recorded of them, with reſpect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reaſon, we ſhall juſt mention in the margin (F). They alſo pretended to great ſkill in ſome branches of geography and aſtronomy, ſuch as the knowing the bigneſs and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the ſtars; from which they aſſumed a knowledge of the divine will, to pry into futurity [z], and to foretel ſtrange events. And if that paſſage which Diodorus Siculus has preſerved to us out of Hecateus [a], and which the reader may find in the margin (G), be to be depended

[z] P. Mela, l. iii. c. 1. [a] L. iii. c. 11.

(F) They are ſaid to have lent and borrowed money, &c. in order to repay it in the next world; to have ſent letters to the deceaſed perſon, by flinging it into the fire, or into his grave (59). There have been alſo found in thoſe antient ſepulchres, on Saliſbury plain, ſpoken of before, ſome ſmall plates of ſilver, and other metals, ingraved with a kind of old writing, which are ſuppoſed to have been ſent from the living to the dead by this conveyance. But theſe, and ſuch-like ridiculous cuſtoms, ſeem rather invented by thoſe authors in diſparagement of the Gauliſh notion, and are juſtly laughed at (60).

(G) This paſſage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern iſland of conſiderable bigneſs, little leſs than Sicily, ſituate over againſt the Celtæ, and inhabited by thoſe whom the Greeks call Hyperboreans. It is fruitful, pleaſant, and dedicated to Apollo; that god, for the ſpace of nineteen years, uſed to come and converſe with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the uſe of teleſcopes) ſhew the moon very near them, and diſcover therein mountains, &c. He concludes, that over their ſacred grove and temple there preſided a ſet of men called (by the then Greeks, it is ſuppoſed) Boreadæ, who were their prieſts and rulers.

From the author's deſcription and ſituation of this iſland, every body will eaſily perceive that it could be no other but either Great Britain or Ireland; for the Mona, or Angleſey of Rouland (61), is vaſtly too ſmall and inconſiderable to have been meant

(59) Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 4. Diod. Sicul. l. vi. c. 9. Cæſ. ubi ſupra. (60) See Keyzler ant. ſeptentr. p. 132, & ſeq. 175. Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. relig. des Gaul. & al (61) Mona antiq. ſect. 8. ad fin.

pended upon, and that the druids of Britain, for that ſeems to be the iſland meant by that author, could, as with teleſcopes, ſhew the moon nearer, and diſcover therein mountains, rocks, &c. it cannot but be ſuppoſed that they had made greater progreſs in theſe arts and ſciences than is generally imagined. The nineteen years converſe of Apollo, which is the cycle of the ſun, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, &c. argue them to have been no bad aſtronomers; and if they had really any inſtruments to draw the moon nearer, and make ſuch diſcoveries upon its ſurface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artiſts for thoſe early times. Pliny adds, that they ſtudied natural philoſophy, and practiſed phyſic [b]. This laſt conſiſted chiefly in the knowledge and uſe of ſimples, but they ſoon found out a way to render it more intricate and myſterious, by intermingling aſtrology, and other ſuperſtitious traſh, amongſt it. The configuration of the planets muſt be conſulted, the herb muſt be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand muſt be covered with the oppoſite lappet of the man's robe; he muſt be dreſſed in white, his feet waſhed and unſhod, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe; but all which rather betrays that author's fondneſs of expoſing the Gauls, than to inform mankind. To give one inſtance for all, the reader needs but hear what he ſays of their ſerpents egg, which, as it is related by him, would ſcarcely, upon any other account, be worth inſerting in this hiſtory, but that, whilſt we give him the ſubſtance of it in the margin (H), we ſhall endeavour to

Practiſe phyſic.

[b] Vide nat. hiſt. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

meant here. It is mentioned as known to the Greeks, as well it might, by means of the tin which the Phœnicians fetched from it, of which we ſha l ſpeak in due time. The author adds, that one Abaris, who became afterwards a diſciple of Pythagoras (62), went from hence into Greece, and contracted an intimacy with the Delians. And might he not be ſuppoſed to have followed that philoſopher from Gaul thither? But we ſubmit that to the reader.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the reſt of the world, was formed by the ſcum of a vaſt

(62) See biſhop of Worceſter's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap eund ibid.

ſtrike out a more probable and advantageous meaning of this pretended piece of ſuperſtition, than that author could, or was perhaps, willing to do.

We muſt firſt take notice of an antient Gauliſh monument in the great cathedral of Paris, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is repreſented pretty near in the ſame manner as Pliny has given it. Another has been found in Italy [c], on which are carved two ſerpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other ſhaping and poliſhing it with its ſpittle. If the reader remembers what has

[c] Antiquité expliq. Relig. des Gaules, l. i. c. 26. iii. c. ult.

vaſt multitude of ſerpents twiſted and conjured up together. As ſoon as they began to hiſs, it was raiſed up into the air, and muſt be caught before it touched the ground, and he that caught it muſt immediately get on a fleet horſe, and ride for his life, from the fury of the ſerpents, which purſued him till a river ſtopped them ſhort. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they faſtened about it, and muſt ſwim on the ſurface with it. Its virtues were then almoſt as numberleſs as thoſe of Fortunatus's cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and ſhape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor Claudius cauſed a Gauliſh nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of theſe eggs in his boſom, and which, it ſeems, he wore there with a view of gaining a law-ſuit in which he was engaged (63).

What increaſes our wonder of this ridiculous credulity, is, that a modern author (64) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great meaſure, what Pliny has related, by aſſuring us, that in ſeveral parts of Dauphiné, eſpecially one place he names near the confines of Savoy, there is ſuch a prodigious concourſe of all kinds of ſerpents from the 5th of June to the 15th of Auguſt, that there is not one to be ſeen for the ſpace of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they aſſemble is left covered with a kind of ſcum, which fills one with horror. But he ſays, that no care had been taken to enquire after the ſtory of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an impoſture of the druids. If any thing could perſuade us that the antient Gauls could give into ſuch ridiculous ſuperſtitions, it would be the ſeeing of them ſo eaſily ſwallowed by the modern ones.

(63) Plin. l. xxix. c. 3.

(64) Chorier. hiſt. du Dauphiné.

has been ſaid in the coſmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work [d], of the Phœnicians and Egyptians looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was repreſented as coming forth out of the mouth of a ſerpent, the emblem of the Godhead, or perhaps rather of wiſdom; and if we add what Plutarch obſerves, that the theology of the antients did aſcribe to the egg the priority of time, and the ſeed of all things; he will eaſily decypher a much ſublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that Roman author could, or was perhaps willing to ſee in it, either from thoſe emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account. For it muſt be further obſerved, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even their moral precepts, in ſuch kinds of myſterious and enigmatic figures. However, we would not deny but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the Romans, they might ſlacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of ſuch ſuperſtitious fooleries as they would have deſpiſed whilſt in the height of their wealth and ſway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtleſs, to theſe latter times, that we muſt ſuppoſe the antient comedy, called Querulus, or Aulularia, which expoſes the druidiſh knavery with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, to have referred; and perhaps, alſo, that which another author ſays of them [e], that in their lectures of morality they gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their riches, and the largeneſs of their revenues. One doctrine, he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length abſorb all things.

Their druideſſes, or female druids.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject, we muſt not omit ſaying ſomething of their famed druideſſes, and the great eſteem they were in among the Gauls, as well as among the Germans [f]. We have already ſhewed, that antiently the Gauliſh women bore a great ſway in this country, of which the druids, in time, ſtripped them; but it is likely, that the druideſſes held ſtill great part of their own credit, eſpecially on account of their being thought endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed

[d] Vol. i. p. 100, 107, & 109. [e] Strabo, l. iv. [f] Tacit. l. iv. c. 54, & ſeq. de mor. Germ. Dio, in fragm. xlix. Plin. & al.

for any thing elſe; and ſome of them, we find, were among the loweſt rank of people. Witneſs Dioclefian's hoſteſs, who, when he was but a private man in the Roman army, then in Gaul, foretold him that he ſhould become emperor after he had killed a boar, or, rather, Aper, as the iſſue ſhewed it [g] a little time after. We have ſeen, likewiſe, in the Roman hiſtory, that their emperors were not above conſulting, and being adviſed by them; particularly Severus [h] and Aurelian, the latter of whom aſking ſome of them how long the empire ſhould laſt in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of Claudius would one day become the moſt illuſtrious [i]. We ſhall not take upon us to enquire how they came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence; only we would obſerve, that the latter cannot be ſuppoſed, without allowing at the ſame time, that the druids themſelves were likewiſe impoſed upon by them; elſe it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign ſo long, and bear ſuch ſway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the Indian brachmans, and other ſects of antient philoſophers, who never admitted their women into any of their myſteries [k]. There were three claſſes of druideſſes in Gaul, the chiefeſt of which was of thoſe who kept a perpetual virginity; for theſe were thought to have the ſpirit of prophecy. The next was that of thoſe, who, though married, were yet obliged to abſtain from the matrimonial intercourſe, except one ſingle time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to aſſiſt the druids at their religious functions. The laſt were a kind of attendants, or ſervants, on the others; and this we learn rather from ſome antient monuments and inſcriptions [l], than from antient authors, who have ſaid little more of them than that they were propheteſſes. Both druids and druideſſes pretended to a great knowledge in aſtrology, calculated people's nativities, erected figures, and foretold ſtrange things, both by that, and, much more, by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody cuſtom, we ſhall give a ſpecimen in the margin

Three orders of them.

[g] See vol. xv. p. 291. [h] Ibid. p. 169. [i] Vopiſcus in Aurel. ſub fin. [k] Vide Plin. ubi ſupr. Tacit. l. iv. Strabo, l. xv. [l] Gruter. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 27.

margin (I) : but thoſe which were ſtyled propheteſſes, were thought to have a gift ſuperior to the reſt, and which was looked upon as ſupernatural ; theſe were called by ſome ſuperior title, ſuch as that of dame was heretofore among us; and were in the higheſt requeſt, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much leſs regarded, and their night aſſemblies about ponds and marſhes, to worſhip and conſult the moons, and ſome other ſorceries they pretended to uſe, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, lamiæ, pythoniſſæ, ſtriæ, and every thing that is black and horrid, by chriſtian authors, from the ſixth century downwards [m].

THE next order amongſt them, in great eſteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them. But there is a paſſage in Strabo which quite explodes that notion, where he ſays [n], that the druids were in the higheſt power, and gave laws

The bards, their office.

[m] Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat. [n] L. iv.

(I) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from ſome antient Gauliſh monuments concerning this bloody ceremony, with what Strabo ſays of it (65) as it was practiſed among the Cimbri, who were a branch of the old Celtes, that there was no material difference between them in this reſpect. We ſhall, therefore, give the purport of what that antient author has left us of it, which is as follows :

The druideſſes were, on theſe occaſions, like the druids, cloathed in white tunics, faſtened with hooks, and girt with a braſs girdle, and without ſhoes. As ſoon as the Cymbrians had taken any captives, theſe women flew upon them with drawn ſwords in their hands, and threw them down ; thence they dragged them to a large capacious labrum, or ciſtern, by the ſide of which was a kind of foot-ſtool, on which the druideſs then officiating ſtood, who plunged a long knife into the breaſt of each of theſe unfortunate wretches, one after another, as faſt as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood ſhe formed her predictions. The other druideſſes, who aſſiſted, took up the breathleſs bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewiſe foretold ſome new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

(65) Lib. vii.

laws to the vates, eubates, and bards, who were everywhere to give them place, when they pleaſed to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their conſent and approbation. Beſides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that theſe bards were ſo called from their office, which was, to ſing the praiſes of their heroes [o], and to accompany their ſongs with muſical inſtruments. And we are told, that their compoſitions were held in the higheſt eſteem, as the moſt effectual means of eternizing the memory of thoſe who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors laſt quoted adds, that they could at any time put a ſtop to a whole army's engaging, by their interpoſition: ſo great a power had wiſdom, and the muſes, over thoſe barbarians [p]. It was their buſineſs to accompany the Gauliſh armies with their ſongs, which were generally calculated to inſpire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death [q]. During the onſet, they uſed likewiſe to give ſome loud ſhouts, ſometimes as of victory, other times to intimate their danger, in caſe they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way. So that though they did not really fight themſelves, they were ſo intermingled with the army, that they ran, in ſome meaſure, the ſame riſque with thoſe that did (K). By this means they were eye-witneſſes of the behaviour of the combatants, and either celebrated their praiſes in their ſongs, or cenſured thoſe that had not done their duty. And as theſe might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol thoſe who had been faulty,

[o] Diod. Sicul. l. vi. c. 9. Lucan l. i. verſ. 447. Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. [p] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [q] Pauſan. in Phoc.

(K) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named Pomponius, a man in great eſteem, both as a bard, and a poet; who finding himſelf in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to Mars, their great protector, to ſacrifice to him a boar, if he eſcaped ſafe (66). It was likewiſe, as we formerly hinted, cuſtomary among their generals, upon all ſuch occaſions, to vow to that god all the plunder, and even the priſoners of war, if they came off victorious.

(66) Macrob. Saturnal. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. xvi. c. 6.

faulty, or in praiſing either too much or too little, for favour or intereſt, it is thought they acquired the name of paraſites [r]. But this ſeems very inconſiſtent with what we read of the great eſteem they were in, unleſs we allow that epithet to have antiently carried a more favourable meaning than it doth now (L). To theſe two orders we may add thoſe of the vates and euvates, or eubates, which ſeem to have been ſtill inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were ſo to each other, or the ſame under two names, is not eaſy to gueſs, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole, is, that the druids preſided over all religious matters, and bore a great ſway in thoſe of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all tranſactions, and treaſured up in their poetic compoſitions the knowledge of things and perſons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their ſongs, as the druids thought proper. The vates and euvates might be ſingers of theſe bardiſh compoſitions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praiſes and heroic acts; but as the druids were more known to ſtrangers than the reſt, their name was given to all indifferently, by antient hiſtorians. Vates and euvates.

Diodorus and Cicero ſeem to mention a fifth ſort, viz. the ſaronides; but we have ſhewn, a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned Bochart has fully proved [s]. As for the flamens, or flamines, though they have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to the druidiſh

[r] Poſidon. ap. Athenæ. l. vi.

[s] Vide & Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 9.

(L) This epithet, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry ſo harſh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible thoſe bards could have kept up their credit ſo long, and in ſo brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior ſet of bards, who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or ſolduri, who entered themſelves into the ſervice of ſome noblemen or generals, and bound themſelves to live and die with him, and whoſe buſineſs it was to ſing the praiſes of their patrons, in poems compoſed by the bards, before numerous crouds of people, who never failed to ſurround and liſten to them (67).

(67) Caſaubon. in Athen. l. vi.

diſh order, yet biſhop Stillingfleet has ſufficiently diſproved them to have been of Celtic or Gauliſh extract. They were of the Roman kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have ſpoken of them in a former volume, and to that, and the learned prelate above quoted, we ſhall refer our readers, and cloſe this ſection of the Gauliſh religion with obſerving, that, in ſpite of all the ſevere edicts of the Roman and Chriſtian monarchs, there were ſtill very viſible traces of it, and of the very worſt part of the druidiſh rites practiſed not only long after the ſettling of chriſtianity in Gaul, but even to the middle of the ſixth century, as appears by a notable inſtance of it, which we ſhall give in the margin (M).

The end of druidiſh ſuperſtition.

(M) This fact is taken from Procopius, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of it, and is as follows: Theodebert I. having penetrated into Italy at the head of a conſiderable army, and taken poſſeſſion of the bridge of Pavia, his men offered in ſacrifice the wives and children of the Goths, whom they had ſurpriſed, and caſt their bodies into the river, as the firſt-fruits of that war. "For, ſays he, the Franks, though chriſtians, do ſtill obſerve a "great many of their antient ſuperſtitions. They offer up hu-"man victims, and uſe many execrable rites in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the ſeventh century, has a long catalogue of ſuch ſuperſtitions, againſt which, as he was a biſhop, and ſince ſainted for his piety, he forewarns his chriſtian flock. The reader may ſee the paſſage at length in the authors quoted below (68).

(68) Vide father Coint. tom. i. & iii. Fleury's eccleſ. hiſtor. tom. viii. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 7.

SECT. IV.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, learning, arts, ſciences, commerce, and cuſtoms, of the antient Gauls.

Their government.

WE have already ſpoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the Gauls, in the hiſtory of the Celtes, their anceſtors [a]; of their migrations and ſettlement in Europe, and

[a] Vol. v. p. 383---394.

and of their antient monarchical government there [b]. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and ſplit itſelf into that variety of forms in which the Romans found them afterwards, were in vain to enquire after, conſidering their inbred contempt of learning, and that they kept neither hiſtory nor records but what was couched in the ſongs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as poſſible, from public knowledge, and only ſung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occaſions, rather to ſtimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preſerve any regular ſeries of their tranſactions. All that can be offered concerning this great change, would be only ſuch conjectures as are obvious to every reader; which may, therefore, be eaſily ſpared here, ſince all our intelligence, concerning this their new government, muſt be fetched from hints and ſcraps of ſuch foreign authors who have written of them, ſince they became more known to their neighbours, and of which this is the beſt account that can be given.

THE Gauls were by this time (though ſtill under the ſame name, uſing the ſame language and cuſtoms, and governed by the ſame general laws) under different governments, ſome of which were monarchical, others ariſtocratical, others partly ſo, and partly democratical, and theſe were, by way of diſtinction, called free [c]. Tacitus reckons no leſs than ſixty-four of theſe cities, or, as Cæſar better explains it [d], regions, or diſtricts, who were under this kind of government. Theſe little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they choſe a magiſtrate for civil, and a general for military affairs [e]; yet theſe, as well as thoſe that were under a kingly government, obſerved one conſtant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common intereſt of the whole nation, was debated and ſettled. And, indeed, theſe warlike people were in no ſmall need of ſuch a general council, ſince they made war one of their chief employments, and were no ſooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarrelling among themſelves: ſo that, to prevent theſe inteſtine broils, the chief buſineſs of that grand aſſembly was, to find out ſome plauſible pretence for carrying it againſt ſome of their neighbours, either to pull down thoſe that were over-grown, and raiſed their jealouſy, or to protect the oppreſſed, or furniſh

Grand council of the nation.

[b] Vol. v. p. 403, & ſeq.
[c] Cæſar. comment. l. i. c. 1. vi. 4. Tacit. ann. l. iii.
[d] Iidem ibid.
[e] Strab. l. iv.

nish some allies with a number of auxiliaries, and such-like [f]. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council [g]. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand assembly, out of the same historian, the reader may see in the subsequent note (A). Upon the whole, then, this grand council was the dernier resort of the Gauls, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory, or excursion, any debate

[f] Comment. l. vi. c. 6. Strabo, l. iv. Mela, l. iii. c. 3. Cæsar, ibid. l. vi. c. 4. [g] Comment. l. vi. c. 4.

(A) The Gauls, says that conqueror (1), demanded that a general council of their whole nation should be summoned, and that it might be done by his consent. A council was, accordingly, assembled at Bibracte, where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (2). And elsewhere he tells us, that he summoned that Gallish council to meet in the spring; and the Treviri, Senones, and Carnuti, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at Paris (3).

Among them who opposed his measures, were, Dumnorix, one of the chiefs of the Æduan commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to have him slain, who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alledging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (4). Another was Vercingetorix, who, Cæsar says, flattered himself that he should be able to unite such commonwealths to him as dissented from the rest of the Gallish cities, and to form such a general council of all Gaul, as the whole world should not be able to withstand (5).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being summoned and held, and the like, history leaves us wholly in the dark.

(1) L. i. c. 12. (2) L. i. c. 12. (3) L. vi. c. 1. (4) L. c. 3. (5) L. vii. c. 6.

debate happened about the plunder, as it ſeldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodſhed, if not timely prevented, and, if Polybius may be credited, ſuch bloody frays did often happen for ſuch trifles as the plunder of a good ſtore of victuals, and eſpecially of wine [h]; the diſpute was deferred to the aſſembly of the diſtrict, or commonwealth. But whenever it happened, as it often did, between diſtrict and diſtrict, the grand council muſt either determine between them, or elſe they were ſure to butcher one another, till one ſide was forced to give over. So that Tacitus had great reaſon to ſay of them, as he did of their neighbours the Germans; "If "they will not be in friendſhip with us, let them at leaſt fall "out among themſelves: fortune can do no greater ſervice, "than to ſet them at variance among themſelves [i]." All that needs be further added, with relation to theſe ſmall commonwealths, is, that they ſeem to have had ſuch an averſion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the Ædui (B), ordered the great Certillus, the father of Vercingetorix, mentioned a little higher, a man in great power and credit, and eſteemed the firſt man in Gaul, to be put to death, for having aſpired to the kingdom [k]. At the ſame time they were ſo extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were

Commonwealths.

[h] L. ii. [i] German. c. 33. [k] Vide & comment. l. vi. c. 11.

(B) The Ædui were one of the three chief commonwealths in Gaul (6), and ſituate near Autun; the country is now called Lower Burgundy.

The other two were the Arverni and the Rhemi. The former of theſe were ſited on the river Loire; their capital was called Arvernum, now Clermont, the capital of Guienne; and they became, in time, ſo powerful, that, according to Strabo, they made war againſt Cæſar with 400000 men (7), and, a little before the arrival of their conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the Ædui, by withdrawing moſt of their clients and dependents (8): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to loſe his head, and choſe his ſon in his ſtead.

The Rhemi were the antient inhabitants of the country of Rheims, whoſe antient and famous metropolis ſtill bears the ſame name, and is one of the greateſt, and moſt populous cities of France.

(6) Tacit. l. iii Cæſar. com. l. v. (7) Strab. l. iv.
(8) Comment. l. vi. c. 4. vii. c. 10.

were obliged to enter into combinations againſt each other, and the little ones to put themſelves under the protection of the greater ones; an inſtance of which we gave in the laſt note. Cæſar doth ſometimes call the former tributary and ſubject to the latter, but moſt commonly confederate with them. Upon his firſt entrance into Gaul he found it divided into two factions: the Ædui were at the head of one, and the Arverni at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the ſuperiority [1]. What increaſed the diſſenſion ſtill more, was, that the Bituriges, a people in the province of Berri, and neighbours of the Arverni, were ſtill in ſubjection to the Ædui; and the Sequani, who lived in Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté, and neighbours to the Ædui, were under the protection of the Arverni.

Kings. SUCH were the unhappy diviſions between the Gauliſh commonwealths (C), which gave ſo great an advantage to the Romans againſt them, and which they failed not to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Cæſar,

[1] Idem, l. i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

(C) Accordingly, we find the Senones, or rather Semnones, who inhabited ſome part of the Lionois, joining in league with that of the Pariſians, and both ſoon after putting themſelves under the protection of the Ædui. The Bellovaci, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the Belgæ (9), were likewiſe allied with them. Their capital, then a very conſiderable city, was called Bellovacum, and Cæſaromagus; their country ſtill retains the name of Beauvois.

Cæſar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the Nervii (10), another antient, fierce, and warlike people of Belgia, ſuppoſed to have dwelt in the now dioceſe of Cambray; theſe were the Centrones, or inhabitants of Courtray. Grudii, ſuppoſed to have dwelt about Bruges; the Lævaci, about Louvain; the Pleumoſii, or Pleumaſii, whoſe ſituation is uncertain; and the Gorduni, ſituate in the neighbourhood of Ghent. The Eburones and Condruſii, who lived in the territories of Liege and Namur, were clients to the Treviri or inhabitants of the country of Triers, the then principal nation in Belgia prima. The Veneti, or inhabitants of Gallia Armorica, or Britany, compoſed ſo powerful a commonwealth, that our author (11) tells us, their dominion was one of the moſt extenſive.

(9) Idem, l. ii. c. 4. vii. c. 7. (10) L. v. c. 11. (11) L. iv. c. 2.

Cæſar, finding the Arverni too ſtrong for, and averſe to him, entered into an alliance with the Ædui, who were by this time become vaſtly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the Roman people. Their example was ſoon followed by others, ſo that partly by cajoling ſome, and ſowing jealouſies and diſcords among others, he facilitated the conqueſt of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in intereſt, and form of its government, muſt, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

But, notwithſtanding this great multitude, and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both Gaul, Germany, and Spain, ſtill ſwarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with diſtricts, governed by kings, whom the Romans ſtyled reguli, or petty kings, but the Gauls ſtyled kings (D), though their

(D) The word rex ſeems plainly enough to be of Celtic extract, viz. from rhey, prince, or lord: hence we have ſhewed in a former volume (12), Rhea, Jove's mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princeſs, as ſhe really was. The name of Rhey might therefore be given to thoſe antient monarchs, till their vaſt kingdom came to ſplit itſelf, as we have ſeen above, into ſo many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, thoſe petty kings came to be called Tyrannes, or, according to the old Celtic, Tyr-rhanwir, from their being the perſons who divided the people into ſuch diſtricts, or communities, and ſettled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be entitled to. Hence the tyranni of the Greeks, and the word tyrant, might at firſt carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become ſo odious, that they changed it for thoſe of princes, dukes, earls, &c. (13).

The author of the Mona antiqua, above quoted, thinks the name and office of theſe tyrans to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, ſome ſuch power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the ſtatutes of the ſons of Noah, called de judiciis (14). We have formerly given our ſentiments concerning that rabbinic book (15) ſo much diſcredited by ſome, and ſo ſtrongly defended by our learned Selden. But, without having recourſe to ſuch queſtioned authorities, reaſon plainly tells us, that from the firſt diſperſion there muſt have been ſome ſuch tyr rhanwirs, or land-aſſigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels

(12) Vol. v. p. 424, (K).
(13) See Rouland's Mona Antiqua, p. 41, & ſeq.
(14) Hottoman. Franco-Gal. c. 1.
(15) Vol. i. p. 341, & ſeq.

their dominions were ever ſo ſmall. Theſe differed from the magiſtrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (E), but ſometimes conferred by the people upon ſuch as were in the greateſt eſteem for juſtice, wiſdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the Bituriges did one over the Celtæ, in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus [m]; ſometimes a brave and powerful man forced himſelf upon the throne: and even thoſe who ſeem to have come to the crown by ſucceſſion, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as thoſe that were choſen by them. This is, at leaſt, what Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, owns, with relation to himſelf. "The conſtitution of our government, ſays he, is ſuch, that the "people

How choſen.

Their power limited.

[m] Livy, l. v.

quarrels that muſt inevitably happen for want of them. And theſe were moſt likely the heads of families, whoſe paternal authority carried a kind of divine right. For if mankind ſprung from one man, then the original of government muſt be ſuppoſed, of courſe, to have been not only monarchical, but ſuch by divine appointment, and veſted in the heads of families.

Moſes further obſerves (16), that the three families of Noah's ſons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, begojehem, in their nations, that is, into ſeparate communities, over whom the chief, or head, preſided, and was the rhey, or lord, and tyr-rhanwir, or aſſigner of their proper lands in each ſettlement. But however that be, in ſuch a change of government as here happened among the Celts or Gauls, nothing can be more evident, than the neceſſity of ſuch a kind of deſpotic diſtributers and aſſigners of lands in each new kingdom or commonwealth; and who could be fitter for ſuch an office, than thoſe who bore the greateſt authority?

(E) At leaſt J. Cæſar mentions ſeveral eminent private men, whoſe anceſtors had been formerly inveſted with the regal dignity, and, among theſe, Caſticus, whoſe father had been many years king of the Sequani (17); Piſo, whoſe grandfather had reigned in Aquitania (18); and Taſgetius, whoſe anceſtors had been kings of the Carnutes (19), and whoſe territories retain ſtill the name of Chartrain. So that they ſeem rather to have been magiſtrates for life, than real kings, eſpecially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(16) Geneſis x. (17) L. i. c. 2. (18) L. iv. c. 3. (19) L. v. c. 8.

" people have no leſs power and authority over me, than I " have over them [n]." This form has been, indeed, much admired by Ariſtotle, Polybius, Cicero, and eſpecially by Plato, as by far the ſafeſt, and moſt excellent; becauſe, as the laſt of theſe rightly obſerves, ſhould kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the ſupreme power, as it ſtands upon ſuch ſlippery ground, it eaſily falls into tyranny. " For this reaſon, ſays he, it ought to be " reſtrained, as with a curb, by the authority of the nobles, " and of ſuch choſen men as the people have impowered for " that end and purpoſe [o]."

Careſſed and corrupted by the Romans.

It is not eaſy to gueſs from Cæſar's commentaries, from which we have the greateſt part of this intelligence, either how many of theſe kings there were in Gaul, or what nations were governed by them, and which by a common-wealth; but both were equally courted by the Romans, and for the ſame reaſon, viz. to withdraw from, and weaken the force of thoſe that oppoſed their conqueſts. Theſe petty kings, eſpecially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promiſes, or ſome fine titles, ſuch as that of " friends and con- " federates of Rome," to embroil the Gauliſh affairs, and foment diſſenſions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the pooreſt and moſt inconſiderable amongſt them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them buſy and active in their intereſt, they failed not to reward them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to draw others into the ſame treacherous practices. Among thoſe whom Cæſar mentions among the friends and allies of Rome, was Catamantales, king of the Sequani [p], the grandfather of Piſo, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in Aquitain, and [q] whoſe name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and Olevico, king of the Nitiobriges, or people of Agenois, who had that title beſtowed upon him by the Roman ſenate [r]. Among thoſe who made the nobleſt reſiſtance againſt the Romans, was Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, a brave people of Gallia Belgica, who was one of the moſt potent princes of all Gallia. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve conſiderable cities, one of which, Noviodunum, now Noyons, Cæſar afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [s], notwithſtanding they had

[n] Comment. l. v. c. 8. [o] Vide Hottoman. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. 1. [p] Comment. l. i. c. 2. [q] L. iv. c. 3. [r] L vii. c. 6. [s] See before, vol. xiii. p. 29.

had brought 500000 fighting men againſt him. This prince's dominions is ſaid to have extended even to Little Britany. He was ſucceeded by Galba, at the time when Cæſar invaded them [t]. Thus much for the Gauliſh government, which we ſhall cloſe with a ſevere reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will ſhew how much their inteſtine feuds contributed to his conqueſt of them. "Among the Gauls, "ſays he [u], not only all their cities, cantons, and diſtricts, "but even almoſt all families, are divided and torn by fac- "tions. Theſe are generally cauſed and fomented by their "princes and demagogues, who exerciſe a kind of arbitrary "power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, "and manage all public matters with an uncontroulable "ſway." Tacitus obſerves much the ſame thing [w] of it; ſo that, in ſpite of all their bravery, their ruin ſeems no leſs than inevitable, when ſo torn and diſmembered from within, and invaded by ſuch powerful and politic enemies from without.

Their laws. WHETHER theſe diſaſters were occaſioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not eaſy to determine. We have, indeed, obſerved, in a former volume, that Mercury is ſaid to have civilized the Celtic nation, in many reſpects, and, amongſt other things, that he gave them a ſet of laws [x]. Another author gives the credit of this to one Samothes, a man of profound learning and wiſdom among them, and ſaid to have been the founder of the Celtic monarchy [y]. But what thoſe laws were, if any ſuch were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark. The druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were too cautious to divulge them to ſtrangers, or even to any of their own nation, except to thoſe of their own order; ſince they obſerved the ſame ſhineſs with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But whatever that ſyſtem of laws may have been, it muſt have ſuffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the diſmembering of the whole into ſo many petty kingdoms and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from Cæſar, or any other antient author, they ſeem ſo far from having been tyed by any common body of laws, that, except that of holding a general aſſembly every year, and another

[t] L. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. [u] L. vi. c. 11. [w] Annal. l. i. c. 11. [x] See vol. v. p. 434. [y] See Lewis hiſt. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.

ther of permitting all private quarrels and conteſts to be decided by ſingle combat [z], which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the deciſions of the council, whether of each diſtrict, or of the whole nation, unleſs where kings did bear an abſolute ſway, if any ſuch there were; for, as far as we can find, moſt of this ſort were as much ſubject to the people, as they to them. If we may, however, gueſs from ſome inſtances of their hiſtory, they ſeem to have held one general maxim, viz. that the longeſt ſword had the beſt title, and that it was the deſign of the ſupreme being that the ſtrongeſt ſhould ſtrip the weakeſt; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following inſtance, out of Livy [a], is a pregnant one, that this was an eſtabliſhed principle amongſt them.

They founded their right on their ſwords.

THE Senones, of whom we have ſpoken a little higher, finding themſelves too much ſtreightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of Cluſium, whoſe territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the beſieged applied to the Roman ſenate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggreſſors, contented themſelves with ſending them three young patricians of the Fabian family, in a friendly embaſſy to them. Theſe opened their commiſſion before the general aſſembly of the Gauls, which was, in ſubſtance, to require the Senones to ceaſe all further hoſtilities againſt the Cluſians, otherwiſe the ſenate would be obliged, againſt their will, to ſupport the oppreſſed, againſt whom they could allege no cauſe of complaint. To this the Gauls anſwered, with their uſual politeneſs, to the following effect; viz. that though they were not acquainted with the Romans, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, ſeeing the Cluſians had implored their aſſiſtance under their preſent unhappy ſituation. "Your "principals, continued they, having choſen to ſend an embaſ- "ſy to us, rather than their forces to ſupport their allies, we "do not refuſe the peace which you offer to us, provided the "Cluſians, who hold more lands than they can cultivate, "agree to yield ſome of them to us, who are in want of "them. This is the only condition upon which we can "make peace with you, and we deſire a poſitive anſwer be- "fore your departure. If the Cluſians will not agree to it,

[z] Concerning the origin of this cuſtom, ſee vol. xix. p. 312, & ſeq. [a] Livy, l. v. c. 35, & ſeq. Plutarch. in Camil.

" we are ready to give them battle, even now, before you,
" that you may be able to inform your countrymen how
" much the Gauls are superior to other nations, in point of
" bravery."

Their sharp answer to the Roman embassadors.

To this the embassadors replied, without seeming to understand the force of the last words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injustice, to insist upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully possessed of, and to wage war against them because they refused to do so. Whereupon Brennus, the Gaulish leader, without farther ceremony, answered, that the Gauls carried their right at the point of their sword; and that the brave had the best title to all things. " You yourselves, said he, have made
" no scruple to strip the Albanians, Fidenates, Volscii, &c.
" of the greatest part of their territories; and yet you did
" nothing, in all this, that we pretend to censure, as either
" strange, or unjust: for you did only follow the prime,
" and most antient of all laws, which obliges the weak to
" give way to the strong. This law seems to be derived
" from the deity itself, and extends down to the very
" brutes, amongst which, the strongest naturally seek to
" subdue the weakest. Cease, then, to take the part of the
" besieged Clusians, lest the Gauls should one day think
" themselves obliged, in their turn, to shew the same com-
" passion towards those whom you have oppressed." This was, indeed, an argument ad hominem, and such as the Romans could never answer, but tacitly approved and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the Gauls did, upon all such occasions (F). What the success of this embassy

(F) A remarkable instance of this, we have in the same Gaulish general, who having promised the Romans to raise the siege of the capitol, and to retire from them, upon condition they paid him a thousand pounds weight of gold, when the money was brought to be weighed to him, ordered false weights to be made use of; and being asked by the Roman tribune what he meant by them, proudly answered him, " What should it mean, but woe to
" the conquered (19)?"

In like manner, a little before the battle which Marius gained over the Cimbri, another tribe of the Gauls, we find one of these sending a challenge to fight the stoutest of the Romans in single combat, and overcome by the brave L. Opimius (20). Soon after

(19) L. v. c. 8.

(20) Livy, l. v. c. 48. Plutarch. in Camil.

embaſſy was, is foreign to our preſent ſubject: we have given a full account of it in a former volume [a], and only repeat it here to ſhew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed, viz. that of the ſtrongeſt arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they ſuffered them to be ſuperſeded by this, which they falſely called the law of nature.

NEITHER was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conqueſts, but extended itſelf to the deciſion of private right among themſelves; for when any debates aroſe amongſt them, about their poſſeſſions, about any injury or affront, given or received, eſpecially among thoſe of the better ſort, in caſe the council or public magiſtrate did not give ſentence to the ſatisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by ſingle combat. Neither could their magiſtrates deny them that liberty, when once inſiſted upon by either party; nor could the oppoſite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilſt the whole Gauliſh nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards, who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and preſided in all their courts and councils with ſuch an uncontrouled ſway, that it was the moſt dangerous thing to contravene their deciſions, ſuch diſputes may have been, and, it is moſt likely, were actually decided by theſe courts and councils; but after they came to be ſeparated into ſo many different governments, they began to look upon ſuch ſubjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to ſubſtitute this way of ſingle combat to it, not only as the ſhorteſt, but as the more

Decided their lawſuits, &c. by ſingle combat.

[a] See before, vol. xi. p. 577, & ſeq.

after this, Bojorix, one of their kings, came in perſon to Marius's camp, and challenged him to appoint a day and place for a battle, there to decide their right to the territories they were then diſputing about, purſuant to their general and received maxim, that providence was always on the ſide of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt (21). The ſame notion was common among the Germans, and was alledged by their king Arioviſtus, who having conquered the Sequani, told Julius Cæſar, that the right of conqueſt intitled the conqueror to uſe the conquered as he pleaſed (22).

(21) See before, vol. xii. p. 496.

(22) Livy & Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of theirs, that providence was engaged to ſide with the right party; and that ſucceſs was a ſure token that the conqueror had the beſt title to the thing in diſpute. And as the party who thought himſelf injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to juſtify his diſſatisfaction, even though the king himſelf had given ſentence againſt him, and his opponent was obliged to ſubmit to it; ſo if the caſe of the two contenders was ſo intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they uſed to adjudge them to this method of ending the conteſt. Even the very witneſſes, if their depoſitions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themſelves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by ſingle combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any ſentence that was paſſed either by king, or court of judicature. Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in Spain, between whom Scipio would fain have compromiſed their diſpute about the ſucceſſion, who told him, with one accord, that they would ſubmit to no judgment, either of GOD or man, but to that of Mars [b]. Herodotus, who often confounds the Scythians with the Celtes, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and ſhew to the ſtrangers, that travelled through their countries, the heads of thoſe whom they had thus overcome in ſingle combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and ſuch-like [c]. The ſame cuſtom was alſo practiſed among the Germans, who are reported to have lulled Varro aſleep, by complimenting him with having found out means to end quarrels and diſputes by the way of juſtice, which they were wont to decide by the ſword [d].

Strange fondneſs for duels.

To ſuch a degree of fondneſs for theſe ſingle combats were they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour or truſt, when their pretenſions or merit were eſteemed nearly equal, had recourſe to it; and even among the druids themſelves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any diſpute aroſe about the number or validity of the votes of thoſe who had the chuſing of him [e]. And, what was ſtill more prodigious, theſe challenges were often ſent for mere punctilios, and trifling piques, eſpecially at their feaſts, and drunken revels, and many times out of

[b] Livy, l. xxvii. c. 21. [c] Herodot. l. vi. c. 65.
[d] Velleii Paterc. l. i. c. 118. [e] Comment. l. vi. c. 13. Tacit. ann. l. xiii. c. 57. N. Damaſcen. Veget. de re milit. & al.

of mere oſtentation, and to make parade of their ſtrength and bravery; of which, the two following are pregnant inſtances, and plainly ſhew how tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controverſies by the ſword. Livy, ſpeaking of the funeral obſequies which Scipio Africanus performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spaniſh wars, tells us, that there came vaſt crowds of perſons of diſtinction to Carthagena, a city in Spain, ſaid to have been built by Aſdrubal, to honour that ceremony by ſingle combats. "Theſe, ſays he, did not fight "like the common gladiators, either by force, or for money, "but of their own accord, and free will." Some were ſent thither by their princes, to diſplay their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of oſtentation; and others becauſe they could not refuſe the challenge that was ſent to them. Amongſt them there were ſome, who having law-ſuits, or ſome controverſies with others, agreed among themſelves to put off the deciſion of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the eſtate or thing in diſpute ſhould fall to the conqueror [f]. The other inſtance, which we have out of the ſame author [g], is of ſome Gauliſh mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as ſome of the rudeſt and fierceſt of that nation, whom Hannibal had taken priſoners; theſe the Carthaginian general ordered to be brought at the head of his army, and, having provided them with a ſufficient number of Gallic arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they ſhould engage in ſingle combat, and vanquiſh every man his antagoniſt; promiſing, moreover, that every victor ſhould be preſented with a horſe, and a ſet of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in ſight of the whole army, fought with ſuch intrepid bravery, that the ſpectators knew not which to admire moſt, the victor, or the vanquiſhed (G).

[f] Livy, l. xxviii. c. 21. [g] L. xxi. c. 42.

(G) The Romans ſeem to have preſerved ſome ſuch barbarous cuſtom, at an antient temple of Diana, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where the high prieſt was to be a fugitive ſlave, and could keep his dignity no longer than he had the good luck to kill ſuch other fugitive ſlaves as came to diſpute it with him. Whoever killed him, was immediately declared his ſucceſſor and

How long this duelling humour has been preſerved among ſome of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in ſpite of their ſpecious pretence of honour, we need not here obſerve: their anceſtors, it is plain from their hiſtory, made war their chiefeſt trade, and higheſt glory; and if they carried that favourite paſſion to exceſs, this may be ſaid, in extenuation of it, not only that the ſame warlike phrenſy reigned all over Europe, and far beyond, but, likewiſe, they were under a kind of neceſſity of indulging it to the utmoſt, in order to put a ſtop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no leſs than the enſlaving of all the world (H). No wonder, then, if in ſuch a caſe they uſed

continued in that office till another took it from him in the ſame way (23). But whether this cuſtom was introduced in imitation, or, rather, as ſeems moſt likely, in contempt of the Gauliſh and Celtic duelling, we leave to our readers.

Some think, however, that when the Romans exchanged the old Italic religion for that of the Greeks, they thought fit to turn over that pontifical dignity to their ſlaves, which expoſed the owner of it to ſuch continual and dangerous inconveniences (24). Caligula is reported to have put an end to it, by ſending an expert gladiator, who deprived him at once of his dignity and life (25).

(H) The Gauls, as well as Germans, Spaniards, &c. had the more reaſon to oppoſe the Romans, with all their might, becauſe they knew, by the experience of other nations, that where-ever theſe new conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magiſtrates, diſarmed the people, loaded them with ſuch heavy taxes, and ſubjected them to ſuch a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all theſe we may add a much greater inſtance of the Roman tyranny, which was, that when any of theſe brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, did make any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but ſuppoſed by their deſpotic maſters to have a deſign, to regain their liberty, they were ſure to be made ſuch dreadful examples to the reſt, as can hardly be mentioned without horror: we ſhall refer our readers to the Roman hiſtory, for numberleſs inſtances of their cruelty to thoſe brave nations, and only obſerve here, that nothing could more effectually inſpire ſuch

(23) Vide comment. l. i. c. 36. (24) Strabo, l. v. Ovid. art. amand. (25) Serv. in Æneid. verſ. 136. Vide Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 11.

uſed all poſſible means to inure themſelves to martial deeds, to inſpire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirſt after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious ſlavery. This became, accordingly, ſuch a ſettled maxim among them, that they ſeemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preſerve their liberty, or to avoid ſlavery by a noble death [h]. Whenever, therefore, we ſhall ſee their deſcendents encourage theſe kinds of ſingle combats from the ſame laudable motives, we ſhall readily own them to follow in the ſteps of their warlike anceſtors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preſerve their own, they will be juſtly chargeable with having improved the Gallic ferocity, by the ſuperaddition of the Roman ambition and tyranny.

Exceſſive love of liberty.

But to return to the antient Gauls: They had ſuch a ſingular contempt of life when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the appearance of ſervitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or any chronic diſeaſes, they either put an end to their days, or elſe prevailed upon their friends to do it, eſteeming this laſt ſtate as much a kind of ſlavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themſelves ſo ſtreightly beſieged by their enemies, that they could hold out no longer, inſtead of thinking how to make the moſt honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into ſlavery. In the field, when they were forced to make ſuch a haſty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for thoſe who were not able to follow them on foot, as the ſick, wounded, and the like; they made no ſcruple to diſpatch them, out of hand. And this was ſo far from being reckoned a hardſhip on them, that it was what they begged, with the greateſt vehemence and earneſtneſs; of all which we have ſeen very many inſtances through the courſe of this work, and ſhall beg leave to add two more, very remarkable in their kind.

Signal inſtances of it.

The firſt is of their famous, and, till then, ſucceſsful, general, Brennus, who being dangerouſly wounded, in that unfortunate

[h] Tacit. ann. l. ii. c. 15.

ſuch a brave warlike one as this of the Gauls, with a ſpirit of liberty, and deteſtation of the Roman tyranny, than thoſe diſmal cataſtrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

unfortunate expedition which he undertook againſt Greece, and ſeeing his army deſtroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and adviſed them to chuſe Cichorius for their leader, who ſhould firſt diſpatch him, and all the ſick and wounded, and afterwards head them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and 20000 of thoſe unhappy wretches were put to death. Brennus, only, choſe to die by his own hands, as the moſt glorious death of the two, in his opinion [i]. The other is of thoſe Gauls who being on the eve of giving battle to Antigonus, and being threatened by their aruſpices with a total overthrow, went firſt, and killed their wives and children, and then reſolutely marched to meet that glorious death, which their ſoothſayers had foretold them [k]. With the ſame ſpirit of liberty did thoſe act, who were unfortunately taken priſoners by their enemies, before they had had time to diſpatch themſelves: for if once the conqueror began to treat them as ſlaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they ſeldom failed taking the firſt opportunity of putting an end to their ſlavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly uſed by all nations, has raiſed this ſpirit in them to ſuch a height, that they have ruſhed upon, and butchered one another, by mutual conſent[l]. Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no leſs famous for it, in hiſtory; nor did they come ſhort of the Spartan, and other female heroines, but rather excelled them, in this deſperate kind of fury; inſomuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have ſallied out, armed with axes, and ſuch other weapons as came firſt to hand, and, with moſt hideous outcries, fallen foul both on the fugitives and on their enemies; on the firſt, as betrayers of their country; and on the others as invaders of their liberties. We ſhall give ſome remarkable inſtances of this female valour under the next head.

In the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of a judicious reflection which Strabo makes upon this exceſſive love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the Gauls, viz. that it did very much facilitate the conqueſt of that nation; becauſe their pouring thus furiouſly their numerous

[i] Excerpt. ex Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. ap. legal. Hoeſhel. p. 158, Vide Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 14. Juſtin. ex Trog. l. xxiv. c. 8. Pauſan. in Phoc. c. 23. [k] Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 2. [l] Iidem ibid. Vide & Florum, l. ii. c. 11. iv. 12.

rous troops upon ſuch an experienced enemy as the Romans were, under Cæſar, their want of conduct and circumſpection, made them rather encreaſe the number of the vanquiſhed, than ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; whereas thoſe in Spain, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the moſt advantageous grounds, and ſtrongeſt paſſes, and diſputing with them every ſuch place, inch by inch, made their conqueſt more difficult, and longer in completing [m]. This remark is certainly very juſt, and the Spaniards, by joining policy to their valour, did put off their ſlavery ſome few years longer; whereas the Gauls truſting too much to their number and bravery, were more ſpeedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, and as they were, like the Gauls, divided into ſo many petty ſtates, had they, like them, joined their forces againſt the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the Roman valour and policy. For, as the ſame hiſtorian obſerves in another place [n], it was by this way of conquering one little ſtate after another, that both Carthaginians, and, after them, the Romans, made themſelves maſters of that country.

THIS is not a proper place to enquire into the cauſes that occaſioned the loſs of liberty to the Gauliſh nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their hiſtory down to that ſad cataſtrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than this, or was more dreaded by the Romans for them. Witneſs that law which the latter made, and is recorded by ſeveral of their own writers [o], whereby all diſpenſations formerly granted to prieſts, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in caſe they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the Gauls; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by Cicero [p], and by Cæſar himſelf [q]; ſo that there was a time when they were more afraid of the Gauliſh valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the Germans, whoſe ſuperiors they proved themſelves ſo far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the Rhine, whenever their vaſt encreaſe made their own territories too ſtreight for them. Tacitus doth, indeed, tell us, in his life of Agricola, that they were by that time very much degenerated from their antient valour; which is neither improbable,

[m] Strab. l. iv. [n] L. iii. [o] Livy, l. viii. Appian. l. ii. Vide & Plutarch. in vit. Marcel. & Camil. & Tacit. de morib. German. [p] Philippic. ii. [q] Comment. l. vi.

bable, nor a great wonder, conſidering how many of their petty kings, and little ſtates, had been corrupted, partly by Roman gold, partly by pompous titles, and high promiſes, which introduced amongſt them luxury and indolence, haſtened on the loſs of their virtue and liberty, and turned them into traytors againſt the reſt of their countrymen. We ſhall beg leave, in juſtice to them, to conclude this article with a remarkable paſſage or two out of Juſtin, which are as follow [r]:

"THE Gauls, finding their multitudes to encreaſe ſo faſt, "that their lands could not afford them ſufficient ſuſtenance, "ſent out three hundred thouſand ſouls to ſeek for new habi- "tations: part of theſe ſettled in Italy, and theſe both took "and burnt the city of Rome; another part penetrated as "far as the ſhores of Dalmatia, and, having deſtroyed there "an infinite number of barbarians, ſettled themſelves at laſt "in Pannonia. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who "ventured (next after Hercules, who, by the like attempt, "raiſed himſelf to the higheſt pitch of reputation, and title to "immortality) to croſs the almoſt inacceſſible rocks of the Alps, "and places ſcarce paſſable through their exceſſive coldneſs; "where, having totally ſubdued the Pannonians, they waged "war with the neighbouring provinces for many years." And a little after,--- "Being encouraged by their ſucceſs, "others ſubdivided their parties; ſome took their way to Græ- "cia, ſome to Macedonia, deſtroying all before them with fire "and ſword. And ſo great a terror did the name of Gauls "ſpread round about them, that ſeveral kings, not in the "leaſt threatened by them, came, of their own accord, and "purchaſed their peace with large ſums of money." ---And in the very next book he adds, that "So great was the fruit- "fulneſs of the Gauls at that time, that they filled all Aſia "with their ſwarms; inſomuch, that none of the eaſtern mo- "narchs either ventured to make war without a mercenary "army of them, or, if driven out of their kingdom, fled "to any other but to them, for refuge."

WE ſhall have the leſs room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read of in antient authors concerning the ſingular valour, and love of liberty, of the Gauliſh nation, if we conſider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men; ſo that both ſexes had it, in ſome meaſure tranſfuſed in their blood; they ſucked it at the breaſt, and learned the firſt rudiments of it in the very nurſery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains theſe viragoes took to keep up their men

[r] Hiſt. l. xxiv.

men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon thoſe who turned their backs upon them, and upon thoſe who purſued them: we ſhall now, according to our promiſe, add ſome few inſtances more of this female bravery from undoubted authority.

In their women's

THE Ambrones, ſays Plutarch [s], (a Gauliſh people, who lived near the foot of the Alps, between Switzerland and Provence) having been defeated by Marius near Aix in Provence, were purſued by the Romans quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with ſwords and hatchets, who, mingling themſelves with victors and vanquiſhed, did, with one hand, ſtrive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to diſpatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and deſpair; but when they found themſelves loſt beyond recovery, they ſent to demand of the conqueror three things (I); viz. firſt, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to ſlavery: ſecondly, That their chaſtity might be preſerved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions having been rejected by Marius, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume [t], another, and even more dreadful inſtance of this female love of liberty, in the Cimbrian women; the circumſtances of which are ſo ſhocking, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of repeating them here. The ſame deſperate reſiſtance Julius Cæſar is reported to have met with from the Helvetian women, when, having defeated their husbands, he came to take poſſeſſion of their camp, and their baggage: for both the women,

[s] In vita Marii. Vide & Oroſ. l. vi. c. 16. Flor. l. iii. c. 3. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. Hieron. epiſt. ad Geront.
[t] Vol. xiii. p. 497. Vide & auct. ſup. citat.

(I) Florus, in the place above quoted, attributes this embaſſy to the Cimbrian women: theſe were another branch of the Gauliſh nation, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (26), and thoſe women were no leſs brave and warlike, as will appear, by their deſperate defence, and cataſtrophe, of which we are going to ſpeak. But he is, moſt likely, miſtaken here, as he is in many other inſtances: the other authors give the glory of it to the Ambronian females.

(26) Vol. xii. p. 429.

women, and their young ſons, defended themſelves to the laſt, chuſing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into ſlavery [u]. The Dalmatian women are likewiſe reported to have ſet fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themſelves, and their children, into it; whilſt others hurried themſelves, and them, into the next river [w]. The ſame we read of thoſe of Iſtria, Illyrium, Spain, and other Gauliſh nations [x], as well as of thoſe of Germany, who retained more of the old Celtic ferocity than any of the reſt: of theſe laſt we ſhall give a remarkable inſtance, as they ſhewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of deſpair, but in cold blood; for a number of theſe being taken priſoners by the Romans, and ſcorning to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, when it was offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly ſold, or be maſſacred, did, unanimouſly, prefer the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, cauſed them to be expoſed to ſale; upon which, they all ruſhed into a voluntary death, many of them having firſt ſent their children before, in the ſame way [y]. The ſame ſpirit may be ſaid to have run through all the deſcendents of the antient Celtes [z], and extended even to their children. The author laſt quoted mentions a ſtripling, in Spain, who, ſeeing his whole family taken priſoners, and having, by chance, ſtumbled upon a ſword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their miſery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewiſe, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other priſoners in the ſame way: ſo that we may conclude this article with what Oroſius ſays of the Gauliſh nation, when, ſpeaking of thoſe Iſtrian Gauls who choſe to burn themſelves, rather than capitulate with the beſiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to ſlavery [a].

And children.

Their martial diſcipline.

WHAT their military diſcipline was, is hard to gueſs: by what we have hitherto ſeen, it ſeems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than diſcretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hoſts as occaſion required, but truſting altogether on their numbers, and reinleſs bravery, ſufficiently ſhews them to have been greatly wanting in this reſpect: and this ſeems the true reaſon why they had ſuch ill ſucceſs, whenever they engaged

[u] Plutarch. in vit. Cæſar. [w] Dio. Caſſ. in excerpt. Valeſ. l. lvi. & lxxvii. [x] Appian. Illyr. Oroſ. &c. [y] Dio ubi ſupra. [z] Strabo, l. iii. [a] L. v. c. 14.

engaged with other nations, eſpecially the Romans. One might, at leaſt, have expected that thoſe continual wars which they waged with theſe laſt, and their being ſo conſtantly hired as auxiliaries, ſometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the moſt expert nation in the art of war, conſidering their hereditary fierceneſs, intrepid valour, contempt of death, thirſt for glory and conqueſt, and their invincible dread of ſlavery; all which were ſo ſtrongly rooted in them by education (K), and continual exerciſe in martial deeds, as we have ſeen under the laſt article. But whether it were owing to their too tenacious fondneſs for their antient cuſtoms, or to a contempt of thoſe other nations, their hiſtory plainly ſhews, that they never ſtrove to excel in foreign martial diſcipline. Their chief talent ſeems to have conſiſted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberleſs troops with

(K) Beſides what we have lately ſaid of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we muſt remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their anceſtors, the Celtes, which was, to have their martial laws couched in ſome kind of verſes, or ſongs, ſet to proper tunes, and adorned with all the embelliſhments of rhetoric and poetry. Theſe the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions; ſo that they had learned all the rudiments of military diſcipline long before they were able to bear arms (27); and it is not unlikely that they likewiſe initiated them in the practice before that time.

In theſe ſongs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded, the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as theſe bards and ſongſters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own ſakes, and the better remembering the vaſt number of ſuch pieces, which time, and their continual wars, muſt of courſe occaſion, yet) they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge ſtones, artfully, and by main ſtrength, laid one over another, without any inſcription: ſo that the people were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe poems for the meaning of theſe monumental heaps, of which the reader will find many inſtances in the authors quoted in the margin (28).

(27) See before, vol. v. p. 409. (28) Rowland Mona antiqua. Stukeley's Stonehenge. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. Borel. antiq. Gauloiſ. Cluver. Ital. & German. antiq. paſſ.

with incredible fury and ſpeed, and ſpreading terror wherever they came; in ſurmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardſhips, that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful ſhouts, and deſperate eagerneſs, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almoſt peculiar to them; and, when all theſe failed, as it often did whenever they were engaged with troops that were better diſciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and ſtratagems of war; their laſt reſource was, to ſignalize their valour, and love of liberty, by ſuch deſperate exits as thoſe we have lately hinted. Much of their ſucceſs was owing to their horſe, and armed chariots, in both which reſpects they diſplayed ſuch a wonderful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, ſeldom failed of doing conſiderable execution. When they came to be divided into ſmall kingdoms, and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the ſame manner, that the merit and proweſs, as well as the faults and misbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well deſigned at firſt, was attended with great inconveniencies, and often threw things into confuſion, either for want of a general diſcipline, or through the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding between their commanders, and eſpecially from the time the Romans undertook the conqueſt of Gaul, through the treachery of thoſe who had been corrupted by them.

One thing more we muſt not omit, concerning their military diſcipline, which is, their extreme ſuperſtition, in which they ſeemed to outdo all other nations: they were very careful in obſerving the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as poſſible, engaging the enemy before it was paſt the full. An eclipſe of it was looked upon as ſuch a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great ſoever, or, indeed, any thing but abſolute neceſſity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themſelves, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they did engage more like deſperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruſpices, who, in their auguries, are branded with uſing ſome very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given ſome hints in ſpeaking of their religion. If the augury promiſed them ſucceſs, thoſe diviners uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, until the onſet began; but if it proved otherwiſe, they forbore fighting, if poſſible, till they met

met with a more favourable one: and ſuch a ſway had this order of men amongſt them, that they have protracted, or even hindered the fight, even at the very inſtant they were going to engage. But dreadful was their caſe, whenever they were forced to engage after a ſiniſter omen, or threatening augury; for then ſuch panic horror and deſpair reigned through their hoſts, that they rather ſtrove to avoid ſlavery by a ſpeedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knaviſh aruſpices, and their conjuring tricks.

THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in uſe among the Celtes, we have elſewhere given an account of [b]; but whether through a ſhew of bravery, or a contempt of thoſe which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the Romans, but their bows and arrows, the ſword and lance, which laſt was either longer or ſhorter, according to their fancy, and the ſhield; and yet it was with theſe weapons that they performed ſuch aſtoniſhing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They deſpiſed the helmet, cuiraſs, and other ſuch defenſive armour, and rather choſe to fight half, and ſome quite, naked. They were utter ſtrangers to thoſe machines which other nations uſed in ſieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief ſtreſs on a briſk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of ſtones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which, they ſcaled them, with the utmoſt fierceneſs and rapidity. This fierceneſs did often prove fatal to them, eſpecially when they have chanced to meet with a ſtout repulſe, as they frequently did, from the Romans; for, in all ſuch caſes, they loſt all their courage, and preſence of mind, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence. Thoſe who choſe rather to ſurrender, did lay down their arms, and preſented their left ſhoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked boſoms, in token of ſubmiſſion; after which, they ſcattered ſome of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongſt them, to bribe their conquerors. Theſe inſtances, however, of ſubmiſſion, were but ſcarce and rare amongſt them, in compariſon of thoſe in which they preferred death to ſlavery. But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody tract; let us now take a view of them in

[b] Vol. v. p. 409.

in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and ſciences, trade and navigation, &c.

Their language.

We begin with their language, which being univerſally allowed to have been the old Celtic, or Gomerian, of which we have given a full account in a former volume [c], we ſhall have the leſs to ſay of it here, except it be as far as relates to the changes it underwent after it divided itſelf into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little eſtates. There is ſcarcely any doubt but this old Celtic was the common language ſpoken all over Europe. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which, barely to abſtract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a ſubject for the greateſt part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the German language was originally a dialect of the old Celtic [d]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of his proofs, in the hiſtory of the antient Germans immediately following: in the mean time, ſo far as relates to the Gauls we are now treating of, it is manifeſt, that they all uſed this language, and that it was that ſame which is ſtill preſerved in ſeveral parts of Europe, particularly in Biſcay, Britany, Cornwal, and Wales, but no-where more purely than in North Wales.

What occaſioned this to be called in queſtion, by ſeveral learned men, was, that Julius Cæſar [e], in his diviſion of the Gauls into the Belgæ, Aquitani, and Celtæ, affirms, that they differed not only in their cuſtoms, but language. To which we may add what Strabo [f] and Ammianus Marcellinus [g] ſay of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, uſed different dialects of the ſame language: for ſo it will appear plainly, to thoſe who ſhall take the pains to trace thoſe antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the Gauls into our iſle, and is ſtill retained in its priſtine purity, in that part of it called North Wales, and compare it with thoſe alterations which it did, in time, undergo, in thoſe parts of Europe where it is ſtill preſerved, though nothing ſo pure and unmixed, ſuch as are South Wales, Cornwal, Ireland, the iſles of Man and Angleſey, and ſome parts of the highlands of Scotland amongſt us, and in Britany, Biſcay, and ſome other parts of the continent: ſuch a ſcrutiny will eaſily diſcover, not only the true original mother from her ſpurious offspring,

[c] Vol. v. p. 410.
[d] Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15.
[e] Comment. l. i. c. 1.
[f] L. iv.
[g] L. xv.

offspring, but the different chanels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itſelf into the latter. We formerly obſerved, that not only moſt of the modern European languages were manifeſtly dialects, more or leſs diſtant, of this old Celtic or Gomerian, but that even the Greek and Latin, and other antient ones, had ſuch a ſurpriſing affinity with it, as if they had ſplit themſelves from the ſame block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of Celtic extract (L).

(L) Of this we have interſperſed ſome inſtances, in a former volume (29); but ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of our Engliſh readers, add a few more, and place them ſo, that they may have ſo much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have ſaid; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted in the margin (30).

Tir terra	Mur murus	Calav calamus
Mor mare	Marw mori	Arva arma
Engil ignis	Trev tribus	Gayau hyems
Awyr aer	Offrail offertorium	Llyvr liber
Aur aurum	Anival animal	Nyver numerus
Avon amnis	Tirva turma	Geveil gemelli
Ghwydr. vitrum	Terwin terminus	Priv primus
Ffynnon fons		

The ſame may be ſaid, alſo, of the heathen gods, whom we have ſhewed, under a former article, to have been of Celtic extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

Jupiter, Jovis,	Jeuanc, Juvenis princeps, the youngeſt of Saturn's ſons (31)
Tonans,	Taran, thunderer
Mars, Mavors,	Mawr ruyſk, warlike, powerful; whence, probably, Maurice
Neptune,	Nofddyfn, ſwimming on the waves
Mercury,	Merk wr, a merchant; or March wr, a ſwift runner, or meſſenger

Talamon,

(29) Vol. v. p. 422. & ſeq. (30) Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. ad fin. Mona antiq. paſſ. præfert. p. 43, & ſeq. 252, 308, 315, & ſeq. Hickes's theſ. ling. ſeptentr. Lluyd's lexic. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. in addend. Edward's ſpecim. ling. Celtic. & Hebr.
(31) Vol. v. p. 428, (P).

We may add what Quintilian obſerves of the antient Latin, that till about the middle of the conſular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expreſſions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, moſt of them Gauliſh [h]; ſo that if thoſe which have been ſince loſt, or changed, were to be added to thoſe which ſtill remain, the conformity would appear ſtill greater. And if thoſe Gauls which were afterwards conquered by the Romans, had not, partly out of neceſſity (M), partly out of mere complaiſance, adopted

[h] L. i. c. 5.

Talamon, al. Atlas,	Telmon, a tall man, ſuch as he is feigned to have been
Hermes,	Armes, diviner; in which art he is ſaid to have excelled all the reſt
Teutat,	Duw taith, the traveller's god; or from teu tat, the father of the people
Hercules,	Erchyl, horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or that attitude in which he was repreſented
Vulcan,	Wael gin, or ginta, the inventor of ſteel, or ſteel armour
Apollo,	Ap haul, ap heulin, the ſon of the ſun
Titan,	Ti taan, the houſe of fire
Triton,	Trwydon, a wanderer on the waters
Rhea, Jove's mother,	Rheys, a princeſs, or lady
Juno,	Jevanc, a young princeſs; or from Ghuin, fair
Venus,	Ghuin, white, fair
Diana,	Di anaf, ſpotleſs, chaſte, untouched
Minerva,	Min arfau, the temperer of ſharp tools and weapons

(M) There is another proof of the antientneſs of this old Gomerian, or Celtic, viz. its ſimplicity, and near reſemblance to the Hebrew, and other primitive tongues, of which we have formerly ſpoken (32), and to which we ſhall only add an inſtance, to ſhew by

(32) See before, vol. v. p. 410. (B).

adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might ſtill behold a much greater nearneſs between the Low Briton, Biſcayaneer, Iriſh, &c. and the pure North Welſh. So that the only reaſon why theſe laſt have retained it in ſuch purity, muſt be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themſelves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the Iſraelites, during their long abode in Egypt, preſerving their original Hebrew, which they ſuffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongſt a great part of them, almoſt loſt in a ſeventy years captivity. Now as it is univerſally allowed, that moſt of the Aſiatic tongues, ſuch as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, &c. borrowed moſt of their radical or primitive words from the Hebrew, ſo this old Celtic, or Gomerian, which was the language of Gomer and his deſcendents, who firſt inhabited Europe, was the mother of moſt of the European languages, at leaſt as far as Scythia and Sarmatia, which were peopled by Gog and Magog, two other branches of Japhet's offspring: and as there is ſuch a vaſt affinity between thoſe two mother-tongues, we mean the Hebrew and Gomerian [i], or antient Celtic, it is not to be wondered, if we find the ſame reſemblance diffuſing itſelf through all their derivatives; ſuch as the High and Low Dutch, the Latin and

 Greek,

[i] Vide Edward's ſpecimen. Lluyd's grammar. Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. Hickes's theſaur. Mona antiqua, p. 278, & ſeq.

by what ſteps they came to adopt words of other languages to ſupply the poverty of theirs.

The antient Celtes, as well as their deſcendents the Gauls, were, as we have had frequent occaſion to ſhew (33), excellent horſemen and charioteers; and yet the North Welſh, among whom the language is preſerved in its antient purity, had not, neither have *they to this day, proper names for a* bridle, ſaddle, ſtirrup, or ſpur, becauſe they antiently deſpiſed the uſe of them; but are forced to expreſs them by circumlocution: as a leading and a covering leather, for a bridle and ſaddle; a mounting and pricking iron, for a ſtirrup and ſpur. Theſe, and many more ſuch deficiencies there are in that language, which their neighbours the South Welſh, as well as the Britons, &c. have ſupplied by Greek or Latin words: ſuch as that of ffruyn, frænum, for a bridle, &c. which the others would never adopt; though, in other points, they are now grown very remiſs in preſerving that antient tongue: and, if they go on in the ſame neglect much longer, it is much to be feared, will ſuffer it to be entirely loſt.

(33) Ibid.

Greek, the Arabic, Perſian, &c. and, particularly, between the Greek, Roman, and old Celtic, as the authors laſt quoted have ſufficiently ſhewed, as well as accounted for.

The notion of their ſpeaking Greek, exploded.

We have been the more particular on this ſubject, becauſe ſeveral learned men have maintained, that the Gauls commonly uſed the Greek tongue [k]. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the Gauliſh language, than ſuch an aſſumption, which may be eaſily overthrown, by one or two expreſs paſſages we meet with in Julius Cæſar. The one is, that in a conference which he had with Divitiacus, an Æduan or Gauliſh lord, he was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter; and yet Cæſar was a perfect maſter of the Greek [l]. The other, which is ſtill more expreſs, is, that when that conqueror found himſelf under a neceſſity to write to Quintus Cicero, who was then beſieged in his camp, he made uſe of the Greek tongue, leſt his letter ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of the Gauls, and diſcover his deſigns to them [m]; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. Strabo doth indeed tell us, that the Maſſilians cultivated all ſorts of polite literature, and, particularly, that of the Greek, to ſuch a degree, that the reſt of the Gauls were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, inſomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it [n]. But then it is plain, firſt, that he only ſpeaks of thoſe Gauls who were neighbours to Marſeilles, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited ſeveral learned men out of that famed city to inſtruct their youth, or ſent their children to be educated there: ſecondly, If the reſt of the Gauls did afterwards follow their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this faſhion of learning and uſing the Greek tongue did not begin till Strabo's time. Accordingly, St. Jerom tells us, upon the authority of a paſſage which he has preſerved out of Varro, that the Maſſilians ſpoke three ſorts of languages, the Greek, Latin, and Gauliſh [o]. Hence we may conclude, that the Greek tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the Gauls. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and

[k] Vide Hottoman. Franco-gallia, cap. ii. [l] Comment. l. i. c. 19. [m] L. v. c. 12. [n] L. iv. [o] Hieron. opera, tom. ix. p. 135. Vide Hottoman. ubi ſupra, & Pelloutier. ii. c. 10.

and eſpecially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the caſe ſufficiently plain, without any ſuch further proofs. The Greek characters, indeed, were in uſe among them in Cæſar's time, as we ſhall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into uſe much later ſtill, and that only among the learned and polite (N). As to the preſent language of that country, thoſe who are ever ſo little skilled in antient ones, may eaſily perceive it to be a medly of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the Latin, as the Romans were very induſtrious to propagate it, and cultivate it, in all their conquered dominions (O). The reſt is plainly a mixture of the old Celtic, of the Frank or German, as this did afterwards greatly deviate from

(N) There is, indeed, one paſſage in Cæſar's commentaries, from which ſome authors pretend to prove the contrary. It is that where he affirms, that in all other public and private concerns, Græcis utuntur literis (34); which, compared with the explication which Strabo, who wrote after him, gives of it (35), ſeems to imply, that they made uſe not of their characters, but of their language. But to this it is anſwered, by two learned critics (36), that the word Græcis has been foiſted into Cæſar's text. And, indeed, it plainly appears, that Cæſar meant no more in this place, than that the druids did not ſuffer any of their doctrines or principles to be committed to writing, though, in other matters, they allowed them to write letters, accounts, and the like; which they did, accordingly, in the Greek character, as we ſhall prove by-and-by.

But whether the phraſe, "uti literis," properly ſignifies to uſe the letters, or character, as it often doth among Latin authors; or, as others would have it, to uſe the language, as it may ſometimes do, though in a kind of figurative ſenſe; yet, in this place, if the word Græcis be *really* part of the text, it can only be meant of the character; elſe it would be abſurd in our hiſtorian, after he had ſaid, a little higher, that the Gauls were unskilled in the Greek, to ſay, that all their public and private accounts, tranſactions, &c. were written in that tongue.

(O) This plainly appears, from what Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, and Auſonius, tell us, of their ſetting up ſchools at Autun, Lyons, Besançon, and other places of that kingdom, as faſt as they conquered them. And we need not doubt, but, according to their wonted lordlineſs over all their vaſſals, they uſed all proper means to encourage and oblige them to learn it.

(34) L. vi. c. 14. (35) L. iv. (36) Joſ. Scalig. epiſt. l. i. epiſt. 16. Hottoman. Franco-gall. c. 2.

its original; and the reſt ſeems to be of Greek extraction. For it has been obſerved, by judicious men of that nation, that many Greek words have been adopted by them into common uſe, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for aught that appears, knew little of it, but from the ſchools of the Maſſilians we have lately ſpoken of.

The genius of their ſtile and language.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this article of the Gauliſh language, it will not be amiſs to make a ſhort remark on its pretended rudeneſs and harſhneſs, againſt which both Greek and Roman authors have raiſed ſuch an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a Celte or Gaul ſpeak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greateſt part of their words, eſpecially of their proper names of men, women, towns, rivers, &c. were ſo very harſh, that they could not be pronounced by ſtrangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inſerted in a poem, without murdering the verſe [p]. A foreigner could hardly hear them ſpoke without having his ears grated, or almoſt flayed with it [q]. The emperor Julian ſays, that it reſembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of ſome wild beaſt [r]. There muſt needs be allowed to be ſome exaggeration in theſe expreſſions, conſidering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears, to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be queſtioned, but even the French and Italian, emaſculated as they have been of late, do appear ſo at firſt hearing: it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, with reſpect to the German, there is leſs of the hyperbole; and perhaps the antient Gauliſh might originally have a great deal of that kind of harſhneſs, which guttural and ſome other hard conſonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally cauſe, unleſs ſoftened by the interpoſition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to diſculpate the latter, but would only obſerve, that there is a vaſt difference between thoſe two languages in this reſpect; and that the true Celtic, or North Welſh, though ſeemingly crouded with a number of conſonants, has yet a peculiar ſweetneſs, and is much more adapted for muſic and poetry, than we are apt generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume [s]. And here it will not be amiſs to remind them, that their cuſtom of couching and preſerving all

[p] Plin. jun. l. viii. epiſt. 4. de triſtib. eleg. xii. ver. 55. [q] Diod. Sicul. l. v. Ovid. [r] Miſopog. [s] Vol v. p. 410. (B)

all their laws, records, hiſtory, &c. in verſe, inured them to a ſtyle more ſwoln, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations (P); on the other hand, their fierce and warlike diſpoſition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their ſonorous and maſculine language, than of the ſmoother Greek and Roman proſe. To which we may add, that their natural averſion for the Roman nation might not contribute a little to this oppoſition, eſpecially as they had reaſon to conſider all their ſweetneſs of language, ſtyle, and behaviour, as ſo many ſnares to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe Diodorus Siculus [t], their ſtile was not only ſwollen, conciſe, and Laconic, but intricate and obſcure, full of ſynecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we ſhall ſay, in the ſequel, concerning their manners and cuſtoms; in which, as well as their loftineſs and pompouſneſs of ſtyle and language, they ſeem to have been more cloſely imitated by the Spaniards, than any other European nation.

Their writings and chacters.

THE Gauls had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in proceſs of time, the Greek ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obſtacle to it, and their druids or bards, whoſe intereſt it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice againſt committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to deſtroy, than preſerve the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of diſcouragement to learn them by heart out of their poetical compoſitions; whereas this laſt, they pretended, was the moſt effectual means of preſerving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of ſtrangers [u]: ſo that it was looked upon as a diſhonour for any of them to learn to read or write (Q). And even after they begun

[t] L. v. [u] Comment. l. vi. c. 14.

(P) Hence the German poetry, which preſerves ſtill its antient roughneſs, is judiciouſly enough compared to thoſe cataracts of the Nile, whoſe ſounding falls are rather apt to inſpire one with dread, than to afford pleaſure to the hearers; and their ſwoln ſtyle to that of men that are ever mounted upon ſtilts.

(Q) Elian has preſerved us a paſſage out of Andretion, to this purpoſe (37), that the antient Thracians, and, in general, all the barbarian

(37) Var. hiſt. l. viii. c. 6.

began to introduce the uſe of letters, in their contracts, bargains, and the like civil concerns, the druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, and much leſs of their religion, to writing [w]. Hence Origen might well tell his antagoniſt [x], that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that ſcarcity of materials we meet with, with relation to their hiſtory, ſince they committed all their learning, laws, religion, and tranſactions, to thoſe ſongs and verſes which they carefully kept from ſtrangers; and periſhed, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at leaſt, with their old heatheniſh religion, upon their embracing chriſtianity (R). It were to be wiſhed, that the chriſtian prieſts and monks had not imitated, ſo cloſely, this druidiſh policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monaſteries; eſpecially in Gaul and

[w] Idem ibid. Strab. l. iv. [x] Con. Celſ. l. i.

barbarian nations, ſettled in Europe, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a ſingular contempt for them, though they were commonly uſed by thoſe that ſettled themſelves in Aſia. The ſame is affirmed of the Huns, by Procopius (38); and this humour ſeems to have been ſo deeply rooted among them, that even Theodoric, king of Italy, could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, though he had ſpent a conſiderable part of his younger days among the Romans; but it is reported, whenever he was obliged to ſign an edict, to have only made uſe of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, Teod, engraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (39).

(R) It is probable, indeed, that upon their converſion to the goſpel they might, by degrees, be ſo far ſhamed out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for conceealing their laws, hiſtory, &c. that they might ſuffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward, but as for thoſe hymns, and poetic compoſitions, which we are ſpeaking of, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they were ever preſerved, ſeeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and thoſe who remained in their antient idolatry, were equally concerned to ſuppreſs them; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of thoſe praiſes that were ſung in them, to their falſe deities, heroes, &c. and of thoſe abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worſhip of them. Jornandes tells us, indeed, that thoſe which were in uſe among the Goths, were ſtill extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have ſince periſhed, and, moſt probably, for the very reaſon juſt now aſſigned.

(38) Goth. l. iv. c. 18. (39) Excerpt, auct. incog. ap. Valeſium, ad calc. Ammian. Marcel.

and Germany: for they ſeem to have ſo well cultivated this prejudice againſt it, amongſt the laity, that they were forced to have recourſe to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the perſons concerned in it, and the witneſſes, ſet their own marks, and the ſcrivener their name to it. But, with reſpect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of abſolute kind of neceſſity to make uſe of writing, the Greek character ſeems to have been that which was in uſe amongſt them, according to Cæſar, Strabo, Pliny, and others, above quoted (S): and was brought among them from Marſeilles, which was a colony of the Greeks, or Gallogreeks. How their conqueſt, and intercourſe among the Romans, did afterwards introduce their character amongſt them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer upon it.

The probable origin of their poetry.

As to their poetry, it is altogether loſt, we can ſay little of it; yet it will not be amiſs to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern hiſtorian [y], who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expreſſes it, the reigning ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to thoſe poetical compoſitions, at leaſt in Europe. This was, indeed, the moſt effectual method to preſerve the memory of ſuch momentous

[y] Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.

(S) We have obſerved, a little higher, that this paſſage is controverted by ſome learned men (40) who think that the word Græcis is interpolated in the place there quoted: however, as they do not ſubſtitute any other character to it, and ſome other paſſages ſeem expreſs, ſuch as the muſter-rolls, and ſome other public writings which were found amongſt them, we make no doubt but the Greek were the firſt and chief letters in uſe amongſt them.

This carries ſuch an evidence with it, that the author of the religion of the Gauls, who makes theſe to have come originally out of Phœnice, and to have brought their own character from Aſia into Europe; doth yet allow it undeniable, that they likewiſe uſed the Greek amongſt them: and to the authorities above quoted adds ſome others, taken from antient medals, and, particularly, an antique inſcription, whoſe legends are in the Gauliſh tongue, and Greek characters (41). So that if theſe be really as old, and as authentic, as he, and the authors from whom he has taken them, do ſuppoſe (42), there is not the leaſt room to doubt of thoſe letters having been in common uſe among the Gauls.

(40) Sup. not. (N). (41) Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 4. p. 39, & ſeq. (42) Bouteroue, p. 43, 62, & ſeq. 191. Roma ſubterran. Mobillon. ap. eund. ibid.

mentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only eaſily learned, and remembered, but, likewiſe, concealed from other nations (T). And ſuch fondneſs did both Gauls and Germans conceive for theſe kind of performances, eſpecially as they were ſet to proper tunes, that they ſeemed to reliſh nothing elſe, and ſhewed a natural contempt for thoſe of the proſaic ſort. And this humour did ſtill prevail ſo ſtrongly, even ſo low as the ninth century, that when Lewis the Debonnaire undertook to have the Saxons inſtructed in the holy ſcriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into Saxon verſe [z]. The ſame was done by Ottofridus, with reſpect to the four goſpels, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into German, and put into verſe: for as they could neither read, nor care to learn, they conſented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verſe, and ſet to muſic for them, and they permitted to ſing them on proper occaſions. Some ſuch compoſitions Charles the Great is ſaid to have found amongſt them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he cauſed, likewiſe, to be tranſcribed, for the ſame end [a]. We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief ſubjects of thoſe antient poetic compoſitions; as to their metre, and

[z] Vide Du Chene rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier, ubi ſupra. [a] Eginhard in vit. Carol. magn. c. 29.

(T) This remark, however, is far from being deſigned to derogate from that purer and nobler origin, which pious chriſtians have given to this excellent art, viz. the love of the Supreme Being, and the contemplation of his attributes and works. But, however true this laſt may be, with relation to the people of God, who ſo early, and ſo much, excelled all other nations in it, as we have fully ſhewn in a former volume (43), it can never be imagined to have been the caſe of the fierce Gauls and Germans, whoſe religion and genius was quite oppoſite to ſuch a ſuppoſition. As for thoſe who make Bacchus and Venus the parents of poetry, if they will but add Mars to it, they may be well enough allowed to have gueſſed righter, with reſpect to the nations we are here ſpeaking of; and though their compoſitions have not reached our times, we find reaſon enough to gueſs, from their temper and diſpoſitions, their banquets and drunken revels, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place, that great part of thoſe ſongs and poetic compoſitions owed their riſe to them.

(43) Vide ſup. vol. iii. p. 421, & ſeq.

and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unleſs we gueſs at them by ſome of a more modern date; ſuch as thoſe which the author of Mona Antiqua has given us [b] out of Talieſin, who was poet laureat to Maelgwyn, about the time of Auſtin the monk's coming into England. But neither from theſe, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old Gauliſh language, can we conclude them to have been either ſmooth or elegant, except with reſpect to the loftineſs of their expreſſions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the ſame kind; and we ſhould have framed but a very wrong idea of the Greek poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by than thoſe of a Pindar, Lycophron, and ſome others of their bards.

Arts and ſciences.

WE need not here repeat what we obſerved, in the laſt ſection, concerning their ſkill in aſtronomy and geometry, from which we may juſtly infer, that if they were maſters of thoſe two ſciences, they muſt, of courſe, have cultivated many others, eſpecially ſuch as are depending on, or leading to them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be eaſily determined, any more than what new ones thoſe were which they afterwards learned from the Maſſilian ſages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have ſhewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt, and which, indeed, was moſt natural to them. They received, from their infancy, moſt of their inſtructions from thoſe poems which were compoſed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occaſions, either read, or ſung; and as the greateſt part of them were of the heroic kind, ſo it inured them to a pompous and high-flown ſtyle. We have ſeen, that they repreſented Mercury, the god of eloquence, with the ſymbols of Hercules, to ſhew what vaſt power that art had over them, above all others. Theſe emblems they ſeem to have taken from the Romans (V); and though they were ſo far from imitating them

[b] P. 150.

(V) It is known, that the Romans, in all places of their public exerciſes, placed Mercury and Hercules in full view. The Greeks uſually ſet a Cupid between them, to ſhew, that love hath its origin from the other two, i. e. from ſtrength and eloquence (44); and we read, that the Megapolitans had but one temple for thoſe

(44) Euſtat. in Odyſſ. θ.

them in their long-winded periods, flow and pompoſity of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a conciſe and nervous ſtyle, yet they could not forbear being taken with ſuch artful declamations and pieces of oratory. This is, at leaſt, what Cerealis, a Roman general, upbraided them with in Veſpaſian's time [c]; and Cato the cenſor tells us, that the Gauls made this eloquence, and exerciſe of arms, their chief ſtudy. And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or neceſſary, in ſuch a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council, before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every matter, both public and private, was debated by the parties concerned, beſides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretenſions, and other concerns of every private ſtate, were to be debated, and finally determined, as we have ſeen above. But, after all, we would not venture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over Gaul; it is more likely, that theſe countries, which remained ſtill unconquered by the Romans, retained ſtill ſomething of their natural ferocity, and contempt for ſuch arts and ſciences as were moſt admired among foreign nations: and we may very well ſuppoſe, that the druids, wherever they ſtill bore any ſway, did all they could to cheriſh this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to leſſen this averſion, as well as to inſpire thoſe that were ſubdued, with a greater love of this art, that ſeveral emperors thought fit to found academies in ſeveral parts of Gaul, with conſiderable rewards and honours to thoſe who gained the prize of it. We are told, that that of Autun had, in Tiberius's time, 40000 ſtudents [d]: we read, beſides, that other public ſchools were erected at Lyons, Bourdeaux, Toulouſe, Narbonne, and other places, beſides that ſo famed one of Marſeilles, of which we have already ſpoken [e]. Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been ſince ſo celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators [f]; and if it has

[c] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 73. [d] Idem, ann. l. iii. c. 43.
[e] Sueton. in Calig. c. 20. Juven. ſatir. l. i. c. 6. & Auſon. profeſſor. [f] Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & epiſt. ad Ruſtic. Juvenal. ſat. xv. ver. 3.

thoſe two deities (45), or even repreſented them under one and the ſame emblem (46).

(45) Pauſan. in Arcad. (46) Ariſtid. crat. in Hercul.

has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is becauſe it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in moſt other ſtudies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them [g].

Commerce. WE have already taken notice, from the great regard they paid to the god Mercury, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved from a great number of antient inſcriptions, and, particularly, a famous one ſet up by the Paris merchants, and dedicated to Jupiter the good. The reader will ſee it in the margin (W) together with a hint or two of ſome curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from

[g] Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 10, ad fin.

(W) The inſcription runs thus: TIB. CAESARE AVG. IOVI OPTVM. MAXVM M. NAVTAE PARISIACI POSVERVNT. From the diſpoſition of ſome of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put juſt under it, inſtead of beginning the next, our author ſuppoſes the Gauls to have had the antient way, which is aſcribed alſo to the Greeks, of writing βυϛροφηδὸν, that is, as the oxen ploughed, backwards and forwards (47). He endeavours to confirm his notion by ſome antient coins, whoſe legend runs, in ſome, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right: we do not, however, mention it here, as if we were ſatisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a fuller enquiry into it from ſuch old coins and monuments as may fall into their way.

Our author further pretends, that the Celtes, or antient Gauls, brought the Greek letters with them from Phenice (48), contrary to the general conſent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the Greeks. As his arguments for it ſeem very far from concluſive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until ſomething more evident ſtrikes out from thoſe hints he has given us; which is far from being impoſſible, conſidering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was poſſible for the druids to retain in their heads ſuch a vaſt variety of the moſt copious and important ſubjects, by dint of memory, and without having ſome kind of books, or writings, to refreſh it, or to have recourſe to, when that failed; and how eaſily might they conceal ſuch a help, if any ſuch they had, as they did ſo many other things, from the reſt of the world?

(47) Pauſan. l. v. Vide Relig. des Gaul. l. iii. c. 14.
(48) Ibid. l. i. c. 4.

from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon. The whole country ſeems to have been divided into three eſtates, viz. the druids, with their underlings, the bards, &c. the nobles, and the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greateſt. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the ſpoils of war; and were ſo opulent, that riches ſeemed to flow upon them on all ſides, ſo that their chief buſineſs, eſpecially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and ſciences, as the beſt means to preſerve, if not to encreaſe, their opulence. What ſeems moſt ſurpriſing, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that ſome of the Gauliſh nations interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver, which was to be all dedicated to Mars, and ſo become ſacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and braſs [h]. The paſſage is too curious to be wholly omitted, eſpecially as it will convince the reader, that the war which the Gauls waged againſt the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greedineſs after thoſe treaſures that were ſtored up in them, but from the averſion they had, in common with the Perſees, ſpoken of in a former volume, againſt all ſuch buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, which cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his preſence, both heaven and earth. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of this paſſage in the next note (X). But it is too likely, that this contempt of theſe two ſuperior

[h] Athenæus, l. vi. c. 5.

(X) "Among the Gauls," ſays that author (49), "the Cordiſti" (he means the Scordiſci, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (50), as is plain, by the ſequel) "do not ſuffer "to this day, any gold to be brought into their country, though "they make no ſcruple to ravage other nations. They are a "remnant of thoſe who went to beſiege the temple of Delphos, "under the conduct of Brennus. Bathanatius cauſed them to be "ſtopped on the banks of the Danube, and forced them to ſettle "in that neighbourhood; and, from his name, they have called "that voyage Bathanatia, and his deſcendents Bathanates. The "Scordiſci conſecrate all their gold, and ſuffer none to uſe it in "their country: but they would do much better to proſcribe "their ſacrileges, inſtead of that metal; for it can be no credit "to

(49) Athen. l. vi. c. 5

(50) See vol. xii p. 428.

ſuperior metals did vaniſh away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, eſpecially upon their becoming ſubject to that of the Romans; who, as we obſerved before, made no ſcruple to rifle thoſe treaſures [i], which, before that time, lay expoſed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into ſlavery with it, as Herodian reports them, and eſpecially Severus, to have done by the German nation.

THE Gauls, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a conſiderable diverſion; and, indeed, conſidering the vaſt foreſts which the country abounded with, and which bred vaſt multitudes of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c. (Y), if they had not made it their buſineſs Hunting, and other exerciſes.

[i] Sueton. in Cæſar.

" to forbid the uſe of it, whilſt they commit ſo many unjuſt rob-
" beries to procure iron and copper; for if they chance to be in
" want of theſe, they take up arms, and lay them not down till
" they have got a ſufficient ſupply."

Thus far Athenæus. And though he only mentions one nation of the Gauls, yet, if we remember what hath been ſaid of their leaving their treaſures of gold and ſilver, when conſecrated to Mars, expoſed in the open fields, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones which were thrown into the lake of Tholouſe, and which conſiſted in ingots, and rich utenſils of thoſe metals; and that, according to Poſidonius and Strabo, thoſe treaſures remained ſacred and untouched: and if we add, to all this, what another author ſays, that the Gauls never ſhut to their doors (51); we may ſafely conclude, that all the reſt of the Gauls ſuffered no other uſe to be made of thoſe metals, but to dedicate them to their deities, at leaſt till ſuch a time as the Romans, coming to plunder theſe aſyla, as Cepio did that of Tholouſe (52), uſed thoſe metals againſt them, leſſened their veneration for the one, and made them ſet a greater value upon the other.

(Y) Cæſar (53), Pliny, and other authors (54), mention ſeveral other wild beaſts which uſed to be hunted by the Gauls, of which we know nothing now but the names; and ſome of them, by the deſcription there given us, ſeem to have been of a very ſtrange kind, if there ever were any ſuch in being: ſuch are the alces, the bonaſſus, the wild aſs, &c. The alces, according to Cæſar,

(51) Strab. l. iv. N. Damaſc. in excerpt. ex Valeſ. (52) See before, vol. xii. p. 475. (53) Comm. l. vi. (54) N. H. l. viii. Pauſan. in Bœot.

buſineſs to hunt and deſtroy them, they muſt, in time, have been over-run with them. But, beſides theſe, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmleſs animals: they made, likewiſe, fowling a diverſion, and were, it ſeems, ſo dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart [k] thrown by hand; though they are likewiſe ſaid to have uſed the ſling, and the bow and arrow. We have, in a former ſection, taken notice of a way they had of poiſoning thoſe darts and arrows which they uſed in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, lineum, or limeum

[k] Strabo, l. iv.

Cæſar, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to ſleep leaning againſt a tree. The ſame animal is mentioned by Pliny and Solinus, without that particularity. The bonaſſus, according to ſome authors (55), had a horſe's face, and the reſt reſembled a bull, its horns bending ſo far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the ſame wonders they relate of ſome of their birds, one ſort of which caſt ſuch a bright light from their feathers (56), that travellers made uſe of them to ſee their way in the darkeſt nights: but enough of theſe fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called urus, and which, Cæſar ſays (57), was a little leſs than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or ſledge (58); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; beſides badgers, otters, and other ſuch not worth mentioning.

For all theſe kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the ſport, and generally hunted on horſeback, unleſs it be ſome of thoſe creatures which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (59). So fond were they of their hounds, that the antient Burgundian laws obliged a man, publickly convicted of ſtealing one of them, to pay five ſhillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treaſury; and, if inſolvent, he was obliged to kiſs the dog's poſteriors (60).

(55) Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l. ix. c. 45. Plin. ubi ſupra. (56) Solin. polyhiſt. c. 32. Vide & Strab. l. iv. (57) L. vi. c. 28. (58) Martial. epigr. l. i. Paul. Diacon. hiſt. Longobard. (59) Arrian. de venat. & al. (60) Vide Pelloutier. ubi. ſupra, l. ii. c. 12.

limeum [l], which ſome have taken for ellebore [m], ſome the nightſhade. Strabo ſays, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whoſe fruit, he had ſomewhere read, reſembled the Corinthian chapiter. The wound failed not, it ſeems, to kill the creature, and make its fleſh more ſweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The profeſſed huntſmen held a feaſt every year to Diana, and, among other offerings, each of them preſented her with a purſe, in which was a certain ſum for every beaſt they had taken during that year; ſuch as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and ſo proportionally for the reſt. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a ſumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it [n]. Other exerciſes, of the manly kind, they were, likewiſe, very fond of. We have often obſerved, what excellent horſemen and charioteers they are ſaid to have been, above all other nations in Europe, which ſkill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horſe and chariot races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards aſſiſted, and, with their poems, ſongs, and muſical inſtruments, in which they celebrated the praiſes of thoſe who had formerly won the prize, inſpired the new candidates with a noble ardor to ſignalize themſelves upon all ſuch occaſions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in thoſe records of fame. All their exerciſes in general tended to render them lighter, ſtronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compaſs of a girdle of a certain ſize, either by faſting, running, riding, ſwimming, or any other laborious diverſion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a diſgrace to them, but they were, likewiſe, fined for it [o]. Swimming was alſo an excellent expedient, not only to harden their bodies, but to fit them for paſſing the wideſt and rapideſt rivers; in which they were ſo very expert, and famed, that they could croſs the Rhine, Danube, and Rhoſne, without breaking their ranks [p].

THESE may be looked upon as ſome of their laudable and beneficial diverſions; but they had a moſt predominant one, Feaſtings.

[l] Aul. Gel. noct. Att. l. xvii. c. 15. Plin. ubi ſupra, l. xxv. c. 5. Geogr. l. iv. [m] Arrian. de venat. [n] Ephor. ap, Strab. l. iv. Damaſcen. ap. Stob. ſerm. xxxvii. [o] Cæſar ubi ſupra. Mela de ſit. orb. l. iii. Amm. Marcel. l. xxv. & al. [p] Tacit. Germ. c. 14, & ſeq.

which can ſcarcely be ranked in that claſs, and yet ſeemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others ſerved only to introduce this; we mean their feaſtings, in which they were generally very profuſe, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them [q]. All their public aſſemblies and exerciſes, all their feaſts, birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniverſaries of them, were always accompanied with ſuch ſumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good chear both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The nobles, eſpecially, were moſt fond of them, becauſe their greatneſs and intereſt conſiſting chiefly in the number of their clients, vaſſals, and ſolduri, there was not a more effectual way, either to ſecure the old, or procure new ones, than ſuch kind of entertainments: for the Gauls, as well as the Germans, and other northern nations, were ſuch exceſſive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than theſe kind of feaſts: and to what height theſe were carried, may be ſeen by ſome few inſtances we ſhall give in the margin (Z). At theſe feaſts, thoſe who were moſt famed for valour and wiſdom were always reckoned the chiefeſt gueſts, becauſe their example did bear the greateſt ſway in all ſuch elections. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, perhaps,

[q] Vide Xenoph. exped. Cy. l. vii. Athen. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ſympoſ. vii. c. 9. Varro, & al.

(Z) We read of the famed Luernius, king of the Auvernians, and father of Bituitus, who was afterwards defeated by Fabius Maximus, that he made an encloſure of twelve furlongs ſquare, in which he entertained all comers, during ſeveral days, with all manner of exquiſite meats and liquors (61); and of one Ariamnes, who cauſed lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred perſons, and treated them in the ſame ſumptuous manner a whole year (62). Neither ſuffered they any ſtrangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of theſe feaſts, or were travelling that way, to paſs by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take ſhare of them; and, if their time could not permit them to ſtay, they obliged them to drink a glaſs or two (63).

The following is a remarkable inſtance of their fondneſs for theſe entertainments: The ſame Luernius having given another ſuch feaſt, and invited a famed bard to come and ſing his praiſes, as it was uſual for them to do; the bard coming juſt at the latter end

(61) Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 21. (62) Poſidon. ap. Athen. l. iv. c. 12. (63) Idem ibid.

perhaps, to ſee a ſhort deſcription of theſe feaſts of the antient Gauls, out of Poſidonius, who had himſelf been in that country: we ſhall give it in the margin (A). It was likewiſe cuſtomary, to drink hard at theſe kinds of feaſts; yet it ſeems, according to the ſame author, that the coryphee, or head-gueſt, always began firſt, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it ſeems, they all drank out of the ſame veſſel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuſe when it did. And hence, in all probability, the cuſtom of drinking to one another, which was, it ſeems, common to the Perſians, Greeks, and Romans [r], as well as to the Scythians, Gauls, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at theſe feaſts they uſed to begin to talk of affairs as ſoon as the cups went round; and as they generally ſat at them till the next

 morning,

[r] Diod. Sicul. l. v. Vide & Polyb. l. ii.

end of it, was ſo deeply affected at the diſappointment, that he tried, in vain, to ſing out his deſigned panegyric: he was, at length, conſtrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of ſo ſumptuous a banquet (64).

(A) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and eaſy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of fleſh, boiled, roaſted, and broiled, which they did in a very ſlovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feaſt, who was either one of the richeſt, or nobleſt, or braveſt, ſat in the middle, with the maſter of the houſe on his ſide: the reſt took their places next, each according to their rank, having their ſervants behind them, holding their ſhields. The guards had their table over-againſt them, and after their maſters had done, the ſervants were, likewiſe, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a diſh, till the coryphee had taſted of it (65).

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Gauls uſed to eat ſitting upon the ground, which was covered with skins of wolves and dogs; and the diſhes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a ſtove, or fire-place, which abounded with ſpits, pots, pans, and other ſuch kitchen-furniture (66).

(64) Idem ibid. Appian. in Celt. (65) Athen. l. iv. c. 13.
(66) L. v.

morning, they ſo heated themſelves with liquor, and wranglings, that they ſeldom ended without duels, the Gauls, ſays our author, ſetting ſo little value upon their lives. If the feaſt proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with muſic and ſongs, as we obſerved above, but with dances, likewiſe, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pé, and beat the meaſure with their ſwords, upon their ſhields. On certain feſtivals, likewiſe, ſuch as that of Mithras, they uſed to dreſs themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the proceſſions that were made on that day: others dreſſed themſelves in maſquerade habits, ſome of them very indecent, and played ſeveral antic and immodeſt tricks; and this cuſtom was retained ſo long among them, even ſince their converſion to chriſtianity, that ſome of their councils and biſhops not only cenſured and condemned them, but appointed faſts, and proper prayers, to be uſed on thoſe days [s], to divert them from that heatheniſh cuſtom.

Contempt of agriculture, &c.

THEIR chief liquors were, beer and wine, the former the moſt common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. Strabo obſerves of the Luſitanians, that one ſuch feaſt as thoſe we have ſpoken of, uſed to exhauſt all the vintage of that year [t]; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the Germans, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inſpired them originally with ſuch contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at firſt, to their wives, old men, and ſlaves. The Germans and they are juſtly blamed for it by the Romans, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chuſe to purchaſe the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the ſweat of their brow [u]. But the ſame may be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vaſtly below the care of a warlike nation; but one may ſay, in general, that when the Romans came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure thoſe things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce: neceſſity ſoon made them feel the ſweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and by degrees, likewiſe, of the liberal arts and ſciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation.

[s] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 34. & ſeq. [t] L. iii. [u] German. c. 14, & 23.

nation. So that one may ſafely look upon their conqueſt by the Romans to have been the mother of all theſe.

Their vices.

We ſhall conclude this ſection with a ſhort review of the other vices and virtues which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient Gauls. As for their vices, they are reducible to theſe three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers, viz. drunkenneſs, lazineſs, and fierceneſs; all which we ſhall have the leſs occaſion to dwell upon, becauſe we have occaſionally given ſo many pregnant inſtances, in the courſe of their hiſtory. As for their drunkenneſs, we have given ſome inſtances of it in ſpeaking of their feaſtings; but we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the Germans, who vaſtly exceeded them in it. Beſides theſe, Plato has given us a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it, viz. the Lydians, Perſians, Carthaginians, Thracians, Scythians, and Spaniards[x]; and we need not direct our readers where to look for ſome others, who may juſtly come under the ſame cenſure. But the Gauls were more envied for their bravery, both by Greeks and Romans, and were, therefore, made oftener the ſubject of their reflections. Accordingly Livy and Plutarch[y] pretend to have it from antient authors, that thoſe Gauls who lived near the Alps, having once taſted the Italian wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to go and conquer that country. And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine[z]; which made the merchants very ready to furniſh ſuch cuſtomers with that beloved commodity, both from Greece and Italy. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinary greedy of it, on account that it made them fight more courageouſly, or rather furiouſly, and more apt to deſpiſe all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if thoſe authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the Gauls could not encounter a worſe enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occaſions, ſince, according to them, it ſeldom failed throwing whole armies of them into diſorder and confuſion; and, which was ſtill worſe, by baiting them with ſome large quantities of that liquor, it either ſo overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and expoſed, as it were, naked and defenceleſs, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in

Drunkenneſs.

[x] De leg. l. i. Vide & Athen. l. x. Clem. Alex. pæd. l. ii.
[y] Hiſt. l. v. Plut. in Camil. [z] L. v.

pieces ; or, as it often happened, it ſet them a fighting one againſt another, ſo that they became an eaſier prey to them [a]. One would, therefore, be apt to think, that, after they had ſo oft and ſeverely ſmarted for their greedineſs after that deſtructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made ſome wholſome prohibitions againſt ſo dangerous a cuſtom : and what may incline us to believe they did ſo, is, that though the Greek and Roman authors charge the whole Gauliſh people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the inſtances they give are but few, and happened ſometimes to one nation, ſometimes to another of them (B). However, though this abuſe has been ſomewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there muſt have been ſome foundation for it, ſince Charles the great was forced to make ſome ſevere laws againſt it ; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue faſting ; others, which forbad the forcing of any one to drink more than he cared for ; others, which forbad the ſoldiers, whilſt in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been ſufficiently puniſhed for their fault [b]. This vice, it ſeems, was ſo univerſal, that even the Myſians, a kind of monkiſh tribe among the Scythians, who were obliged to abſtain from all fleſh, wine, and ſtrong liquors, had yet a way amongſt them of intoxicating themſelves by the ſmoak of ſome odoriferous weeds, ſomething, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding chearful and merry, though without being attended

[a] Vide Juſtin. ex Trog. l. xxiv. c. 7, & ſeq. Appian. Celtic. Plutarch. Livy ubi ſupra, & al. [b] Vide addition Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803. & Pelloutier. ubi ſupra, l. ii. c. ult.

(B) Thus, for inſtance, we are told, that thoſe Gauls who took the city of Rome, and thoſe who ravaged Greece, were moſtly cut off in their drunken revels (67). The ſame fate, we are told, overtook the Goths in Thrace (68) ; one ſort were defeated by Cyrus, in the ſame manner ; and another by the Romans (69). But theſe are hardly more than ſingle inſtances, that happened to one tribe or other of them.

(67) Appian. Celt. Plutarch in Camil. Juſtin. l. xxiv. (68) Zoſim. l. iv. c. 23, & ſeq. (69) Juſtin. l. i. c. 8. Livy, l. xli. c. 4.

attended with the ill effects which are commonly cauſed by exceſs of wine, &c. [c] (C).

THE lazineſs, imputed likewiſe to them, appears, by what we have ſaid a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any diſlike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exerciſes, as well as their wars, they accuſtomed themſelves to hardſhips and fatigues of any kind; ſo that if they neglected agriculture, and handicraft trades, it was rather becauſe they looked upon them as a kind of ſlavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account that they ſo readily ruſhed upon any deſperate death, to avoid being taken priſoners eſpecially by the Romans, who, they knew, were wont to make ſlaves of them, and condemn them to the hardeſt and meaneſt employments And though, after their conqueſt, we have ſeen them take up with a laborious life, cultivate their lands, vineyards, and uſeful trades; yet the ſame ſpirit reigns ſtill among their gentry and nobility both in Gaul and Germany, where they retain ſtill a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and chuſe rather to live in a ſhameful ſloth, and even poverty, than ſupport themſelves, and families, by any other way than that of arms. They even carry this punctilio of honour ſo far, as to look upon it as diſhonourable to the laſt degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumſtances ſoever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, though her fortune was ever ſo large, and capable of enriching him, and his family.

As to their laſt vice, viz. their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the leſs occaſion to wonder at it, if we conſider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they ſhould be tender of other peoples lives, that were ſo careleſs, and even laviſh of their own? Ferocity.

[c] Poſidon. ap. Strab. l. vii. Vide & Caſaubon. in loc. & Pelloutier. ubi ſupra. [d] Diod. Sicul. l. v.

(C) The ſame, we are told, was practiſed by the Scythians and Thracians, who had no wine (70). The men and women, it ſeems, ſat round a good fire, into which they threw theſe weeds: ſome call it a grain, or ſeed (71), the ſmoak of which they ſucked up in ſuch large draughts, that, in a little time, it ſet them all a laughing, dancing, and ſinging.

(70) Herodot. l. i. Mela, l. ii. Max. Tyr. l. xi. Plutarch. de fluv. (71) Solin. c. 15. Mela, ubi ſupra.

own? And if ſlavery appeared ſo terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them to maſſacre their priſoners of war, or ſacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make ſlaves of them? But we obſerved before, that this exceſſive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other people, eſpecially upon the Romans, not onlywith a jealous eye, but inſpired them with an invincible hatred againſt them, and all whom they obſerved, like them, diligent and ſucceſsful in enſlaving other nations And this might not add a little to their native fierceneſs, and to that cruelty with which they thought the ought to treat ſuch open invaders of public liberty, as well as thoſe who baſely aſſiſted them in it. This will appear leſs improbable, if we come now to examine ſome of thoſe ſocial virtues for which they were famed, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, ſuch as their hoſpitality, frugality, juſtice, and fidelity.

Their virtues and hoſpitality.

It will, doubtleſs, be thought ſtrange that a nation, ſo cruel to their enemies, and ſo touchy and fierce among themſelves as to have recourſe to ſingle combat upon every trifling affront, ſhould yet be ſo famed for their hoſpitality and humanity, not only to ſtrangers, but to ſuch as refuged themſelves among them; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by Greek and Roman authors. It was, it ſeems, a conſtant cuſtom among them, to invite their ſtrangers to all their feaſts and, after it was over, to enquire who they were, and wherein they might be ſerved [d]. This was practiſed, according to the ſame author, by the very Celtiberians, who were looked upon as ſome of the cruelleſt among the Gauls, inſomuch that they came in crouds to invite a traveller to their houſes; and happy was he thought whom he choſe for his hoſt: if he pitched upon one whoſe circumſtances would nor permit him to afford a very long entertainment, (for they generally treated them very ſumptuouſly) he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any Gaul was convicted of having refuſed this courteſy to a ſtranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magiſtrate: witneſs that law which was enacted among the Burgundians, which laid a fine of three crowns on all ſuch inhoſpitable delinquents; and one of double that ſum to any Burgundian that ſhould direct a ſtranger to the houſe of a Roman. In ſome other places they added a corporal puniſhment to the fine; and Tacitus

[d] Diod. Sicul. l. v.

Tacitus doth that juſtice even to the German nation, as to give ſeveral inſtances of their tender regard to ſtrangers [g]: and Cæſar adds, that they eſteemed all ſuch perſons as ſacred and inviolable, and to whom every houſe was to be opened, and every table free [h]. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and puniſhed thoſe upon the ſpot, from whom they had received any damage, or ill treatment [i]. They even puniſhed the murder of a ſtranger more ſeverely than that of one of their own nation, viz. the former by death, and the latter by baniſhment. As for thoſe who took refuge amongſt the Gauls, and a more ſafe and ſtedfaſt ſanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation, they were ſure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of diſtreſſed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence, of which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections of this hiſtory; and with what faithfulneſs they were protected by them, may, out of many more inſtances, be inferred, from that which we ſhall give our readers in the margin (D), to avoid dwelling too long upon ſo known a ſubject.

THESE inſtances are no leſs an argument of their juſtice and fidelity: the confidence which the emperors, princes, and

Fidelity and juſtice.

common-

[g] German. c. 21. [h] Comment. l. vi. [i] Ariſtot. de mir. Auq. N. Damaſc. ap. Strab. ſerm. 165.

(D) Toriſin, king of the Gepidæ, had a noble refugee at his court, named Ildiſgus, who had a lawful right to the crown of Lombardy, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king Vaces, by Aduin, who ſeized upon it. This laſt cauſed Ildiſgus to be demanded of the Gepidæ, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor Juſtinian's embaſſadors. Toriſin, who had juſt concluded a peace with the Romans and Lombards, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with Aduin's requeſt, and the danger he was in if he refuſed. Upon this, that truly auguſt aſſembly unanimouſly agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children ſhould periſh, than to give way to ſuch a ſacrilegious demand (72).

Even among the ruder Slavonians, who lived on the other ſide the Elbe, it was permitted to ſet any man's houſe on fire, who refuſed ſanctuary to a ſtranger; and, in ſuch caſes, every one ſtrove to puniſh the violation of hoſpitality (73).

(72) Procop. hiſt. Gothor. l. iii. c. 35. l. iv. c. 27. (73) Helmold. chron. Slavon. c. 82. Pelloutier. l. ii. c. 16.

commowealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendſhip, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewiſe in the former chuſing them for their life-guards, is another proof of it. And if they could be thus faithful to even the Roman emperors, ſuch as Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Claudius, and others; we need not doubt of their being ſo to other nations, to whoſe ſervice they had not ſuch a natural reluctance: though it muſt be owned, that the Germans gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in thoſe monarchs than the Gauls had done; and perhaps, on this very account, that they did not ſhew ſuch natural averſion to the Roman yoke as the Gauls did, who took all opportunities that offered to ſhake it off. But before even the time of Auguſtus, we find the Gauls and Spaniards in great credit and truſt with Juba, king of Mauritania [l], with Herod, king of Judea [m], with Cleopatra [n], and with moſt princes far and near; an account of which hath been given in every proper place of this work. They have, indeed, been branded with the reverſe vice, by ſeveral Greek and Roman hiſtorians [o]; and it muſt be owned, that they have ſometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithſtanding their valuing themſelves ſo much upon it, above all other nations; and we have formerly given ſeveral inſtances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if thoſe authors had rightly informed us of the true ſprings of, might have paſſed uncenſured. Neither Greeks, Carthaginians, nor Romans, were famed for their ſtrict adherence to their treaties, any more than ſcrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and Cæſar, for inſtance, has laid the blame on the Gauliſh perfidy, which Cato has bravely retorted upon him [p]. And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their uſual fidelity and juſtice? But not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conqueſts afterwards, and ſince them their unmeaſurable ambition have hurried them into the quite oppoſite extreme.

Of

[l] Cæſar. Com. l. ii. c. 40. [m] Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid. c. 5. [o] Cæſar ubi ſupra, l. iv. c. 11. Polyb. l. ii. Livy, l. xxv. c. 33. Vide Paterc. & al. [p] Vide Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 24. Plutarch. in eund. Cato Min. Dio Caſſ. & al.

Of their frugality we have likewiſe given ſeveral inſtances, ſuch as their contempt of gold and ſilver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainneſs of their diet, dreſs, houſes, &c. Their cloathing was a kind of veſt and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wriſts, and above the elbow. Thoſe who were raiſed to dignities, wore them of gold, the reſt of braſs. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occaſions, appeared with their arms [q]. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not ſeem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at leaſt this laſt plainly appears, from a paſſage of Pomponius Mela, who, being a Spaniard, muſt underſtand the Gauliſh laws and cuſtoms better than any Greek or Roman author that has written of them. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of it in the margin; firſt, becauſe it contains ſome curious particulars about the Gauliſh funerals, with which we ſhall cloſe this ſection: and, ſecondly, becauſe the author doth therein clear that nation from having entertained the Pythagorean doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which other writers have abſurdly charged them with, and which we promiſed, in a former ſection, to diſprove (E). Their burning of the dead bodies, we have ſeen, in a former ſection, by thoſe urns which contained their bones and aſhes, with ſome other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or leſs value, according, as may be ſuppoſed, to the condition of the deceaſed; but that they likewiſe buried without burning, may be alſo gathered from thoſe entire bodies which have been found, eſpecially in the mounds of Saliſbury plain, of which we have given an account: for as the Gauls received their religious laws and cuſtoms from the Britiſh druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them, in both countries.

Frugality.

SECT.

[q] Strabo, l. iv. Pliny, l. xvi. c. 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(E) Among other tenets which the druids hold, ſays that author (74), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every Gaul, in order to inſpire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future life. Accordingly, ſays he, when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their aſhes, they bury, likewiſe, with them, their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilſt alive, that

(74) De ſit. orb. l. iii.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the antient Gauls, from the Roman invaſion, and their conqueſt by Julius Cæſar, to the irruption of the Franks.

WE ſhall have the leſs room to enlarge upon this ſubject, firſt, becauſe we have little or no account of this nation before they were viſited by the Romans, but what we have given an account of in ſome part or other of this chapter: and, ſecondly, becauſe what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the Franks, has been fully ſpoken of in the Roman hiſtory. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and ſhort, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may ſave our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourſe to every index, we ſhall give them here a ſummary of them in one view, and in as ſuccinct a method as we can, with proper references in the margin, of

that they may be of ſervice to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewiſe, their near relations and friends have flung themſelves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with the Pythagorean tranſmigration? Could theſe account-books, receipts, and notes, be of any ſervice to ſouls which paſs into other bodies, either of men, or brutes? Can thoſe, who affirm it, imagine that ſouls, thus tranſmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be ſtill the ſame perſons whom thoſe accounts concerned? And would thoſe friends have been ſuch fools, as to chuſe to die with them, for the ſake of living with them hereafter, had they had the leaſt notion of ſuch a tranſmigration? How could they ever expect that happineſs, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their ſouls were to enter into freſh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there, that the Gauls, ſo jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus ruſhing into immediate death, run the riſque of paſſing into the bodies, I won't ſay of either plants or beaſts, but even into thoſe of ſlaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?

of the places where thoſe facts have been more fully diſcuſſed, and add to it an account of ſuch other tranſactions as have not yet, or have been but ſlightly touched upon. All which we ſhall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and near as we can to its epocha, according to ſuch of our chronologers as may be beſt depended upon: we ſhall only add here, that the Gauls, being a ſtrong and hardy people, and multiplying ſo faſt, that their country could not contain them, was one conſtant cauſe of their excurſions into other countries far and near, and in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they ſpread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewiſe, that theſe colonies, thus ſettled in a foreign country, were ſo moleſted by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being diſpoſſeſſed, they ſent into their native country for freſh aſſiſtance, and eaſily obtained it, the Gauls being always ready to pour out their numerous ſwarms, upon all ſuch occaſions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back unto them. Hence their vaſt multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceneſs, and cruelty to thoſe who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable neceſſity, upon all ſuch expeditions, either to conquer or ſtarve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We ſhall paſs by thoſe which they antiently made out of Europe into ſeveral parts of Aſia, where they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral fine countries, and under different names, and for which we ſhall refer our readers to the Celtic hiſtory in a former volume [a].

THEIR earlieſt, and moſt conſiderable ſally we have recorded, is that which they made into Italy, under their famous leader Belloveſus (A), who, croſſing the Rhoſne, and the Alps, ſettled himſelf in that part of Italy called Piedmont and Lombardy, then inhabited by the Hetrurians, about the year of Rome 160 [b]. Year of the flood 2377. Before Chriſt 622.

THE

[a] See vol. v. p. 383, & ſeq. [b] See vol. xi. p. 576.

(A) Ambigatus, then king of Celtogallia, finding his kingdom overſtocked, ſent his two nephews, Belloveſus and Segoveſus, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and ſeek ſome new ſettlements. The firſt croſſed the Alps, the latter the Rhine and Hercynian foreſt, and ſettled in that part of Germany ſince then called Boiemia and Bohemia, from the Boii, who accompanied him in that expedition (1), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the next chapter.

(1) See before, vol. iv. p. 561.

THE Cœnomani, who dwelt between the rivers Seine and Loire, made the ſecond grand expedition under their general Elitonis, and ſettled in the Breſciano, Cremoneſe, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venetian [c]; the time of this and the next is uncertain.

THE third was made by the Læves and Ananes, the former of whom ſettled in Novara, on one ſide of the Po; and the latter in Piacentia, on the oppoſite ſide.

IN a fourth, the Boii and Lingones, having paſſed the Pennine Alps, ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the Po, between Ravenna and Bologna.

IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of Belloveſus, the Senones, ſeated between Paris and Meaux, were invited into Italy by an Hetrurian lord, and ſettled themſelves in Umbria. Brennus, who was their king, had laid ſiege to Cluſium, and here it was that he gave that noble anſwer to the three Fabii, who were ſent from Rome to expoſtulate with him, of which we have had occaſion to take notice in a former ſection. We have ſeen, in the volume laſt quoted [d], that the treachery of the Fabii, in entering and defending that city, and of the Romans in countenancing, inſtead of puniſhing it, did ſo exaſperate the Gauliſh general, that, raiſing the ſiege of the place, he immediately turned all his force againſt the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to Rome, whoſe inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When Brennus entered the place, which appeared to him like a very deſert, he ſecured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his men, who preſently after reduced it to aſhes, and all its ſtately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbiſh. Finding the capitol too ſtrong for him he turned the ſiege of it into a blockade, and marched againſt Ardea, where he was eaſily defeated by Camillus, who had been a refugee there about two years: for the Gauls were, by this time, ſo intoxicated with their ſucceſs at Rome, and with the wine of that country, that they kept neither order nor diſcipline; ſo that Camillus, at the head of the Ardeates, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. His next attempt was, to ſurpriſe the capitol, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in it, had not the noiſe of ſome geeſe awaked the brave Manlius, who ſounded the alarm, and gave them ſuch a fierce repulſe, that moſt of the Gauls flung themſelves headlong down the ſteep

Brennus enters and plunders Rome.

Burns and deſtroys it. Year of the flood 2614. Before Chriſt 385.

[c] Ibid. [d] See vol. xi. p. 577.

ſteep rock; and loſt their lives. However, the beſieged in the capitol were reduced to ſuch ſtreights on the one hand, and the Gauls on the other, who were themſelves beſieged in the city by Camillus, now choſen dictator, that the ſenate thought fit to ſend Sulpitius, a tribune, to treat with Brennus; and between theſe it was agreed, that the Romans ſhould pay him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and he depart out of the Roman territories. But when the money came to be paid, and Brennus had brought falſe weights with him, Camillus ordered the gold to be carried back, and told the Gaul, that Rome ſhould be ranſomed by the ſword, and not with money. He proved as good as his word; for a dreadful conteſt enſuing upon it, between the two armies, the Gauls were ſo diſheartened on the ſudden, that they made a running fight of it; but being purſued by the dictator, were all cut off, it ſeems, to one man, not one of them being left to carry the news into their own country [e]. The Gauls all cut off.

THE next expedition was ſtill more unfortunate; for thoſe Gauls who had ſettled themſelves in thoſe parts of Italy we have lately ſpoken of, led but an uneaſy life there, being continually harraſſed by the Romans; upon which, they ſent into Gaul for freſh reinforcements; but theſe came in ſuch vaſt numbers to their aſſiſtance, that they became more dreadful to them than the Romans: ſo that they made no ſcruple to turn their arms againſt them, and, having killed their two leaders, eaſily put the whole army to flight. The Romans, however, were in no ſmall dread of them, when they found how active they were in Italy, and what vaſt armies they could draw out of Gaul; and it was to diſſipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of ſuperſtition at Rome which we formerly mentioned, of burying a Greek and a Gauliſh man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not truſt to this ſo far as not to make vaſt preparations, when they heard that the Gæſatæ, another brave Gauliſh nation, were invited, by their Italian countrymen, to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were of a fiercer nature than any of the reſt; they ſcorned all kind of defenſive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally choſe to fight naked. Had but their martial ſkill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they

[e] Vol. xi. p. 585, & ſeq.

(B) We have purpoſely omitted ſeveral other defeats which they met with in ſome other expeditions, and which the reader will find

they might, at that juncture, have disabled the Romans from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had spread such a terror all over the Roman territories, that they raised one of the vastest armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe Polybius [f], it consisted of no less than 800000 men, horse and foot. The Gauls, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but 50000 foot, and 2000 horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: 40000 of them were killed on the spot, and 10000 taken prisoners, and amongst them Concolitanus, one of their kings; whilst the other, named Aneroestus, and by far the most experienced warrior, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the Gaulish maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

The Gæsatæ defeated.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these successes, the Romans had no small reason to fear, that the Gauls would, at length, be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert soldiers as they (C); in which case, they could not but become

[f] L. ii. c. 22.

find in the places of the Roman history quoted in the margin (2); where he will find, that the Romans were by that time so well apprised of their superiority to them in this point, that they generally trusted to it, and with good success, since it appears, by all these instances, that it was by that that they gave them such frequent and surprising defeats.

They fought much after the same undisciplined manner, in single combat; witness that gigantic Gaul, who, by his golden collar, seems to have been one of their generals, and, Goliah like, challenged any of the Romans to fight with him, and was, like him, overcome by a brave stripling (3). For the Gaul, trusting to his superior strength, began the fight by discharging a great blow on his antagonist, whilst the dexterous youth, rushing under his shield, stabbed him to death with his sword (4).

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very first onset,

(2) See vol. xi. p. 618, 634, 642, & vol. xii. p. 62. (3) Vol. xi. p. 634. (4) Livy, l. viii. c. 9. (5) Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Marcel. Oros. & al.

come a very formidable enemy to their nation, conſidering their hatred to it, their hardineſs, intrepidity, and readineſs to join every foe againſt them. The aſſiſtance they gave Hannibal, as he was croſſing their country, and over the Alps, of which we have given an account elſewhere [h]; and, after him, to Mago, and the Carthaginians, during their war [i]; their being ſo frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other ſtates and kingdoms, moſt of them at war with Rome, and among which they were ſure to perfect themſelves more and more in the martial trade, whilſt they themſelves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifeſt danger (D); theſe conſiderations obliged them, at laſt, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the firſt favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but before we come to ſpeak of

[h] Vol. xi. 188, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 276.

onſet, in which they conſtantly charged with incredible fury, they uſed either to break, bend, or be ſo blunted, againſt the Roman javelins, as to become uſeleſs; ſo that before they could have time to ſharpen or ſtraiten them, the enemy preſently cloſed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and ſhortening their ſwords upon them, ſtabbed them, like ſo many ſheep.

(D) They gave a dreadful inſtance of it from the beginning, when Scipio, after the defeat which the Carthaginians had given him, on the banks of the Ticinus, retired to Placentia, to cure his own, and his ſoldiers wounds; for here about 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, of thoſe Gauls which the conſul had in his pay, upon ſome diſcontent, roſe up in the dead of the night, and, whilſt the Romans were aſleep, entered their camp, ſlew a great number of them, cut off their heads, and carried them to Hannibal, who gave them a kind reception, and invited them, with vaſt promiſes, into his ſervice.

This treachery ſo diſheartened the conſul, that, fearing leſt the reſt of their countrymen, that were left in his army, ſhould follow their example, and make the miſchief ſtill greater, he wiſely choſe to give them the ſlip, and lead his own troops to a place of more ſafety. The Carthaginians, finding the Roman camp cleared, plundered and ſet it on fire, whilſt the Gauls flocked, in great numbers, to their general, and liſted in his ſervice (6); an action, one would think, ſufficient to deter the Romans from ever truſting a Gaul again.

(6) Polyb. l. iii, c. 66, & ſeq.

this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their other expeditions and exploits, in Aſia, Macedonia, and other countries.

Year of the flood 2720. Before Chriſt 279.

THE firſt of this kind was in the year after Pyrrhus paſſed into Italy [k], when the Gauls, finding themſelves again overſtocked at home, ſent out three vaſt colonies to ſeek new habitations. Brennus (perhaps a deſcendent of him who had ſome two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into Italy we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviſer of this expedition, and head of one of the Gauliſh armies; Cerethrius commanded the ſecond, and marched into Thrace; and the third, under the command of Belgius, marched into Illyricum and Macedonia: as for Brennus, he was entered into Pannonia, or Hungary, a poor country in compariſon to thoſe which Belgius had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himſelf with immenſe plunder; ſo that envying his ſucceſs, he reſolved to join him, and ſhare it with him. Belgius being ſoon after defeated to ſuch a degree that we hear no more of him, or his men, he haſtened thither, under pretence of revenging and aſſiſting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of Belgius's army liſted themſelves under him. The army with which he entered into thoſe two provinces, conſiſted of 150000 foot, and 15000 horſe; but a revolt happened in it, in which Leonorius and Lutarius, the two chief leaders of it, carried off 20000 men, and marched into Thrace, and, joining themſelves to Cerethrius, ſeized on Byzantium, and the weſtern coaſts of Propontis, and there ſettled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

To retrieve this loſs, Brennus ſent for freſh ſupplies from Gallia, inliſted ſome Illyrians, and, with a new army of 150000 foot, and above 60000 horſe, entered Macedonia, defeated Soſthenes, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, with an intent to invade Greece, but was ſtopped by the forces which were ſent to defend that paſs againſt him. This obliged him to get him ſome guides over thoſe mountains, over which Xerxes had paſſed his forces before; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being ſurrounded by him. He then ordered Acichorius, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a diſtance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched ſtrait towards Delphos, with a deſign, as is ſuppoſed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met, it

[k] Polyb. l. i. c. 6. Vide Pauſan. Phoc. Juſtin. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

it ſeems, with a terrible repulſe, from a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which deſtroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: ſo that the remainder, being ſeized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their miſtake, and near one half of their army deſtroyed, and the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in ſuch numbers, that though Acichorius joined him in the nick of time, yet were they not able to make head againſt the Greeks, but were defeated, with a terrible ſlaughter. Brennus himſelf was deſperately wounded, and ſo diſheartened at his miſcarriage, that he aſſembled all his chiefs, and having adviſed them to ſlay all that were wounded and diſabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his life. Acichorius, immediately after, led the remainder of his ſhattered army back, as well as he could; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppoſitions and hardſhips they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it ſeems, ſo thoroughly exhauſt them, that not one of them returned from that expedition [m]: a juſt judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went with that ſacrilegious deſign which is charged upon them by the Greek and Roman authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their puniſhment in their above-mentioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may ſee, by what is added in the margin (E).

Their dreadful defeat, and end.

[m] Iidem ibid. Vide & Memnon. excerpt. ap. Phoc. c. 19, & ſeq. Eclog. Diod. Sicul. l. xxii. Livy, l. xxxviii. Callimach. hymn. in Delum. Suid. in voc. Galatai.

(E) We promiſed, in a former ſection, to explode the virulent charge which Cicero lays againſt the Gauls, and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the Delphic temple, and that of their beſieging the capitol, and, as he adds, (to aggravate it the more) the great Jupiter in it; from which he infers, that their religion conſiſted only in a diametrical oppoſition to all others, and in waging war againſt the gods of other nations, &c. and that the Gauls were a moſt irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that purpoſe.

Now if it be true, that the Gauls, before their conqueſt, did worſhip the one Supreme Being, and, like the Perſes, Brachmans, and

WHILST this expedition was carrying on in Greece, the other colonies under Leonorius and Lutarius, parting from the others who were ſettled in the Propontis, marched into the Helleſpont, and made themſelves maſters of Lyſimachia, and the Thracian Cherſoneſus. Here ſome great miſunderſtanding happening

and other antient nations and philoſophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or repreſent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly ſhewed they did, then will their deſtroying thoſe temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treaſures, if they had really done ſo by this of Delphos, ſtand juſtified, and rather deſerve commendation, than ſuch a black reproof. The plunder of ſuch ſuperſtitious treaſures, to men of theſe principles, and for the ſupport of a numerous army that ſtands in need of it, will be juſtly deemed applying them to a better uſe.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of thoſe authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the Delphic oracle, but that they were ſcared from it by a ſtorm and earthquake, which threw them into ſuch a panic, as made them be eaſily overcome by thoſe Greek forces, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle againſt them; upon which it is ſuppoſed, that all theſe diſaſters befel them as a juſt judgment for their ſacrilegious deſign againſt that temple and treaſure: but this laſt is at beſt but a ſurmiſe, founded on a wrong, though common notion, that ſuch diſaſters always argued ſome atrocious crimes in the ſufferers; all which is here dreſſed up, by authors who were profeſſed enemies to the Gauliſh nation, and have, doubtleis, exaggerated both at their pleaſure, though without any real foundation.

Juſtin, and after him Cicero, indeed, accuſe them of having plundered the Delphic treaſure; and the laſt adds, that they carried it home too; but being grievouſly plagued for their ſacrilege, they were advited to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of Thoiouſe. This, though plainly oppoſite to all thoſe authors who have written of that expedition, ſeems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a ſcandal on that vaſt treaſure which was conſecrated and repoſited in that lake, and which Strabo and Athenæus, on the authority of Poſidonius, tell us was (ſo far from being fetched from Delphos) dug up out of ſome rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve in the laſt ſection. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any ſeeming juſtice, againſt the Gauls, it was their ſending ſuch powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither Greeks nor Romans could have any pretence to find fault with that which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

pening between thoſe two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to Byzantium, and the latter ſtayed where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces ſome time after, and paſſed into Aſia, being invited thither by Nicomedes, whom they aſſiſted againſt his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgment of which, he aſſigned them that part of Leſſer Aſia which we deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called Gallogræcia, and Galatia. Thither came, Some ſettled alſo, a great number of thoſe other Gauls who had ſettled in in Galatia. Thrace, and who were driven from thence by Antigonus Gonatus, who had ſeized the kingdom of Macedon upon the death of Soſthenes. A greater number of them diſperſed themſelves about in other countries, and either periſhed, or ſo intermingled themſelves, as not to be heard of any more; ſo that of this great and threatening Gauliſh army, none remained but thoſe who ſettled in Galatia [n]. Theſe, likewiſe, in time, encreaſing in number, and being ſtreightened in their territories, endeavoured, according to cuſtom, to enlarge them where they could, and to ſend their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (F), which did not a little annoy and

[n] Idem ibid.

(F) Juſtin tells us, that all Aſia ſwarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eaſtern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries (7). This was, in particular, the caſe of Antiochus Hierax, in his war againſt Seleucus, whom he defeated at Ancyra (8), by the help of the Gauliſh auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have coſt him dear: for theſe, having heard a rumour, that Seleucus had been ſlain, formed, it ſeems, a project to murder him, and ſeize upon his kingdom; ſo that he found no better way of ſaving himſelf, than by giving them all the treaſure he had (9).

The ſcene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed to Meſopotamia, it is not improbable, that the battle of Babylonia happened between the Babyloniſh Jews and the Gauls, in which 8000 of the former defeated and killed 120000 of the latter (10): for Babylon was then a province of Meſopotamia, and Antiochus, then in confederacy with the Gauls, who were then very numerous there, and all over Aſia, as we mentioned out of Juſtin, was totally defeated by Seleucus

(7) L. xxv. c. 2. (8) Idem ibid. (9) Idem, l. xxvii. c. 2. (10) 2 Maccab. viii. 20.

alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length ſuppreſſed by the proconſul of Aſia, Corn. Manlius Vulſo, who gave them ſeveral defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits [o]. They are, however, affirmed by ſome authors to have been ſubdued about fifty-three years before, by Attalus, king of Pergamos [p]; and if ſo, they muſt have found out ſome means of recovering their liberty, to have been ſo powerful in Manlius's time; unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe authors to have confounded the Gauls with the Galatians. However that be, theſe laſt were ſtill, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named Deiotarus, was, for his ſervices done to Pompey the great, created king by him (G), and had the Leſſer Armenia, and ſome other territories, added to his own [q]. Thus much may ſuffice for the Gauliſh expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to thoſe at home, and to give an account of their conqueſt by the Romans.

Year of the flood 2811, Before Chriſt 188.

Marcius ſubdues part of Gaul.

We hinted a little higher, that the Romans were grown ſo fearful of the Gauls, that they thought it proper, in order to humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After many attempts, not worth mentioning, the perſon that opened the moſt effectual way into Gaul was the great conſul Q. Marcius, ſurnamed Rex, to whoſe lot this province was fallen, as well as the ſupreme power, by the death of his collegue in Numidia. Marcius, the better to carry on his deſign, opened a way between the Alps and the Pyrenees, a work of immenſe labour, in which he was ſtoutly oppoſed by the Gauls, eſpecially the Stœni, who lived at the foot of the Alps [r], and who, finding themſelves overpowered by him,

[o] Livy, l. xxxviii. [p] Ibid. l. xxxiii. Strabo, l. xiii. Suid. Polyæn, &c. [q] Strabo, l. xii. Eutrop. l. vi. [r] Steph. de urb.

cus (11). But whether theſe were the Galatians of Aſia minor, or troops ſent out of Gaul, is not eaſy to gueſs, from either Juſtin, or the book of Maccabees, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

(G) This is the ſame Deiotarus that ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed the other three tetrarchs, and ſeized upon all Galatia. For this he was ſummoned before Julius Cæſar, upon which occaſion Cicero made a ſpeech in his behalf, which is ſtill extant, under the name of Oratio pro rege Deiotaro.

(11) Juſtin, ubi ſupra. Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

by him, ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themſelves into the flames. Marcius, having accompliſhed his work, planted a colony, for the ſecurity of it, in the country of the Volſcæ Tectoſagi, between the Pyrenees and the city of Tholouſe; and built a city in it, and called it Narbo Marcius, ſince Narbonne, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of ſuch a conſiderable part of Gaul, and the opening and ſecuring ſuch a way between the Alps and Pyrenees, as laid the foundation for the conqueſt of the whole country, was thought ſo conſiderable a ſervice to Rome, that the ſenate ordered him a triumph for it [s]. His ſucceſſor, Scaurus, not only conquered ſome other nations of the Gauls, as the Gentiſci and Carni (H), but, to facilitate the ſending of troops from Italy thither, he made ſome excellent roads between them, which before were almoſt impaſſable [t], and was likewiſe honoured with a triumph.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and Teutones, taking the alarm at theſe ſucceſſes, took up arms againſt them, and gave them ſeveral conſiderable overthrows; in one of which the Tigurini (I), having ſurpriſed them, made them, and their general Popilius, paſs under the yoke [u]. The Cimbri, in particular, had retaken ſome parts of Gaul from the Romans, and, in particular, the famed city of Tholouſe; upon which, Cepio marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithſtanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vaſt treaſure that had been conſecrated there by the Gauls, and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of 100000 pounds weight of gold, and the ſame of ſilver, even according to the moſt moderate accounts of it; and, in ſpite of his treachery, avarice, and ſacrilege, was continued proconſul of the Narbonneſe Gaul. This vile action ſo exaſperated the Gauls, that they joined with the Cimbri, and, taking the advantage of the ſquabble that was between the general and his collegue Manlius, they fell upon them ſo furiouſly, that they gave them ſuch an overthrow as they had

The ſacred treaſure of Tholouſe plundered, Year of the flood 2893, Before Chriſt 102.

[s] Faſt. capit. Cicer. pro Fronteio. See before, vol. xii. p. 426.
[t] See before, vol. xii. [u] Ibid. p. 459.

(H) Theſe inhabited part of Noricum, and the name of the latter is ſtill retained in the province of Carniola.

(I) The two former are only different names for the Germans, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter; as to the Tigurini, they inhabited that part of Switzerland called Zurich.

had ſcarcely ever met with, killing 80000 men, beſides 40000 ſervants and ſutlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, eſcaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave Sertorius, who ſaved himſelf by ſwimming over the Rhine. The Gauls, who, according to cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, had devoted all the ſpoil, threw all the ſilver and gold into the Rhoſne, drowned all the horſes, and murdered all the priſoners they had taken. What conſternation this loſs threw the city of Rome into, and what puniſhment was inflicted on the ſacrilegious Cepio, we have elſewhere ſhewn [w]. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into Italy, or reduce thoſe provinces which the Romans held in Gaul: they agreed, however, to conſult the brave Æmilius Scaurus, whom they had taken priſoner in a preceding action, and who, Roman like, ſtrove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic, but was, for his bold ſpeech, ſtabbed to death by Boiorix, king of the Cimbri.

The Roman ſenate, expecting nothing leſs than a freſh irruption of the Gauls and Cimbri, thought fit to recal Marius from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Jugurtha; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general againſt the enemy, and Sylla to ſerve under him. They both ſet out accordingly, and Sylla gained ſeveral advantages againſt the Tectoſagi, and took Copillus, one of their kings, priſoner, whilſt Marius reſolved not to engage ſuch a numerous army as appeared againſt him, till he had received ſufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the Marſi, another people of Germany, had joined the Cimbri, with a deſign to enter Italy with them, and Sylla was ſent to oppoſe them; but he, inſtead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the Roman intereſt. The Cimbri, enraged at this, ceaſed not to infeſt the Roman general till they forced him to remove to Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence, and in his way was briskly attacked by the brave Ambrones, now the canton of Bern, to whoſe valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave Cepio and his collegue. They fought with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, indeed, but wanted diſcipline; ſo that, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch regular troops as they engaged, ſo dreadful a ſlaughter was made of them, that the next river ran ſtained with their blood. Here the Ambronian women did likewiſe ſignalize themſelves, ran with their axes againſt the

[w] Ibid. p. 476---478, & (I).

the purſuing Romans, and made a ſtout oppoſition. But being at length overpowered, and offering to ſurrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (K), they murdered all their children, and themſelves; ſo that not one of them was found alive [x].

AFTER this defeat, the Gauls ſeem to have been quiet for ſome time, whether too much ſuppreſſed by the Romans, or that they left it to the Germans to harraſs them, as they in fact did, and gave the conſul much trouble, though to very little effect, they being conſtantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, ſoon after, with a more dreadful enemy in Sylla, and Rome was ſo rent, and in ſuch conſternation, on account of thoſe two factions, as we have ſeen in the Roman hiſtory, that they rather ſought the friendſhip of the Gauls, than their reduction. But Sylla found means, by his addreſs, to draw them to his ſide [y]. Hence it is likely, that he ſuffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorſhip; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for ſome ſpace after his death, though the ſcene of war was by this time removed into Spain and Portugal by Sertorius, and where he had very great ſucceſs againſt Pompey, who was ſent againſt him [z]. This war was no ſooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of Italy under Spartacus, who was at the head of an army conſiſting chiefly of Gauliſh ſlaves, and whom he deſigned, after ſome notable ſucceſs againſt the two conſuls, to have led back over the Alps into their own country. But this they ſtifly refuſed, and were ſoon after totally defeated by Craſſus, who was ſent againſt them, and Spartacus himſelf ſlain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and ſacrificed heaps of Romans round about him: 40000 of the Gauls were killed on the ſpot, the reſt

Gauliſh ſlaves defeated.

[x] Ibid. p. 497. [y] Ibid. p. 520. &c. [z] Ibid. p. 573. &c.

(K) Theſe conditions were, as we hinted in a former ſection, that their honour ſhould be preſerved; that they ſhould not be ſold into ſlavery; and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions being denied, they would have contented themſelves with the firſt; but that being inhumanly refuſed, their love of chaſtity made them prefer ſuch an honourable death, as could not but caſt a more ſhameful brand on thoſe who ſtyled them barbarians, and yet uſed ſuch brave matrons in ſo inhuman a manner (12).

(12) Vide Plutarch. in Mario. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 1. Frontin. ſtratag. l. iv. & v.

reſt fled into Luſitania, where they were ſoon after cut off by Pompey [a]. Whether the Tranſalpine Gauls had any hand in this rebellion, doth not appear. In that famed conſpiracy of Catiline they were indeed invited into it by ſome of his partiſans, in hopes of drawing ſome conſiderable helps from thence; but the embaſſadors of the Allobroges (L), then at Rome, who had been alſo tampered with, made ſuch a full diſcovery of the whole deſign to their protector Q. Fab. Sanga, and he to the conſuls, that it was happily prevented and diſconcerted [b].

Cæſar's ſwift entrance into Gaul.

FROM all this it ſeems as if the Gauls had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendſhip with Rome, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the Helvetii were they which kindled that freſh war which brought Cæſar over the Alps, and ended in the conqueſt of that brave and warlike nation. Orgetorix was the firſt cauſe of it, who, whether through want of room, or a deſire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for ſome other cauſe not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vaſt number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in ſearch of new conqueſts. Julius Cæſar, to whoſe lot the whole country of Gaul was fallen, made ſuch haſte to come and ſuppreſs them, that he was got to the Rhoſne in eight days, broke down the bridge of Geneva, and, in a few days more, finiſhed the famed wall between that city and mount Jura, now St. Claude, which extended ſeventeen miles in length, was ſixteen feet high, fortified with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (M). Whilſt this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amuſed the Helvetii, who had ſent to demand a paſſage through the country of the Allobroges, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refuſed

[a] Vol. xii. p. 619. [b] Ibid. p. 635.

(L) Theſe inhabited the regions at the foot of the Alps, known now by the names of Savoy, Dauphiné, and Piedmont.

(M) If his own account of it may be relied upon (13), he did not ſet out till the beginning of April, and yet this huge work was finiſhed by the ides or 13th of the month: ſo that ſubtracting the eight days he was a coming, it muſt have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! conſidering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him a helping hand.

(13) Comment. l. 1. c. 1. & ſeq.

refuſed it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle enſued, in which they loſt 130000 men, in ſpite of their valour, beſides a number of priſoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of Orgetorix, the leader of this unfortunate expedition; the reſt ſubmitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and ſettle among the Ædui, from whom they originally ſprung; and, at the requeſt of theſe laſt, were permitted to go (N). This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible diſpatch with which Cæſar had carried it againſt them, gained him ſuch reputation, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck the Gauls with ſuch a dread, that they ſtrove who ſhould pay him the firſt homage nnd congratulations, and procure his friendſhip. So that we may look upon it as the baſis of all his glory and conqueſts in this country. His ſucceſs.

We formerly took notice of the ſad divided ſtate he found them in at his firſt coming amongſt them, their vaſt variety of governments, their jealouſy over each other, the overgrown power of ſome, and the reduction of others into a ſtate of dependence next to ſlavery: Cæſar, who knew beſt how to make the moſt of theſe inteſtine broils, ſoon became the protector of the oppreſſed, a terror to the oppreſſor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among thoſe who applied to him for help, were his allies the Ædui, againſt whom Arioviſtus, king of the Germans, joined with the Arverni (O), in their late wars, had taken the country of the Sequani from

(N) The Ædui were ſituate between the rivers Seine, Loire, and Saone, and were the only allies Cæſar then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promiſed to ſupply him with corn, but made ſo many delays, that he began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and to find himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of it. Divitiacus, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with Liſcus, one of their magiſtrates: Cæſar examined them both about it ſeparately, and the latter told him, that Dumnorix the younger, brother of Divitiacus, deſigning to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, had allied with the Helvetii, and ſent that corn to them which ſhould have been conveyed to him. Divitiacus confirmed what Liſcus had ſaid, but without naming his brother; and when Cæſar would have puniſhed him for his perfidy, generouſly interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (14).

(O) The Arverni were ſeated on the Loire, and were ſo called from their metropolis, Arvernum, now Clermont, the capital of the Guiennois. They were once the moſt powerful people of the Gauls,

(14) Ibid. Vide ſupra, vol. xiii. p. 12.

from them, and obliged them to ſend hoſtages to him. Cæſar forthwith ſent to demand the reſtitution of both, and, in an interview which he ſoon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a ſacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power againſt him, forced him, againſt his will (P), out of his ſtrong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. Arioviſtus eſcaped, with difficulty, over the Rhine; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of Germans of diſtinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. Cæſar, after this ſignal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilſt he went over the Alps to make the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign [c]. By this time all the Belgæ in general were ſo terrified at his ſucceſs, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the Romans, as their common enemy, of which Labienus, who had been left in Gaul, ſent him word; upon which, he immediately left Rome, and made ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the Rhemi ſubmitted to him, but the reſt appointing Galba, king of the Sueſſones, general of all their forces, which amounted to 150000 men, marched directly againſt him. Cæſar, who had ſeized on the bridge of the Axona, now Aiſne, led his light horſe and infantry over it, and whilſt the others were incumbered in croſſing that river, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, inſomuch that their bodies ſerved for a bridge to thoſe who eſcaped. This new victory ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they diſperſed themſelves; immediately after which, the

Arioviſtus defeated.

The Belgæ ſubdued.

[c] Comment. l. i. c. 1, & ſeq. See before, vol. xiii. p. 13, & ſeq.

Gauls, their territories are ſaid to have reached from the ocean to the Rhine, on one ſide, and the Pyrenees on the other (15).

The Sequani were neighbours to the Ædui, and inhabited that part of Gallia Belgica called Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté.

(P) Cæſar, who loſt no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence that ſome German propheteſſes, and ſuch were in high eſteem among them, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a ſuperſtitious notion common among them, and all the Gauls; and this it was made him ſo eager, and Arioviſtus ſo averſe, to come to blows before that time.

(15) Strabo, l. iv.

the Sueſſones, Bellovaci, Ambiones, and ſome others, ſubmitted to him. The Nervii, indeed, joined with the Atrebates and Veromandui againſt him, and, having firſt ſecured their wives and children, made a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time, but were, at length, defeated, and the greateſt part of them ſlain; the reſt, with their wives and old men, ſurrendered themſelves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The Aduatici were next ſubdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (Q), were ſold for ſlaves, to the number of 50000. Young Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; which not only completed the conqueſt of the Belgæ, but brought ſeveral nations from beyond the Rhine to ſubmit to the conqueror. The Veneti, or antient inhabitants of Vannes in Britany, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by ſea and land, to recover their liberty. Cæſar, then in Illyricum, was forced to equip a fleet on the Loire, and, having given the command of it to Brutus, he went and defeated them by land, as Brutus did by ſea; and, having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The Unelli, with Veridorix, their chief, together with the Lexovii, and Aulerci, were, about the ſame time, ſubdued by Sabinus, and the Aquitani by Craſſus, with the loſs of 30000 men. There remained nothing but the countries of the Morini and Menapii (R) to be conquered, of all Gaul. Cæſar marched himſelf againſt them, but found them ſo well entrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the Alps, to have a more watchful eye over ſome of his rivals there

Veneti ſubdued.

(Q) Theſe were the remains of thoſe Cimbri whom Marius had defeated in Italy, and had been left on the banks of the Rhine to guard the baggage. They made a ſham ſubmiſſion to Cæſar, and ſurrendered their arms to him, but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the Romans in the night: upon which, he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves (16).

(R) Theſe are the territories, now called Ferouennes, Cleves, Gelder, and Juliers. Thoſe of the Aulerci and Lexovii are now the Evreux and Liſieux. As to the Unelli, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but without any certainty.

(16) Comm. l. ii. c. 1, & ſeq.

there [d]; but he was ſoon after obliged to come and defend his Gauliſh conqueſts againſt ſome nations of the Germans, who were coming to ſettle there, to the number of 400000, and whom he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into Germany. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried againſt them, it will be more properly ſeen in the ſubſequent chapters, as well as his ſeveral expeditions into this iſle in that which immediately follows, and to which we ſhall refer our readers.

Upon his return into Gaul, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed a kind of univerſal revolt. Cotta and Sabinus, who were left in the country of the Eburones, now Liege, were betrayed into an ambuſh by Ambiorix, one of their chiefs, and had moſt of their men cut off. The Aduatici were fallen upon Q. Cicero, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great ſtreights: at the ſame time Labienus, with his legion, was attacked by Indutiomarus, at the head of the Rheni and Senones; but had better luck than the reſt, and, by one bold ſally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. Cæſar acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts, but each victory loſt the lives of ſo many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourſe to Pompey for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to ſecure his Gauliſh conqueſts [e].

Cæſar repaſſes into Gaul.

But it was not long before they, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, raiſed up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear leſt Pompey ſhould gain the affections of the Roman people, had obliged him to ſtrip the Gauls of their gold and ſilver, to bribe them over to his intereſt: and this gave no ſmall handle to theſe frequent revolts which happened during his abſence. He did, however, ſoon reduce the Nervii, Aduatici, Menapii, and Treviri, the laſt of which had raiſed the revolt, under the command of Ambiorix; but he ſoon found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the Gauls, who had choſen the brave Vercingetorix their generaliſſimo. Cæſar was forced to leave Inſubria, whither he had retired to watch the motions of Pompey, and, in the midſt of winter and ſnow, repaſs the Alps, into the province of Narbonne, where he gathered all his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed, and, in ſpite of the hard weather, beſieged and took Noviodunum, now Noyons;

[d] Ibid. p. 16--20. [e] Ibid. p. 25.

Noyons; and defeated Vercingetorix, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the ſtrongeſt in Gaul, and which had a garriſon of 40000 men, of whom he made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, that hardly 800 eſcaped. Whilſt he was beſieging Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, he was informed that the Nitiobriges, or Agenois, were in arms, and that the Ædui were ſending to Vercingetorix 10000 men, which they were to have ſent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left Fabius to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the Ædui. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the Italian troops in their capital. Cæſar, at this, was in great ſtreights what meaſures to take, but reſolved, at length, to raiſe the ſiege of Gergovia, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he did with ſome ſucceſs; but when he thought to have gone to Noviodunum, or Noyons, where his baggage, military cheſt, &c. were left, he heard that the Ædui had carried it off, and burnt the place. Labienus, juſtly thinking that Cæſar would want his aſſiſtance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a Gauliſh general, named Camulogena, who came to oppoſe his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from ſpreading itſelf all over Celtic Gaul, whither Vercingetorix had ſent for freſh ſupplies, and, in the mean time, attacked Cæſar, but was defeated, and forced to retire to Aleſia, a ſtrong place, now Aliſe in Burgundy, as is ſuppoſed. Hither Cæſar haſtened, and beſieged him, and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a deſign to ſtarve him in it, as he was likely to have done, upon that account refuſed all offers of a ſurrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, conſiſting of 160000 men, under four generals: theſe made ſeveral fruitleſs attacks on Cæſar's trenches, but were defeated in three ſeveral battles, which, at length, obliged Vercingetorix to ſurrender at diſcretion. Cæſar uſed all his priſoners with great ſeverity, except the Ædui and Arverni, by whoſe means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two moſt potent of Celtic Gaul, as he actually did; for both of them ſubmitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the hardeſt he ever had, ſo he gained more glory by it than any Roman general had done

Suppreſſes the revolted Gauls.

before [f] : yet could not all this procure him from the ſervile ſenate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconſulſhip ; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, that that ſhould do it [g]. He was as good as his word, and the Gauls, upon their former ill ſucceſs, reſolving to have as many ſeparate armies as provinces, in order to embarraſs him the more, Cæſar, and his generals Labienus and Fabius, were forced to fight them one after another, which they did, however, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſeaſon, they ſubdued the Bituriges, Carnuti, Rhemi, and the Bellovaci, with their general Correus, by which he at once quieted all the Belgic provinces bordering on Celtic Gaul. The next who followed were the Treviri, the Eburones, and the Andes, under their general Dunmarus. The laſt place which held out againſt him was Uxellodunum, which was defended by the two laſt acting generals of the Gauls, Drapes the Sennonian, and Luterius the Cadurcean. The place being ſtrong, and well garriſoned, Cæſar was obliged to march thither from the furtheſt part of Belgic Gaul, and ſoon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he cauſed the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the reſt from revolting afreſh. Thus was the conqueſt of Gaul finiſhed from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine, all which vaſt tract was now reduced to a Roman province under the government of a prætor. The ſum of all the provinces, cities, and priſoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and Plutarch, the reader may ſee in the Roman hiſtory above quoted [h].

Reduces it into a Roman province.

Thus ended, in a great meaſure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their ſingular valour, as Tacitus obſerves, in the life of Agricola. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told [i], were permitted to remain free ; ſuch as the Nervii, Ulbaneſes, Sueſſones, and Leuci ; and others retained the title of confederates to Rome, viz. the Ædui, Lingones, Rhemi, and Carnutes : as to the reſt, who were reduced into the form of a Roman province, we may gueſs at their miſerable condition, by what Critognatus the Arvernian, as quoted by Cæſar [k], tells us of it. "If, ſays he, you would know after what manner diſtant "nations are uſed by the Romans, you need but look at our "neigh-

[f] Ibid. 126, & ſeq. [g] Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 15, & ſeq. Vide & Plutarch. in Cicer. & Cæſar. [h] Vol. xiii. p. 29, 30, &c. [i] Plin. hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. [k] Comment. l. vii.

" neighbouring Gaul, now reduced into a province, which " having its laws and cuſtoms changed, and being brought " under the power of the axes, is oppreſſed with perpetual " ſlavery." To underſtand rightly the difference of theſe three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of ſlavery; the firſt was, the having a number of ſoldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (S); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which caſe they were compelled to endure a vaſt number of tax-gatherers, which, like ſo many leaches, or harpyes, ſucked out the very vitals of the country (T). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, but had governors ſet over them, with full power and authority (cum imperio & ſecuribus) over their lives and eſtates, and ſent to them from Rome. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they ſo often revolted; for, as Tacitus himſelf obſerves, in the reign of Tiberius the continuance of thoſe taxes, the extortions of uſurers, and inſolence of the ſoldiers, were become ſo intolerable, that it drove the Gauliſh cities into a freſh rebellion. And Suetonius, in the life of Nero, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, did at length ſhake it off, the Gauls ſetting the firſt example to all the reſt.

GAUL was ſoon after divided into ſixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the margin (V), each of Gallia divided into 16 provinces.

(S) In which caſe, if theſe provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it ſeems, no great armies quartered in them, ſince Joſephus tells us (17), that, in Titus's time, they had no more than 1200 ſoldiers in garriſon in all Gaul, although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty againſt the Romans above 800 years, and had near as many cities as theſe had then ſoldiers there.

(T) We are told, accordingly, that, after Julius Cæſar had finiſhed the conqueſt of Gaul, he laid it under a tax, or tribute of HS. quadringenties (18), that is, about a million of Engliſh crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in ſubſequent reigns, may be eaſily gueſſed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints againſt thoſe extortions and oppreſſions, ſome inſtances of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by.

(V) Viennenſis, Narbonenſis prima, Narbonenſis ſecunda, Aquitania prima & ſecunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica

(17) Antiq. l. ii. (18) Eutrop. l. vi.

of which groaned now, more or less, under the Roman tyranny, according as they were more or less favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors sent thither to rule them. However, neither under Cæsar, whilst he lived, nor even under his successor Augustus, do we read of any considerable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a census, which is the first we read of made out of Italy, and which could not but be galling to them, they seem to have submitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when Drusus was sent thither to stop the incursions which the Germans were frequently making upon them (W), and had there begun a second, and perhaps a more

Year of the flood 2977. Before Christ 22.

Belgica prima & secunda, Germania prima & secunda, Lugdunensis prima, secunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ; of all which, the reader may see a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (19).

This division, however, was not made by Julius Cæsar, since we find it still under the three distinctions in which he left them, when Augustus caused the first census to be made in it (20); but was begun towards the latter end of this last's reign, and finished by some of his successors.

(W) It is hardly to be doubted but the Gauls, who did so grievously brook the plundering and insolences of the Romans, and found themselves too weak now to make head against them, did, by some private means, either invite the Germans as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their assistance; and this seems to have been the first beginning of the colonies of the Franks. For those Germans, whether defeated by the Romans, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to settle on the borders of Gallia. For we are told, that Augustus transplanted the Suevi and Sicambri, who submitted to him, into Gallia, and assigned them lands along the Rhine (21). And of Tiberius we read, that he brought 40000 of those that surrendered themselves, in the German war, over into Gallia, and settled them on the banks of the Rhine (22).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor Probus, in whose reign above sixty cities had revolted from the Romans, and made a bold push for the recovery of their liberty. This prince, says he (23), marched with a vast army into Gaul, which, after Posthumius's death, was all in commotion,

(19) Anton. itiner. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. (20) See before, vol. xiii. p. 374. (21) Sueton. in vit. Aug. (22) Idem in Tiber. (23) Vopis. in vit. Prob. Hottoman. Francogal. c. 3.

a more ſtrict one, taking a particular account of each perſon's eſtate, in order to tax them according to it; they then began to expreſs an univerſal diſcontent, and an inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. Druſus, however, without ſeeming to ſuſpect any thing like it of them, ſummoned all the Gauliſh chiefs to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the temple which the Lugdunenſes had built in honour of Julius Cæſar, and, upon their coming, behaved with ſuch addreſs and complaiſance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to Auguſtus, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty Gauliſh nations, it ſeems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was conſecrated on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and games were, at the ſame time, inſtituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the Iſthmians and Nemeans of Greece [l].

THIS fulſome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the preſence of Druſus, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune ſhould favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, ſeem, upon this occaſion, to have exerted themſelves to cheriſh that noble deſign in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, moſt likely, aroſe thoſe frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out againſt them in the ſucceeding reigns, and of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former ſection: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries which they underwent under Caligula [m], were of themſelves ſufficient to have ſpirited up a leſs warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their deſign, and under the next they either enjoyed more reſpite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly obſerved. But in that of Nero, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and

[l] Vide Strabo, l. iv. Sueton. in Auguſt. Livy, &c. & ſupra, vol. xiii. p. 416. [m] See vol. xiv. p. 74.

tion, and, when Aurelian was killed, was, in a manner, poſſeſſed by the Germans. There he gained ſo many victories, that he recovered from the barbarians ſixty of the moſt noble cities of Gallia; and whereas they had overſpread all Gaul without controul, he ſlew near 400000 of thoſe who had ſeated themſelves within the Roman territories, and tranſplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers Neckar and Elb: but of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſubſequent chapters.

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

noble Julius Vindex (X), at that time governor of Celtic Gaul, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the Gauls, harrassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts to assist him in it; so that, though he had no Romans under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of 100000 armed men. When Nero heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that Vindex, in some of his edicts against him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, did call him a bungling harper; so that instead of making proper preparations to oppose him, he only strove to display his skill in music, to wipe off the scandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when messengers came to him thick and threefold, and acquainted him with the progress Vindex had made in Gaul, and with Galba's revolt in Spain, he left Naples, in a fright, and repaired to Rome: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen, as he imagined it, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusement, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We shall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume [n]: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill success of our Gaulish general is, that his army, having been surprised by that of Rufus Virginius, who was marched against him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the Gauls were defeated, with the loss of 22000, who were killed on the spot; upon which, Vindex, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself, and the rest dispersed themselves for want of a leader. Galba had much better success, and was soon after raised to the empire [o]; but the Gauls were so heavily oppressed by him, and so loaded

His ill success and death.

[n] Ibid. p. 274, & seq. [o] Ibid. p. 297, & seq.

(X) He was descended from the antient kings of Aquitain, and bore a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to persuade Galba, then in Spain, to do the same, who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his design, though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to Nero: but Galba, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually raised a revolt there (24).

(24) Plutarch. in Galb. Dio, l. lxiii. Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. l. i. c.

loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing againſt him. In the great ſtruggle between his two ſucceſſors, Otho and Vitellius, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by Fabius Valens, who, in his march through their territories towards Italy, whither he was leading a gallant army, committed the greateſt plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into ſuch a terror, that every province and city ſent their embaſſadors to meet him, and bribe him with large preſents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (Y).

THEY did, however, recover themſelves ſo far, notwithſtanding all theſe oppreſſions, as to make ſeveral bold puſhes for their liberty, eſpecially in the reign of Veſpaſian. We have given an account of it in a former volume [p], as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather than to exaſperate them to turn their arms againſt him at that juncture [q]. In Adrian's time this province was viſited by that emperor in his progreſs through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppreſſed and impoveriſhed during the former reigns, he left, where-ever he paſſed through it, ſome tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built ſome ſtately edifices there, eſpecially a ſumptuous palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan's widow. He forgot not, at the ſame time, to repair all the Roman towns and fortreſſes in that country, to keep them in ſubjection [r], as it actually did, no conſiderable revolt happening during his and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns. All this while they ſeem to have made no inconſidera-

[p] See vol. xiv. p. 423, & ſeq. [q] Ibid. p. 425. [r] Ibid. p. 617.

(Y) Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of Vienne, againſt which that of Lions had inſtigated him, as having aided the late noble Vindex in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immenſe ſum, beſides a donative of 300 ſeſterces, the ſurrender of all their arms, and furniſhing his army with proviſions.

As he drew nearer the Alps, he ordered the city of Lucus, a municipal town of the Vocontii now Dauphiné, to be ſet on fire, becauſe they expreſſed a backwardneſs to pay him the large ſum he had exacted from them; and thus he went on extorting all the way he paſſed, whilſt Cæcina did the ſame among the Helvetii, who, not having been appriſed of Galba's death, refuſed to acknowledge Vitellius; but, upon their ſubmiſſion, they were at length pardoned by him (25).

(25) Tacit. c. 60, & ſeq. ſee vol. xiv. p. 363, & ſeq.

ble figure, or bore a ſmall ſway, ſince, in that famous conteſt between Severus and his competitors, the Gauls having firſt ſaluted him emperor, their example was followed by almoſt all the provinces in Europe, and he was every-where acknowledged and received with the loudeſt acclamations [s]. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at leaſt to the chriſtians in this country, having raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt them, inſtigated thereto by his favourite Plautianus, who took occaſion of a ſoldier's refuſing to wear a crown as a donative, to ſeize on the eſtates of all the chriſtians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death, and amongſt them Ireneus, the worthy biſhop of Lyons [t]. Gaul was again made the ſcene of war, in the famed conteſt between Gallienus and Poſthumius, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the Germans, under which it had groaned for ſome time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor both there, and in Spain and Britain, of which we have already given a full account in the Roman hiſtory [u]. The latter having been murdered by his ſoldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of Mentz [w], Lollianus got himſelf proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the Rhine; whilſt Victorinus, whom Poſthumius had taken for his collegue, governed over the reſt. Both theſe being ſoon after murdered, as we have there related, and the ſon of the latter, then an infant, being named his ſucceſſor, the Gauls murdered him likewiſe, and ſet up in his room one M. Aurelius Marius, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; but being likewiſe run through by a ſoldier who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a ſword, as himſelf told him, of his own making, P. Piveſius, or Peſuvius Tetricus, a man of ſenatorial and conſular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and ſoon after acknowledged in Spain and Britain. Tetricus did not long enjoy his dignity, before the conſtant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor Aurelian, who had reſtored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite Gaul and Britain to it, made him wiſh to be fairly rid of it. There is even ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he invited him into Gaul; and though he made a faint oppoſition againſt him at the battle of Chalons, yet, upon the firſt onſet, he yielded himſelf to that emperor; ſo that the Gauliſh troops, for want of a leader, were

Chriſtians in Gaul perſecuted.

[s] Vol. xv. p. 91, paſſ. p. 232, & ſeq. p. 246.
[t] Ibid. p. 111, & ſeq.
[u] Ibid.
[w] Ibid. & ſeq.

ANTIENT GERMANY.

MARE HYPERBOREUM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

EAST BALTIC

SCANDIA alias SCANDINAVIA

SINUS CODANUS OR BALTIC SEA

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

CHERSONESUS CIMBRICA nov. DENMARC.

Teutoni

Teutoni

Cilipenus Sinus

SARMATIA EUROPÆA

Aestii

Sinus Venedicus

Electrides Insulæ

MARE SUEVICUM

Mouth of the Elbe

Mouth of the Ems

R. Weser

Fosi qui et Saxones

Angli

Treva

Marionis

Marionis altera

Laciburgum

Eudoses

Varini

Aviones

Suardones

Lemovii qui et Heruli

Gothones

Rugii

Rugium

Sidini

Veritium

Carini

Burgundione

PART OF GERMANIA MAGNA

Venedi

Venedici Montes

Sciri

Chauci sive Cauchi majores

Fabiranum

Altis Flu.

Reudigni

Lango bardi

Chauci Cauchi minores

Amisia Flu.

Amisia

Flevum Statio

Castellum

Fletia Insula

Flevus

Frisii majores

Vetera Flu.

Frisii

Marsaci

Vatialis

Chamavi

Tecelia

Angrivarii

Cherusci

Tropeum Drusi

Spira alius Sturgis Flu.

Visurgis Flu.

Bructeri

Marsi

Sicambri

Teutoburgiensis Saltus

Mosa flu.

Toxandri

Menapii

Luppia Flu.

Lippia

Aliso

Usipii seu Usipetes

Tencteri

Castellum

Castellum Catto rum

Liger

Hercynia silva

Salinæ

Melibocus Mons

Rhenus Flu.

Aliso Flu.

Ubii

Ubiorum

Segedunum

Adrana Flu.

Fulda Flu.

Scaldis flu.

Mosa Flu.

Colonia Agrippina

Tigus Flu.

CATTI

Mattium

Rhenus M.

Mattiaci

Castellum Germanici

Grabreta silva

Sala flu.

Salis flu.

Abrincea Flu.

Confluentia

Taunus M.

Munimentum Trajani

Fontes Mattiaci

Arduenna Silva

Mosella Flu.

Augusta Trevirorum

Navalia

Magontiacum

Treveri

Vangiones

Borbetomagus

Moenus Flu.

Nemetes

Neomagus

Sedulii

Nariſci

Semnones

SILVA

Judita Montes

Marsingi

Burii

Lugii seu Logiones

TRANS VISTULANI

Carrodunum

Marco mannorum

Maraburduum

Luna Silva

Osi

BOIOHEMUM

novæ sedes

Horcynii Montes

Eburum

Mons Eburodunum

Carrodunum alterum

Vibantavarium

Tyras Flu. hodie Niester

Clepidana

Mediomatrici

Decem Pagi

Argentoratum

Harudes

Marcum annorum antiqua sedes

Danubius Flu.

Quadi

Marus Flu.

Godini

Iazyges

Carpates Montes

Alpes Bastarnicæ

Hierasus flu. h. Pruth.

Tibiscus Flu.

Decunates agri

Mons Brisiacus

Fons Danubii

Augusta Vindelicorum

Isarus Flu.

Casurgis

Batava Castra

Celemantia

Limes Germaniæ magnæ

Carnuntum

Vindobonia

Cetius Mons

Juvavia

Aenus flu.

Campodunum

Abnoba Mons

Augusta Rauracorum

Lycus flu.

Murus Flu.

Adpontem

Danubius fl.

PARS VINDELICIA

NORICI PARS

PANNONIÆ PARS

Vistula flu. terminus Germaniæ

Tisurgis flu.

were entirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience [x]. This action quite compleated the conqueſt of Gaul, and Tetricus, whether to cover his treachery in abandoning his troops, or becauſe he did not make his ſubmiſſion ſoon enough, was led in triumph by that emperor; but was ſoon after advanced, and loaded with honours and titles by him, as we have formerly ſeen [y]. In Conſtantine's time, who is ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who firſt divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceſes, and each of theſe four parts put under the government of a diſtinct præfectus prætorio, which was before only under two, Gaul being made one of thoſe dioceſes, and had its provinces aſſigned to it; we have already had occaſion to mention them in this chapter, and in a former volume [z]; and ſhall not repeat it here, but only add, that the Gallic præfect had Gaul, Spain, and Britain under him.

We ſhould now come to the latter part of the Gauliſh hiſtory, and give an account of the horrid ravages this country ſince ſuffered from the Germans, the Huns, eſpecially under Attila, under the Vandals, and eſpecially under the Goths, or Viſigoths, and Burgundi, who formed themſelves into diſtinct kingdoms here, and held them, through a ſeries of princes, till diſpoſſeſſed of them by the Franks: but as theſe have already been ſpoken of in the courſe of the Roman hiſtory [a], and muſt be reſumed in that of thoſe northern invaders, in the chapters hereafter following, we ſhall refer our readers to them as they come in courſe, and proceed now to the hiſtory of the antient Germans.

[x] Vol. xv. p. 263, & ſeq. [y] P. 264, 265. [z] Ibid. p. 420, paſſ. [a] Ibid. p. 447, 582, 589, & ſeq. Vol. xvi. p. 245.

CHAP. XII.

The hiſtory of the antient Germans, to their breaking into the Roman empire, invaſion of Gaul, and expulſion out of it by the Franks.

Germans their origin.

IT is univerſally acknowledged, that the farther northward we move from antient Gaul, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vaſt regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube, which, we have ſeen in the laſt chapter,

chapter, were, in a great meaſure, the limits between the Gauls and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they ſettled themſelves in: antient authors [a] commonly confound them under the names of Celtes, Scythians, and Celtoſcythians; and, among them, ſuch a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient Germans, which they write of them under thoſe other names, without ſome concurring circumſtances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no ſmall number of modern [b], and ſome of the antient writers [c], that they were originally one and the ſame nation with the Celtes and Gauls, and both deſcended from the antient Gomerians, or deſcendents of Gomer, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet. Only the Germans were very much intermixed with the old Scythians and Sarmatians, on that ſide which joined with their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, between the two great rivers Rhine and Danube [d]: and theſe, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their cuſtoms among them, as well as intermingled ſome of their language with their own; but in all other parts of Germany we find ſuch an exact conformity in their religion, laws, cuſtoms, and (what may appear ſtill more ſurprizing to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by ſome of the modern authors laſt quoted) in their very language [e], as leaves ſcarce any room to doubt but that they were deſcended from the ſame antient ſtock with the Celtes or Gauls, and came, by gradual migrations, from Aſia, as we have already ſhewn theſe did, both in a former volume, and at the entrance of the laſt chapter [f]. The truth is, as Pliny rightly obſerves [g], that the Germans were little known to the Romans, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of M. Agrippa into thoſe parts; and many things which even Tacitus has written of them, pretendedly

[a] Cæſar. Comment. Tacit. Plin. Strab. Juſtin. ex. Trog. & al. See alſo, vol. ii. p. 241, & ſeq. [b] Cluver. Bochart. Phaleg. Pezron. Antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. Calmet. Comment. in Geneſ. & al. [c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Euſtat. Antioch. in Hexamer. Hieron. tradit. Hebr. Joſ. Ben. Gor. ap. Bochart. Iſidor. Orig. Euſeb. Cæſar. Chronic. Zonar. & al. [d] See ch. xi. p. 400. [e] Pelloutier. Hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15. p. 165, & ſeq. Pezron. Antiq. Celt. Keyzler. Antiq. Septentr. paſſ. [f] See before, vol. v. p. 383. ſection 1. p. 1, & ſeq. [g] N. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 28.

pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous: ſo that we muſt fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from thoſe moderns who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to ſtrike light out of darkneſs: among whom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, viz Rener and Maſcov, whoſe curious diſcoveries, in many points, have added no ſmall evidence to thoſe who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almoſt unavoidable fondneſs with which they have all of them endeavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our buſineſs to enter, unleſs we could do it with greater certainty than the ſubject will poſſibly admit of; we may venture to follow them as ſure guides in other reſpects. If the evidence ſeems to lean on one ſide more than the other, we ſhould conclude it to be on that of the Gauls, not only as their origin can be more clearly traced from the antient Gomerians, as we have formerly ſeen; but as they are found ſeated in the beſt and nobleſt climate of the two, whilſt the Germans, as a younger branch, were, perhaps, forced to ſpread themſelves towards the more northern and inclement parts of Europe, till length of time gave them an opportunity of croſſing the Rhine, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſouthern provinces, as we have ſeen they did, at the cloſe of the laſt chapter, and ſhall further ſhew at the ſequel of this.

Names. How this country came to be called Germany, and its inhabitants Germans, is not eaſy to gueſs; the reader may ſee the various conjectures about its etymon in the following note (A); but it is plain, it was not their original name, but

(A) It is not eaſy to determine whether this word be of Celtic or Roman extract; if the latter, it muſt have been given by the Gauls, either on account of their nearneſs of kindred to them, or of that frequent aſſiſtance they called upon them for, againſt the domineering Romans, of which we have ſpoken in the concluſion of the laſt chapter. Tacitus, indeed, thinks they were called ſo by other nations, on account of their ſimilitude of religion, manners, &c. with the Gauls (1): but though this reſemblance was really true, in fact, yet the etymon itſelf ſeems too far fetched and ſtrained.

The other, which makes it of Celtic extract, is, indeed, much more natural, Ger and man, in that antient tongue, ſignifying a warlike

(1) Mor. Germ. ſub init.

but is of a more modern date, and ſeems to have had its riſe on the other ſide of the Rhine, when the Condruſi, Eburones, Cæraſi, and Pæmani, croſſed that river, after the example of ſome others of their countrymen, and went to ſettle in Gaul. Theſe, it ſeems, were the firſt to whom the name of Germans was given, and which therefore extended no further than the Rheniſh ſhore on the Gallic ſide, but ſoon after paſſed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the ſame original language and cuſtoms, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, Germania, or Germany [h]. But whether it was given to them by the Gauls on their coming over to their aſſiſtance againſt the Romans, or by theſe on account of the affinity of their religion and cuſtoms, or, laſtly, whether aſſumed by them on their ſettling themſelves among the Gauls, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of Dutch extract; ſo that if they really called themſelves by it, as Tacitus ſays they did, it is ſurpriſing it ſhould not have been rather preſerved by them, and handed to us in their own language. If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have obſerved from their original deſcent from the antient Gomerians or Celtes, and from ſeveral monuments they have left in ſeveral parts of Germany, eſpecially towards the north, ſuch as Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, and ſuch-like; it is not improbable, that they called themſelves Cimri, or Cymbri, which is but a harſher pronunciation of the original Gomerai: for theſe Cimbri are allowed

[h] Antiq. Germ. hiſt. Ant. Germ. Engl. by Lediard.

warlike or martial man, as, indeed, it is plain, that the Germans, as well as Gauls, did highly value themſelves on that account. They were likewiſe known by another name, viz. that of Allemani, which, though ſuppoſed to have been given them, by the Gauls, or French, becauſe only preſerved by them, who ſtill call them Alemans, and their country Alemanie, and Alemagne, and, as is pretended, on account of their intermixing, after Maroboduus's retreat, with ſtrolers of all nations; yet to us that name appears to be rather of German extract, and ſignifies nearly the ſame as Ger-man, that is, altogether warlike: and this name may have been carried thither either by thoſe Germans who went thither to aſſiſt the Gauls againſt the Romans, or by thoſe who at length conquered that country, and are better known by the name of Franks,

allowed to have been an antient, if not the antienteſt people of Germany, and inhabited a very conſiderable part of that country. We have already hinted, that they gave their name to the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, which was a kind of peninſula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into the north ſea [i]: and if they really were the ſame, as they were antiently ſuppoſed, with the Cimmerians that inhabited the countries about the Palus Mæotis, and Poſidonius ſeems to confirm it, from the great likeneſs of their names [k], they muſt have ſpread themſelves vaſtly along that northern tract. We are, moreover, told, by Strabo and Livy, that the Cimbri alone penetrated into Noricum and Illyricum, and, about the 640th year of the Roman æra, defeated the conſul Papyrius Carbo near Noreia [l]. Some years after, they ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to deſire the ſenate to aſſign them lands to inhabit in, in conſideration of which they would ſerve them in their future wars. Their ſuit being denied, gave occaſion to a bitter war which they waged againſt them, in conjunction with the Tigurini, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak, and which is only hinted here, to ſhew how powerful and numerous they were by this time, and how, probably, they were ſome branch of the old Gomerai, and the antienteſt inhabitants of Germany. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, their valour, and various fortunes, againſt the Romans, Gauls, and other nations. As for thoſe who remained in their native country, or returned thither after their defeat, they, in time, joining in their excurſions with the Saxons, who likewiſe inhabited ſome parts of the forementioned peninſula, it is ſuppoſed, that they became ſo blended with them, that their name was ſwallowed up in that of Saxon, ſo that nothing was retained of it but the denomination of Cimbrica, which was ſtill given both to their country, and to the ſea that ſurrounded it. The name of Allemans and Alemans, ſtill retained by the French, we have ſpoken of under the laſt note; that of Teutones, from which their preſent one of Teutſchen, or Dutch, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were antiently known, and is of a much older date than that of Germans, but the etymon of which is not eaſily gueſſed at, unleſs we fetch it from the Celtic Theut, as we ſhall ſhew further in the ſequel. Theſe, according to Mela [m], antiently inhabited the

Cimbri probably the oldeſt inhabitants of Germany.

Teutones.

[i] Cæſ. Comm. l. ii. c. 4. Tacit. Germ. c. 2. See Maſcov. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 6. [k] Vide Plutarch. in Mario, [l] Apud Strab. l. vii. [m] Liv. epit. Strabo, l. v.

the neighbouring coaſts and iſlands of the eaſt, or Baltic ſea; but growing too numerous for thoſe narrow territories, the moſt daring part went, with their wives and families, to ſeek new ſettlements in other countries; but when, and where, is not eaſy to gueſs (B). We ſhall ſee them, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, often joined with the Cimbri, Cimbrones, and others, and making excurſions into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the Rhine, being greatly harraſſed on all ſides, fought their way quite to Belgic Gaul, where they ſettled, and became, in time, known by the name of Atuatici [n].

Atuatici in Belgia.

THUS much ſhall ſuffice for the moſt noted common names of the antient Germans. A vaſt variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and joſtling each other out of their habitations, or were joſtled out of them by the Gauls, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the Rhine, ſometimes penetrating as far as the Hercynian foreſt, at others ſpreading themſelves far and wide, along the ſides of it, and beyond; inſomuch that, as we obſerved in the laſt chapter, there was ſcarcely a country from that river to the eaſt ſea, or the moſt northern verge, but had ſome of that nation either intermixed with the Germans, or ſettled in ſome territories between them; it were labour loſt to endeavour to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the Gauls, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own hiſtory, and were ſtill more unknown than they, both to the Romans and Greeks, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourſe with, or by their

[n] L. iii.

(B) According to one author, they joined with the Cimbri, and, having croſſed the Rhine, invaded ſome of the Gauliſh territories (2); but we have ſeen, a little higher, out of Livy and Strabo, that the Cimbri had long enough before invaded ſome of thoſe provinces, then under the Roman yoke, and had ſettled themſelves in them: ſo that it is not eaſy to determine whether this Teutonic expedition fell upon Gaul, Italy, or any ſtill more diſtant regions.

(2) Vel. Patercul. l. ii. c. 8. Vide & Cæſar. comment. l. ii. c. 19.

their wars againſt the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known unto them, and their names, countries, and hiſtory, recorded by their writers. In our ſettling, therefore, the confines of Germany, and of thoſe cantons and territories which each different nation of that vaſt tract of ground poſſeſſed, we ſhall go no further back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

The extent and limits of Germany.

We took notice in the preceding chapter, that the Rhine, according to the Roman authors, divided the antient Gauls from the Germans on the weſt, and the Danube on the ſouth; the Hercynian foreſt, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined them on the north, and the German and northern ocean on the north-weſt, and Scythia and Sarmatia on the eaſt, where they were as much intermixed with thoſe two nations, as they were on the weſt with the Gauls, and where it is ſtill more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reaſon of their conſtant fluctuation, and change of abode, as they ſo frequently invaded and drove each other out of them.

Of thoſe ſeveral nations which the Romans reckoned of German extract, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay in this chapter, becauſe we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of thoſe antient writers in a former volume, to which we ſhall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is ſaid of them. We have already ſpoken of the Cimbri, and their neighbours the Saxons, who inhabited the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, on the other ſide the Elbe. On this ſide that river were the Chauci, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the Viſurges, now the Weſer; their country contained what is now called Bremen and Lunenburg, Friezland and Groninghen; and the upper had the Cheruſci, and the lower the Chamavi on the ſouth-eaſt, and the German ocean on the north-weſt [o]. The Friſii, upper and lower, were divided from the lower Chauci by the river Amiſia, now Ems; and from each other by an arm of the Rhine [p]. Their country ſtill retains the name of Friezland, and is divided into eaſt and weſt; but the latter of the two is now diſmembered from Germany, and is one of the ſeven united provinces: from them were parted by the Iſela, now Iſel, the country of the Bructeri, ſince called Broekmorland, and the

The Chauci.

Friſii.

Bructeri, Marſi and Uſipii.

[o] Cæſar. Comm. l. ii. c. 29.

[p] See before, vol. xiii. P. 417, 521, note (H).

the Marſi, ſituate about the river Luppia, or Luppe, of whom we have alſo formerly given an account [q]. On the other ſide of that river were the Uſipii, or Uſipetes [r], but theſe were famed for often changing their habitation, and are therefore found in other territories; the Tencteri were next to them, and next to theſe the Juhones, or inhabitants of Juliers, between the the Maeſe and the Rhine: the Cotti, another antient warlike people, who inhabited part of Heſſe and Thuringia, from the Hartzian mountains to the Rhine and Weſer, and of whom we have formerly ſpoken [s]; among whom were comprehended the Mattiaci, whoſe capital was called from them Mattiacum, by ſome taken to be Marpurgh, and by others Baden, on account of its hot waters [t]. Next to them were the Seduſii, bordering upon Swabia; Nariſci, or antient inhabitants of Northgow, whoſe capital is the famed city of Nurembergh; and the Marcomani, whoſe country antiently reached from the Rhine to the head of the Danube, and to the Neckar: here were the famed Agri decumales, ſo called, among other reaſons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the Romans. The Marcomani afterwards went and ſettled in Bohemia and Moravia, under their general Maroboduus, and ſome of them in Gaul, whence they drove the Boii, who had ſeated themſelves there [u].

On this ſide the Rhine, between that river and the Moſa, or Maeſe, were the Ubii, who were brought over by Agrippa. Their metropolis was Colonia Agrippina, ſo called from the empreſs of that name, who founded it, and now Cologn [w]; and next to them the Tungri, which are ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom Cæſar calls Eburones and Condruſi, and whoſe metropolis, then called Attuatica, is ſince known by the name of Tongres [x]. Higher up from them, and on the other ſide of the Moſel, were the Treviri, whoſe capital was Auguſta Trevirorum, now Triers (C); next to them were the Tribocci,

[q] Ibid. p. 539, note (C).
[r] Ibid. p. 528, note (Q).
[s] Ibid. p. 529, note (B).
[t] Ibid. p. 533, note (T).
[u] See Ibid. p. 535, note (W).
[w] Ibid. p. 404, note (E).
[x] Ibid. p. 516, note (D). & p. 520, note (F).

(C) As Germany came to be divided into Prima and Secunda, the former being that which was neareſt the Alps, the Treviri have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to it (3), as they boaſted themſelves of German extraction; but this is much queſtioned by

(3) Bucherius, Belg. Rom. l. i. c. 12.

bocci, Nemetes, and Vangiones; the former dwelt in Alsatia, and their metropolis was called Argentinæ, and Argentoratum, now Strasburgh. The others lived in the cities of Worms, Spire, and Moguntia, now Mentz. Those three, besides the Treviri mentioned in the last note, made the Germania prima; and those below them the Germania secunda, and reached as far as the Maes and lower Rhine, and was divided from Belgia by the Demer and Scheld, which latter has always divided the sees of Liege and Cambray. The Mediomatrici were situate along the Mosel, about the city of Metz in Lorrain; above them, on the same river Rhine, were seated the Raurici, called also Rauraci, and Rauriaci, another antient German nation, who inhabited that part of Helvetia, or Switzerland, about Basil: their capital was Rauracum, or Augusta Rauracorum [y].

Between the heads of the Rhine and of the Danube, were seated the antient kingdoms of Vindelicia, whose capital was called Augusta Vindelicorum, now Ausburgh [z]; and below it, along the banks of the same river, those of Noricum and Pannonia, the former of which was divided into Noricum Ripense and Mediterraneum, and contained a great part of the provinces of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Bavaria, and some others of less note [a]; and the latter the kingdom of Hungary, divided into upper and lower, and extending from Illyricum to the Danube and the mountains Cætii, in the neighbourhood of Vindebona, now Vienna, the metropolis of Austria [b]. On the other side of the Danube, which was more properly called Germany, and Germania magna, besides Vindelici.

[y] See Mascov. l. iii. c. 5. [z] See vol. xv. p. 461. [a] Vol. xii. p. 429, note (C). & vol. xiii. p. 404, note (E). [b] Ibid. p. 405. sub not.

by others, who rather think, that they, with some others who obtained their liberty, and are by Pliny (4) called liberæ civitates, were excluded from that division (5). The other cities mentioned by that author were those of the Nervii, Suessones, Sylvanectes, and Leuci; those on the other hand of the Rhemi and Lingones in Gaul, that is, of the provinces of Rheims and Champaigne, he there calls civitates fœderatæ.

The Treviri, however, became in time the principal nation of Belgica prima.

(4) Nat. Hist. l. iv. (5) Vide Mascov. l. iii. c. 5.

ſides the Marcomans (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly ſituate between the Rhine and it, were the Hermunduri, whoſe country ran northwards from it, and extended itſelf along the Hercynian mountains quite up to the river Sala. Theſe poſſeſſed, particularly, the country now called Miſnia, in Upper Saxony, though ſome make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond, the kingdom of Bohemia. On the other ſide thoſe mountains was the abovementioned kingdom of Boiohemum, now Bohemia [c], once one of the ſeats of the Boii; and beyond them, north of the Danube, was another ſeat of the Marcomani, along the river Albis, now Elbe; from which they ſpread themſelves into Bohemia, and drove the Boii out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have ſpoken of theſe in a former volume, to which we refer the reader [d]. The Quadi were ſituate next to Bohemia: their territories extended from the Danube to Moravia, and the northern part of Auſtria [e]; theſe are likewiſe comprehended under the antient name of Suevi, part of whom forced their way into Spain, and ſettled a kingdom there, as hinted under the laſt note. The Baſtarnæ were ſituate eaſtward of the Quadi, and parted from them by the Granna, now Gran, a river that falls into the Danube, and by the ridge of the Carpatian mountains, called from them Baſtarnicæ Alpes: their country made, indeed, part of the European Sarmatia, and ſo was out of the limits of Germania propria; but they antiently lived on this ſide the Danube, were concerned with the Marcomans, Quadi, Hermunduri, Suevi, and a number of other German nations, in the famed war againſt M. Antoninus [f], and are accounted of German extract by Pliny [g]; and it was not till the reign of Probus that they were tranſplanted over the Danube thither by that emperor, to repeople thoſe countries which were become defolute by the wars and peſtilence.

Baſtarnæ.

[c] Ibid. p. 413, note (F). [d] Ibid. p. 404, note (E). [e] Ibid. p. 448, note (S). [f] Ibid. p. 583, note (O). [g] Jul. Capitol. in vit. Marc. c. 22.

(D) Theſe, the Quadi, and ſome others we ſhall have occaſion to mention, were of that tribe of antient Germans known by the name of Suevi: they antiently poſſeſſed a conſiderable part of Germany, that is the greateſt part of it from the Rhine to the Elbe; but, in proceſs of time, ſome of them removed more northward, and ſettled along the Danube, whilſt another part went into Spain, and formed a kingdom there, as we ſhall ſhew in a ſubſequent chapter.

peſtilence. Theſe ſoon conformed to the Roman laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country [h]. We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was ſettled in Tharce by Probus [i]; but where the original ſeat of them was before their removal, is not eaſy to gueſs; it has been, for that reaſon, much queſtioned whether they were of German or Sarmatian extract: we, however, quoted Pliny in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the German nation [l]. We may add to his evidence that of Strabo, who plainly diſtinguiſhes them from the Sarmatians; and that of Tacitus, who ranks them among the former [m]. We read of their aſſiſting Perſeus and Mithridates againſt the Romans [n], but after their conqueſt by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the Goths, and as for thoſe who ſtayed in their native country, if any ſuch there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with thoſe Piecinigi, or Patzinicæ, which we find mentioned in the Byzantine and Poliſh hiſtory, and which Strabo and Tacitus mention in the place above quoted with the Baſtarnæ and ſome other German tribes [o].

BETWEEN thoſe nations we have ſeen ſeated along the other ſide of the Danube, and the Hercynian foreſt, were ſeveral other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whoſe exact ſituation we are quite in the dark: ſuch as the Martingi, Burii, Borades, Burii. Lygii, or Logiones, and ſome others, who are placed by our geographers along the foreſt abovementioned, between the Danube and the Viſtula. The Burii are reckoned the ſame with the Borades, and are mentioned as aſſiſtants to the Marcomani in their war againſt M. Antoninus; and the Lygii, or Logiones, as aſſiſting Vibillius, king of the Hermunduri, againſt the haughty Vannius, king of the Suevi: and their bordering one upon another is collected from a paſſage of Pliny which places the latter between the Danube and the foreſt abovementioned [p], but with no ſufficient exactneſs to lead us to the right ſituation of either: only the Sileſian hiſtorians affirm, that the Lygii, and part of the Quadi, remained

[h] Nat. hiſt. l. iv. c. 28. [i] Vopiſcus. in vit. Probi, c. 18. [l] Vol. xv. p. 281. p. 309. Nat. hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. [m] Georg. l. iii. p. 306. Mor. Ger. c. 46. [n] Vide Plutarch. in vit. Æmil. Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 365. [o] See Lediard, vol. ii. add. xxx. p. 389. [p] H. N. l. iv. c. 25.

remained ſtill in their own original country [q]. The laſt we ſhall mention on this ſide the Hercynian foreſt, were the famed Rhœtii, now Griſons, who were ſeated on the Alps: their country, which was antiently called Weſtern Illyricum, was divided into Rhœtia prima, or propria, and ſecunda, and was then of a much larger extent, ſpreading itſelf towards Swabia, Bavaria, and Auſtria. This country and that of Noricum, and others, became a Roman province, and belonged to the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths in Italy; but upon the declenſion of it they fell under the dominion of the Franks, about which time the name of Bavarians firſt became noted in hiſtory [r].

Rhœtii.

Suevi.

On the other ſide of the Hercynian foreſt were the antient ſeats of the Suevi, whom we have ſhewn above to have been an old tribe of Germans (E), and ſpread themſelves from the Viſtula to the Elbe, and beyond, though they in time did, at leaſt a great part of them, either penetrate through that foreſt, or wind themſelves about it, and came and ſettled in the more pleaſant ſouthern parts of Europe, ſuch as Belgium, Gaul, and even Spain, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel. The moſt famous of theſe were the Longobardi, ſo called, according to ſome, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their conſiſting of two nations, viz. the Bardi and Lingones; theſe dwelt along the river Elbe, and bordered ſouthward on the Chauci, mentioned a little higher, and both theſe were reduced by Tiberius, as we have ſhewn in a former volume [s]. But the Lon-

gobardi,

[q] Vide inter al. Hankium de major. Sileſior. c. 21. Maſcov. l. xi. §. 21. [r] See before, vol. xiii. p. 404, & ſeq. and notes. [s] Ibid. 447, (R).

(E) At leaſt we find them ſo ſtyled by Pliny, and other antient authors: but we muſt here remind our readers of what has been heretofore occaſionally obſerved with reſpect to thoſe authors, that they ſo often confound the Celtes and Scythians, that it is not eaſy to gueſs whether thoſe antient Suevi or Germans, whom they allow to be of Celtic extract, were really ſo, or of Scythian breed. But from the nearer likeneſs of manners, language, &c. to the latter, one would be more apt to think they derived their original from them. However, the truth ſeems to be, that both Celtes and Scythians were in all theſe parts ſo intermixed and blended together, eſpecially from the Rhine eaſtward and northward, that all thoſe antient Germans bid fair to be the offspring of that mixture, rather than of either Scythic or Celtic original properly ſo called.

gobardi, having paſſed the Danube, invaded and defeated the Heruli [t], did afterwards croſs the Alps, and ſettle in Italy, where they founded the kingdom of Lombardy [u], and, in proceſs of time, quite forgot their antient German, and adopted that of Italy [w]. The Burgundi are the next of note. Pliny affirms them likewiſe of German extract, and ranks them with the Vindili, Varini, Carini, Guttones and Ingevones, which laſt he makes to have been a mixed people, partly Cimbric, partly Teutonic, and partly Chauci [x]. It were labour loſt to enquire after their original ſeat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, enticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated firſt into Germany, where they aſſiſted Valentinian againſt the Alemani [y], they afterwards croſſed the Rhine, and ſettled in Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in that province which ſtill retains the name of Burgundia, as we ſhall ſhew in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. The Semnones, likewiſe, left their old habitation, and ſettled about the Lionnois in Gaul: we find them ſeated about the Elbe, in Tiberius's time, and, in conjunction with the Hermunduri and other Germans, bravely ſtriving to obſtruct his croſſing that river [z]; but at what time they paſſed from thence into Gaul, is not eaſy to gueſs: but they fell upon one of the moſt fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew ſo rich and conſiderable, that they are thought to have been called Sennones on that very account, it being an old Celtic word, which ſignifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have had occaſion to ſhew in the

Burgundi.

Semnone.

[t] See before, vol. xvi. p. 36. [u] Ibid. 320. [w] Vide Giannon. hiſt. Neapol. p. 294. Maſcov. l. xv. c. 14. [x] Ubi ſupra, l. iv. c. 28. [y] Marcellin. l. xxviii. c. 5. [z] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 106.

(F) Some have imagined the Burgundi and Burgundiones to have been two different people, but without any probability, ſince they are mentioned by ſome antient authors as the ſame nation, though under thoſe two different names; and that is, Marcellinus calls them Burgundi, whom St. Jerom and Oroſius call Burgundiones.

(G) Some have, indeed, ſought the etymon of this name from the Greek, and think they were ſo called from the word ξένος, ſtranger, new-comer; on account of their being ſome of the laſt German nations that came over the Rhine into Gaul (8). Accordingly, a Roman hiſtorian tells us (9), that they were the very

(8) Vide Flacc. feſt. (9) Tit. Liv. hiſtor. l. v. c. 35.

hiſtory of the Gauls [a]. Theſe three were the moſt noted nations on the other ſide the Hercynian foreſt, to which we ſhall only add the names of ſome others, though ſcarcely known to us by any thing elſe: ſuch are the Aviones, Reudigni, Eudoles, and Swardones, whom we find placed between the Elbe and the Suevus, or Viader, on the north of the Longobardi; the Rugii, Lemnovii, Heruli, Gothones, or Gothini, the Sidui Carini, between the laſt-mentioned river and the Viſtula: as for the Angli, Saxi, Goths, Hunns, &c. they will be ſpoken of in ſome of the following chapters. But before we paſs further, we muſt not omit the country of the Æſtii, an antient tribe of the Suevi, who inhabited along the coaſts of the eaſt ſea (H), ſo famed for the great plenty of

Æſtii, and their amber trade.

[a] See before, p. 455.

very laſt of all the ſtrangers that came thither. Servius, indeed, thinks they were at firſt called ξένος, and afterwards ξένωνας, becauſe they received Bacchus into their country.

But if we muſt have recourſe to the Greek, would not the word Σεμνὸς afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the antient Semnones than that of Senonas or Xenonas? We read of Semna myſteria, and Semnai theai, in which the word implies ſomething venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the Semnonic tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great ſway they bore above the reſt, all which doth well agree with their hiſtory. But we would rather chuſe to ſtick to the Celtic, which doth ſtill more cloſely ſquare to it than to the Greek, which, how like ſoever to it in moſt things, doth yet ſometimes deviate from the original deſign and meaning, eſpecially as to ſuch appellatives as this we are upon: and if we obſerve, that in ſeveral provinces of Gaul, even to this day, the natives never pronounce an m before an n, but like a nn, we may perhaps find out the moſt probable etymon for the word ſenex, ſenatus, ſenator, ſenior, ſenioratio, ſeneſchal, carta ſenica, and many others of the like import, in which the mn was gradually abſorbed into nn, and this laſt ſoftened into a ſingle one.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting thoſe coaſts of the eaſt ſea, containing part of Pruſſia, Courland, and Livonia. Theſe, as well as their neighbours the Gothini, were not unknown to Tacitus, who has given us a ſuccinct deſcription of their religion, cuſtoms, and language; in all which they differed ſo little from the Celtes, or old Gauls, that we may take it as a further proof, that the antient Germans and they were but diſtinct branches of the ſame nation, as we obſerved at the beginning

of amber that was found there, eſpecially along thoſe of Pruſſia, and for the vaſt quantity that was fetched from thence both by the Greeks and Romans, of which we find particular mention in moſt antient authors, ſuch as Herodotus [b], Diodorus Siculus [c], Pytheas Maſſilienſis, as quoted by Pliny [d], but eſpecially by Tacitus [e], who has given us a very curious deſcription of it, as well as of theſe Æſtii, who gathered and ſold it to them. Theſe, he ſays, worſhipped the mother of the gods, and placed ſuch confidence in her ſafeguard, that they ſcarcely knew the uſe of iron weapons, or any other ſort but cudgels. They were more induſtrious than the reſt of the Germans in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the ſeas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little uſe to them, except to ſell it to ſtrangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in deſcribing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other antient authors have writ of it, we may infer, that it was in very high eſteem in thoſe days. In Nero's reign, by which time the Romans had wholly ſet aſide the thoughts of conquering Germany, one of that emperor's favourites perſuaded him to ſend thither a kind of embaſſy to buy it there upon the ſpot, and at the firſt hand [f]. The thing was accordingly done, and the Roman knight, who was at the head of this expedition, ſetting out from Carnuntum, a fortreſs on the banks of the Danube (I), arrived at the place,

[b] L. iii. c. 15. [c] Bibl. l. v. [d] N. H. l. xxxvii.
[e] Mor. Germ. c. 45. [f] See Pliny nat. hiſt. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

ning of this and the laſt chapter. What is ſtill more obſervable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old Britiſh, that is, from the old Celtic or Gomerian; the Britons, who were a branch of theſe, or rather the ſame nation, under a different name, that was given them on account of their painting their bodies, the word Brit, in the old Celtic, ſignifying the ſame as Pict or painted, and both Britons and Gomerians retaining the ſame tongue not only then, but even to this day, as we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, both in the laſt chapter, and in the hiſtory of the antient Celtes (10).

(I) Carnuntum was a fortreſs in Upper Pannonia, on the ſame ſide with Vienna, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers

(10) See before, p. 415, & ſeq. and vol. v. p. 410.

and met with a kind reception from the Æſtii, from whom he bought and brought away, according to Solinus [g], 13000 pounds weight of that commodity, which was deſigned, it ſeems, by one of their kings, as a preſent to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which muſt have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds [h]. We find in Caſſiodorus, a letter ſent by Theodoric, king of the Goths, to the Æſtii, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had ſent to him of the ſame precious drug [i], and wherein he promiſes them his friendſhip, which, it ſeems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embaſſy, and valuable preſent. By this letter it ſhould ſeem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for ſo their embaſſadors told that monarch; and added, that the ſea threw it upon their coaſts. Theſe Æſtii were ſtill famed among other German nations on the eaſt ſea, in the time of Charles the great [k]. We read of the Scirri, Hirri, Galindi, and Sudeni, in Ptolemy, which ſome have endeavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the Æſtii [l], or antient inhabitants of Pruſſia, but with very little likelihood: as for the name of Pruſſia, it is of much more recent date, as ſhall be ſeen in the modern part of this work. All that needs be added, with reſpect to the Æſtii, is, that they were at length conquered, with ſome other nations, by Ermanaric, king of the Goths [m].

On

[g] Polyhiſt. c. 33. [h] Pliny ubi ſupra. [i] Varia, l. v. epiſt. 2. [k] Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Mag. c. 12. [l] Vide Hartknok. Pruſ. A. & M. part 1. c. 1. [m] Jornand. hiſt. Goth. l. iv.

tiers of the Germans and Pannonians (11). If, therefore, this embaſſy ſet out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they ſhould ſail up the Danube, and down the Rhine, in order to coaſt it round to the Pruſſian coaſts; it may be inferred, that the Hercynian foreſt muſt have had ſome paſſage cut acroſs, for them to go thither by land: and as we are told they paſſed through the country of the Guthiones, or Gothini, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that they ſailed down the Viſtula, at the very mouth of which were the Electridæ inſulæ, or Amber iſlands, ſo called from that commodity being either gathered upon thoſe coaſts, or brought thither as to a mart by the Æſtii.

(11) Vide itiner. Ant. Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

Gepidæ, their extract, and king-dom.

On this ſide the Æſtii, and, as is ſuppoſed, near the mouth of the Viſtula, now Weychſel, were the Gepidæ; and farther north, on the coaſts of the eaſt ſea, between theſe and the Æſtii, were the Chaiboni. It is not eaſy to determine whether theſe two were of German, Scythic, or Gothic extract: the Gepidæ are indeed affirmed to be Germans by ſome antient authors [n]; but we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, that they frequently confound thoſe nations, ſo that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we ſhould rather think them of Celtic origin. We have already obſerved, in the Gauliſh hiſtory, that the Celtes had ſpread themſelves towards the fartheſt parts of the north, as the Cimbrians in the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, and the Teutones (K) in the iſlands adjacent: and

[n] Vide Procop. de bell. Vind. l. i. c. 2. & Maſcov. l. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 21.

(K) We have already hinted ſome conjectures concerning the etymon of that word, at the entrance of this chapter, and in a former volume, in ſpeaking of the Titans. The old Celtes boaſted themſelves ſprung from the god Theutat, or Mercury, whom Cæſar calls Dis (12), the name of that deity after his death, or apotheoſis, as we ſhewed in the laſt chapter, and Tacitus Twiſton (13); and upon that account did, in all probability, take the name of Teutates from him, which, by length of time, variety of dialects, and of hands, through which it paſſed, diverſified itſelf into Teutoni, Teutones, Teutonarii, Teutobodiaci, Teuctoſagi, Tauriſci, Tautantii, Teudeſci, and Teutcſhen, which two laſt names they ſtill retain in Germany and Italy.

That this name is very antient, and common to all the Celtes, we have ſhewn in the parts of their hiſtory above quoted, and we ſhall beg leave to add a pregnant teſtimony of it, which is as follows: Servius obſerves, that the city of Piſa had received its name from Piſus, a king of the Celtes, who founded it; and preſently after, upon the authority of Cato adds, that the Teutones were ſettled in that country long before the Hetruſci made themſelves maſters of it. The city itſelf, ſays he, was called Teuta, and the inhabitants Theutas (14).

As to the Tectoſagi, we find a tribe of them in the neighbourhood of Thouloufe in old Gaul, who were ſurnamed Volſci, of whom we ſpoke in the laſt chapter. Cæſar and Strabo mention another tribe, who were ſeated about the Hercynian foreſt, and make

(12) Comm. l. vi. c. 18. (13) German. c. 2. (14) Ad Æneid. x. Vide & Cluver. Ital. antiq. c. 7.

and, indeed, it ſeems as if thoſe antient Gomerians were either elbowed by new-comers, farther and farther northwards, as our Welſh were here in England; or, if we ſuppoſe them to have been Celtic colonies, ſent afterwards in ſearch of new habitations, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that they found the more temperate parts already ſo well inhabited, that they were forced to take up with ſuch climates as they found ſtill uninhabited by reaſon of their extreme coldneſs. In either caſe the Cimbrians, Teutones, Gepidæ, Chaiboni, and Æſtii, being found all in one line, and under the ſame climate, may, probably enough, have been all of the ſame extract, conſidering the conformity of their manners, language, &c. but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the Chaiboni, indeed, we know but little, except what we read of their invading Gaul in the time of Dioclefian[o], and of their being totally routed by Conſtantine the great [p]. The Gepidæ are famed in hiſtory for having reared themſelves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into Pannonia, and taking the famed city of Sirmium, or Sirmiſh, from the emperor Marcian (L); as

[o] Cl. Mamertin. panegyr. l. i. c. 4, & 5. [p] Nazar. int. panegyr. vet. ix. c. 18.

make them to be deſcended from the Gauliſh (15). We find the Teutones and Teutonarii ſpread far and wide about the Baltic, and Scandinavia had ſcarcely any other inhabitants but Teutones, if we may believe Pliny and Mela (16). Among the Gallogreeks, or Galatians, we find two tribes, one of which had the name of Tectoſagi, and the other Teutobodiaci, or Tolſtobogi (17). The name of Tauriſci can hardly come from any other than Thaut-rich, the kingdom of Thaut, and that of Thaulantii from Thaut-lant, the land of Thaut. All theſe, put together, ſufficiently ſhew that they were originally, or boaſted themſelves as ſuch, deſcendents or ſubjects of Theut, or Mercury, once the famed monarch of the greateſt part of Europe (18).

(L) It ſeems that emperor had ſuppreſſed the annual penſion which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under the conduct of their king Ardaric, who had already conquered Dacia, paſſed the Danube, and added ſome part of Pannonia to their kingdom. As for Sirmium, it was the metropolis of Lower Pannonia; and though it was afterwards deſtroyed by lightning (19), and ſince then reduced to a mere village by the Turks, yet it

(15) Comm. l. vi. c. 24. Geogr. l. xii. (16) N. H. l. iv. c. 14. De ſitu, l. iii. c. 3. Vide & Ptolem. l. ii. c. 2. (17) Strabo ubi ſupra. (18) See before, vol. v. p. 430, & ſeq. (19) See vol. xiii. p. 452.

as likewiſe for their wars with the Goths, Burgundians, and eſpecially the Romans [q], for their invaſion of Germany and Belgia, and for the terrible havock they made in both, in conjunction with the Quadi, Vandals, and other northern nations, of which St. Jerom gives us a particular and dreadful account [r], as may be ſeen by the abſtract in the margin (M). They kept themſelves in poſſeſſion of all Dacia, till the emperor Juſtin's reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and Cunemund, their laſt king, being overthrown and killed by Alboin, king of the Longobards, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The Abares, who were allied with Alboin, took poſſeſſion of Dacia, and the whole Gepidæan nation was ſo thoroughly diſperſed [s], as never to recover itſelf again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror's expedition into Italy [t], and the reſt went and refuged themſelves where they could (N), as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter.

The end of it, and them.

THUS much ſhall ſerve for the names and ſituation of the antient Germans, according to their different tribes and nations

[q] See vol. xv. p. 282. [r] Epiſt. ad Ager. de monogam. ep. 92. [s] Excerpt. ex Menand. [t] Vide Paul. Diac. hiſt. Longobard. l. ii. c. 26.

it was celebrated heretofore for two Arian councils held in it under Conſtantius, viz. an. 351, and 357, and for being the birthplace of Probus (20).

(M) Theſe barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on Upper and Lower Germany, but into Gaul likewiſe, and as far as even Spain. In the former they deſtroyed, among other cities, thoſe of Straſburgh, Spire, Worms, and Mentz; and in Belgia thoſe of Rheims, Amiens, Tournay, Arras, and Terouane; and carried the inhabitants captive into Germany. They likewiſe ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunenſis, and Narbonenſis, and carried off an immenſe plunder. The reſt the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is ſuppoſed, that the poor remains of the Gepidæ took refuge under the emperor Juſtinian, and that he took, upon that account, the title of Gepidicus, which we find afterwards added to the imperial ones, as appears by the preamble of ſome of his ſucceſſors letters, eſpecially that of Maurice, who ſtiles himſelf there, Alemanicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Vandalicus, Herulicus, Gepidicus, Africanus, &c. (21).

As

(20) See vol. xv. p. 611. (21) See Maſcov. l. xiv. c. 3, & 24.

tions at the time of the Romans first invasion of them, as far as a subject so involved in darkness and confusion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In Augustus's reign it was divided into Germania Prima and Secunda, that is, Upper and Lower, as we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of Roman forces, which were, according to custom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other useful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field [u]. This division seems to have continued till about the time of the emperor Jovinus, when, though the constitution still subsisted with regard to Germania Prima, yet it was then, in all probability, lost, with respect to Germania Secunda, which was by that time become, in a great measure, subject to the Franks: for in the Notitia Imperii, which is thought to have been written then about, though the state of Belgica Prima and Secunda be there still entire, yet there is no farther mention of Germania Secunda.

Germany, how divided.

As for the country of Germany itself, we have such a dreadful account given us of it, both by Cæsar and Tacitus [w], even of those parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almost incredible, that such a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither strength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleasant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worst parts of it, as they are now, by the description they give us of the best. According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its variety of soil and climate added

The natural clime, and produce.

[u] Bucher. Belg. Rom. l. c 12, 17, & 18. [w] M. Germ. c. 2. Comment. l. iii. c. 1.

As for the unfortunate Cunemund, the use which Alboin made of his body was, to make a drinking-cup of his scull, a custom descended to them from their barbarous ancestors, of which we have had occasion to speak, in the history of the Celtes and Scythians, and which, it appears by this, was still rife among a vast many nations of their descendents, so many ages after their embracing christianity. As to the Gepidæ, we have nothing to add, concerning them, but that they professed Arianism in common with the Goths (22), as will be seen in some of the following chapters.

(22) Procop. bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

added to the horror of it from the dreadful foreſts, ſtinking and unwholſome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampneſs of its ſeas, lakes, and rivers, and harſhneſs of its ſoil. But as, on the one hand, we muſt allow for exaggeration in hiſtorians, who plainly ſought in every thing to magnify their own courage and proweſs, by the difficulties and hardſhips they met with in the conqueſts of thoſe countries and nations; ſo we muſt grant, on the other, that the Romans proved the means of cultivating thoſe, till then, barren and inhoſpitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of foreſts, draining of wet and marſhy grounds, and other ſuchlike improvements as they were able to admit of. So that we need not now tell our readers, that this pretended barrenneſs and unhealthineſs was rather owing to the ſupineneſs of the inhabitants, than to any defect in its ſoil or climate, ſince we find it now capable of bearing all ſorts of grain, vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance, and due maturity. And thus far may be owned, that the coming of the Romans into Germany, as well as into Gaul, contributed much to the fertiliſing and enriching of thoſe two countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, thought this, and every occupation, beſides the martial trade, too much below their fierce and warlike genius. We are told, in particular, that the emperor Probus was the firſt who permitted vines to be brought into Gaul and Germany, and to be planted along the Rhine and Moſel, and other parts [x] (O).

Vines, when firſt brought thither.

AMONG thoſe many woods and foreſts with which this country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this ſide the Rhine, was that famed one called the Hercynian, and, by the Greeks, Orcinian foreſt, the longeſt and thickeſt

Foreſts.

[x] Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. c. 18.

(O) An antient author compares this action of his to that of Hannibal, who cauſed olive-trees to be planted in Africa, in order to furniſh the ſoldiers with profitable employments in time of peace (23). But if Probus knew any thing of that natural propenſity which the German nation had to ſtrong liquors, one would be apt to think he had ſomething more in his view than the bare finding out proper employment for them, when he introduced the juice of the grape among them (24).

(23) Aur. Vict. in Cæſ. c. 37. (24) See the laſt chapter, p. 535.

eſt in Europe, and reckoned by Julius Cæſar to have extended ſixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer [y]: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the foreſts, woods, and groves, in Germany, even the trees, boughs, and leaves of it, were reckoned ſacred; and this is the reaſon why the antient Germans made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, unleſs it be ſome branches of the oak, and ſome other trees which they carried with them, on particular ſolemnities [z]; but ſince their conqueſt by the Romans, a good many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly out of a diſlike of thoſe ſuperſtitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many more were deſtroyed, ſince their embracing of chriſtianity, upon the ſame account, and ſome are yet ſtill remaining; and, amongſt others, one which is known by the name of the black foreſt: the Bacenian is another famed one, which parted the Suevi from the Cheruſci, by ſome ſuppoſed to be that of Thuringia, and by others the black foreſt laſt mentioned. The Cæſian foreſt, or Cæſia Sylva, was likewiſe very famous: ſome ſuppoſe it to have likewiſe been a remnant of the Hercynian, and part of it remains ſtill in the dutchies of Cleves and Weſtphalia. Tacitus tells us of a famous one dedicated to Hercules, and called, from him, the Herculean foreſt [a]; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other Roman deities: ſo that if there was any ſuch foreſt of that name, it muſt have been called ſo upon ſome other account than a religious one. For, as we have obſerved in the laſt chapter, the Germans made a much longer ſtand againſt the Roman polytheiſm than the Gauls [b].

Rivers. RIVERS of note they had in abundance, of which we ſhall only mention the moſt conſiderable ones, and what is moſt remarkable in them. At the head of theſe may juſtly be

Danube. placed the Danube, now Iſter, by far the largeſt in Europe. It has its riſe in Swabia, and flowing through that province, and thoſe of Bavaria, Auſtria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia; Beſſerabia, and part of Tartary, and receiving about ſixty other rivers in its courſe, falls into the Euxine or Black Sea, in two arms. It was once the boundary between Sarmatia

[y] Vol xiii. p. 449, (T). 533, (T).

[z] Vide Claudian. in laud. Stilic. Lucan. l. iii. ver. 429. Agathias hiſt. l. i. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. c. 4. § 7.

[a] L. ii. c. 12.

[b] See before, p. 428.

Sarmatia and Germany, but became afterwards ſubject to the Romans to its very ſource, under the emperor Trajan (P).

The Rhine, another famous river, which antiently divided Germany from Gaul, and ſprings from the Rhœtian Alps in the weſtern borders of Switzerland, and northern of the Griſons: as it riſes from two ſprings, which unite their waves near Chur, now Coire; ſo it divided itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which falls into the Maeſe, and the other into the German ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by Virgil, Rhenus bicornis, or bicorniger. It has now no paſſage into that ocean, but with the Maeſe above-mentioned, below Briel, unleſs that branch of the one part of it called the Yſſel, which empties itſelf into the Zuyder-Zee, may be ſaid to do it [c]. This mouth, which was antiently known to the Romans by the name of Flevum, and ſtill retains that of Vlie, or Flie, had a ſtrong caſtle built by it, to guard the paſſage out of the Zuyder, or ſouth, into the north ſea. As for the Rhine, it became afterwards a barrier between the Romans and the Germans, upon the overthrow of Varus by the latter, who unwiſely ſpent their time in deſtroying the fortreſſes of the former along that river, inſtead of purſuing the advantage of that ſignal victory; ſo that they only ſhortened the extent of the Roman territories, which before reached as far as the Weſer, if not beyond [d]. The ſame river did likewiſe part the Batavi from the other Germans, as has been formerly hinted [e]. Julius Cæſar, in one of his German triumphs, cauſed, among other pageantic figures, that of the Rhine to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciouſly obſerved, that his ſucceſſors did oftener triumph over, than conquer it [f]. Rhine.

The Viſtula, now Weichſel, was another conſiderable river, which divided Germany from the European Sarmatia, whence the latter was called Germania Tranſviſtulana. It had its riſe in the Carpatian mountains Viſtula.

in

[c] See Maſcov. German. & Lediard. ibid. ſub Ind. [d] See Florus, l. v. [e] Vol. xv. p. 302. [f] Florus, l. v. c. 2.

(P) We are told, that he eſtabliſhed at Zarmigeſothuſa, the capital of Sarmatia, the famed colony called Ulpia Trajana, having laid a bridge over the Danube, as appears from ſeveral antient medals, and, particularly, by the column erected in honour of him, and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted in the margin (25).

(25) See Gruter's inſcriptions. Ciacon. Bellov. & Fabret.

in Higher Silesia, and, crossing the Hercynian forest, disembogued itself, by three streams, into the Baltic sea, not far from Dantzic. The Drave, or Draw, springs from the Alps in the Tyrolese, and, dividing Upper and Lower Hungary from Sclavonia, falls into the Danube near Esseck. The
Moraw. Moraw rises in the confines of Bohemia, divides Moravia into two parts, and falls into the Danube not far from Vienna.
Nab. The Nab, in Nortgow, hath its source near that of the Main, and falls into the Danube a little above Ratisbon. The
Neckar. Neckar, in Suabia, rises from the black forest, not far from the Danube, but takes a different course, and falls into the
Regen. Rhine. Regen rises in Nortgow, on the borders of Bohemia, and empties itself into the Danube at Ratisbon, thence called
Veser. Regenspurgh. The Veser, antiently Visurgis, descends from Franconia, and, passing by Bremen, falls into the German
Elb. ocean between the mouths of the Elbe and Ems. The former of these, called by the Romans Albus, and by the Germans Elve, Elbe, and now Elb, is a very large and considerable one, and hath its spring in the mountains called the Giant Mountains, Montes Heroum, in Silesia, on the confines of Bohemia, and, passing through it and Upper and Lower Saxony, falls into the above-mentioned sea at Ritzbuttel, twenty leagues below Hamburgh. The latter, viz.
Ems. Ems, antiently Amisia, rises in the bishoprick of Paderborn, and, passing by Embden, the metropolis of East Friezland, and through the bay of Dullert, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the Visurgis, or
Lippe. Veser. The Luppia, now Lippe, and Isala, or Yssel, fall, the one into the Rhine, below Cologn, and divided the Bructeri and Marsi from the Usipii; and the other into the Fossa Drusiana. The rest, being of less note, we shall pass by.

CITIES of any consideration the Germans did not begin to build till after the coming in of the Romans, but were divided into cantons and districts, like the Gauls, and lived in villages like them: even those famous large ones they now have, were either most of them built by the Romans, or inlarged, beautified, and enfranchised by them (Q). Such
Cologn. were the city of Cologn, of which we have given an account

(Q) These new colonies were, it seems, endowed with most of the privileges of the city of Rome; and Cologn, we are told (26), was one of them.

(26) Paul. Diac. de cens. l. viii.

count in a former volume [g], and of its being called Agrippina. It was formerly called Colonia Ubiorum, and was their metropolis. It is commodiouſly ſituated on the Rhine, and in the circle of the lower Rhine, and is now the metropolis of the archbiſhopric of that name, an imperial city, and a famed univerſity. Colonia Trajana, another antient Roman colony, below the former, by ſome thought to be the preſent Keyſerſwaert. Colonia Ulpia, now Cleves, the capital of Cleveland in Lower Germany, ſuppoſed to have been built by Julius Cæſar, as well as that of Bonn, antiently Bonna Julia, ſituate above Cologn, and on the ſame river. This laſt is now the reſidence of the electors of Cologn. Auſburgh, i. e. Auguſtus-burgh, antiently called Auguſta Vindelicorum [h], now the capital of Suabia; this is likewiſe an imperial city, very populous and trading, ſituate on the Lech, not far from the Danube, and famed, among other things, for the Auguſtan confeſſion, or confeſſion of Auſburg, which is that of the Lutherans. Argentoratum, now Straſburgh in Alſatia, the antient capital of the Trebochi on the Rhine, is reckoned one of the antienteſt cities in Germany (R), and is now famed for its magnificent cathedral, and

Ausburgh.

Strasburgh.

[g] Vol. xiv. p. 147.

[h] Vol. xiii. p. 404, & ſeq. (E).

(R) And well it may, if what ſome German antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before Abraham. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us ſome further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or ſpring, which was uſed for the waſhing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their prieſts, and was from thence called Blotkeda, and Blotabrum, from the antient word blot, which ſignifies a bloody ſacrifice. Hence ſome infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were firſt daſhed to death againſt the ſtones, and then flung into it (27). This well was, after the converſion of the Germans to chriſtianity, incloſed with a wall, and conſecrated, to ſerve for a baptiſmal font; and the waters of it became ſo famous, for ſome miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or reſorted to from all parts: but ſince the reformation it hath been opened, for common uſe (28).

(27) Vide Keyzler. antiq. ſept. in fin. c. 3. Of Schæd. deſcr. templ. argent. 1617. p. 35.

(28) Vide

and the ſpire and curious clock of it, of which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in the ſequel; but, above all, for a living well, incloſed in that church, which was originally dedicated to ſuperſtitious and heatheniſh uſes, ſuch as we have mentioned in the laſt note. Triers, another antient city of Lower Germany, ſaid to have been built by Trebeſas, the brother of Ninus, 1496 years before Chriſt, and made a Roman colony in the time of Auguſtus. It became afterwards the moſt famed city of Gallia Belgica, and was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the weſtern empire, in the reign of Conſtantius [i]. Here Valentinian triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the Alemani [k]. Triers had been formerly the ſeat of the Gallic perfects, or of the præfectura Galliarum [l], and obtained the right of coinage from the Romans [m]; at preſent it is only the metropolis of the eccleſiaſtic electorate of that name, though the biſhops of it were formerly ſtyled primate of thoſe of Gaul, on account of its having been once the ſeat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to Arles, on occaſion of the former being deſtroyed by the Franks [n]. Ratiſbon, in the circle of Bavaria, ſaid to have been firſt built by Tiberius, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there. Mentz, now famous for the invention of printing by John Fuſt, alias Fauſtus, a gentleman of that city [o], and for being the reſidence of one of the eccleſiaſtic electors, in the lower circle of the Rhine, and ſituate on the banks of it; was formerly inlarged and fortified by Druſus, with ſeveral others on that river; ſuch as Bonn Andernach, and many others on the ſame river, as well as upon the Maeſe, Elbe, and Weſer. He built, likewiſe, bridges over them, eſpecially at Mentz and Bonn, and kept a fleet, for the ſecurity of thoſe parts [p]: near the former of theſe was erected a monument, in form of a funeral pile, in memory of him, by thoſe legions which he had there commanded, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and are mentioned by ſeveral antient and modern authors [q], and deſcribed by Hutichius [r]. It is known by the name

Triers.

Ratisbon.

Mentz.

[i] Vide Cod. Theodoſ. & epiſt. ad pop. Alex. ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 2. [k] Auſon. in laud. Moſel. v. 420. Vide Maſcov. l. vii. c. 5. [l] See Maſcov's liſt of them, l. v. c. 29. [m] Pollio ap. eund. [n] See Pagi annal. ad an. 332. ap. Maſcov. l. vi. c. 32. [o] Vide Malincrot & Palmer hiſt. typogr. [p] Flor l. iv. c. ult. [q] Dio, Sueton. in Claud. Otto Frig. chron. Serrar. rer. Mogunt. [r] Collect. antiq.

name of Eichelſtein, and ſtands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the ſame that was erected for that prince, we muſt depend wholly upon tradition, as we muſt for a vaſt number of other ſuch ſtructures, with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inſcriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original deſign. As we metioned theſe cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated by the Romans, we ſhall not take upon ourſelves to go any farther with the reſt, becauſe we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern Germany, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

SECT. II.

Of the religion, government, laws, and policy, of the antient Germans.

THIS ſubject hath been already ſo copiouſly handled in the laſt chapter, as it is ſo naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the pains of a needleſs repetition. The Gauls and Germans, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, from the ſame hand, and both retained them, ſome few particulars excepted, during a long ſeries of ages, with an invincible tenaciouſneſs; and we have had occaſion to obſerve, that the latter continued much longer inflexible againſt introducing the Roman ſuperſtition, than the former: ſo that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worſhipping the ſame ſupreme deity, under the name of Eſus, or Heſus, falſly ſaid, by Roman authors, to have been Mars, or Mercury. They worſhipped him under the emblem of an oak, conſecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itſelf, but for its leaves and fruit, eſpecially the miſleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name of guthyl, or gutheyl, and aſcribe extraordinary virtues to it, eſpecially in epileptic diſeaſes [a] (A). Their method of, and time for, gathering it,

The religion of the antient Germans almoſt the ſame with that of the Gauls.

[a] Vide Pliny, N. H. l. xvi. c. 44. Vide Cluver. Germ. Keyzler. ant. ſept. diſſert. de viſco paſſ. Colebatch and Douglas on the miſleto, & al.

(A) This name doth in the old German ſignify good heal, or good healer, as doth that of miſtella, or rather miſtel dha, in the Celtic;

was the same which was observed by the Gauls [b]. They held, like them, all other trees, likewise, as sacred, though not in the same degree with the oak; all woods, forests, and deserts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration. The druids had the sole care and direction in all religious, and the greatest sway and authority in civil matters; only it may be here observed, that though both nations held some sort of women, whom they looked upon as propheteſſes, in great esteem; so the Germans seem to have exceeded the Gauls in this kind of superstition, and to have shewn and retained a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can be

[b] See before, p. 332, note (H).

Celtic; though some question whether the word mistel be of Celtic extract. Hence, that which we formerly mentioned out of Pliny, that they called it by a name which signified all heal. The inhabitants of some parts of Upper Germany, who still retain a great number of antient heathenish superstitions, are affirmed to retain the old druidish custom of rambling about, at certain seasons, from town to town, and from house to house, in great troops, rapping at every door and window with hammers, and crying out gutheyl, gutheyl, alluding to that verse falsly ascribed to Ovid,

Ad viscum druides, druides clamare solebant:

In some other parts, especially in Alsace, they give it the name of marentaken, or the bush or shrub of spectres; probably from those magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the Germans and Gauls, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may see some extravagant instances in the authors quoted in the margin (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all shafts and offensive weapons from the person that wore it, or of effectually directing against the person or beast they intended to shoot, was so rife, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) It is not easy to guess whence this high esteem for those female soothsayers had its rise; but most antient authors agree, that the Germans never undertook any thing of importance without consulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever so great on their side, if these women

(1) Plin. Tacit. ubi supra. Keyzler, Colebatch, Douglas, & al. de visco. Islandorum mytholog. c. 43. (2) Vide Keyzler, ubi supra.

be gathered from Cæſar and Tacitus, ſubject to, and obliged to receive their directions, like the Gauls, from that grand druid, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, had his reſidence in England, or ſome one of the Britiſh iſles. If there was

any men diſapproved of it (3). They ſeem to have derived this cuſtom from the Celtes and Cimmerians, their anceſtors, who, as we have formerly obſerved, looked upon them as inſpired (4); and we have likewiſe mentioned ſome of them, who are reported to have foretold ſome very ſtrange events to ſome of the Roman emperors (5), enough to raiſe their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among the Romans and Greeks.

If we may, however, be premitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this ſuperſtition, it ſeems to have had its riſe from this: The Germans, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and conſtantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their ſick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leiſure upon their hands, began to ſtudy the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this ſkill, which they generally intermixed with that of aſtrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old ones might likewiſe naturally give into dreams, viſions, and other ſuperſtitious obſervations, ſuch as were then practiſed by almoſt all other nations; ſuch as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and ſuchlike kinds of ſortileges; till they, at length, raiſed themſelves to ſuch credit and admiration, that, if Tacitus may be credited, they were looked upon as a kind of goddeſſes: and, in particular, that famed one called Velleda, of whom he ſpeaks as of a perſon deified, and worſhipped by the whole German nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like high repute, viz. Aurinia (7), or Alruna, Ganna (8), Jettha, Sifa, Thrudur, &c. of which we ſhall ſay nothing more, ſeeing we are quite in the dark about them in every reſpect, but that of their being ſpoken of as famed propheteſſes among the Germans. The reader may, however, ſee all the different conjectures of the learned about them, in the authors quoted in the margin (9).

(3) Vide Tacit. German. c. 8. & hiſtor. l. v. Comment. l. i. c. 50. Strabo, l. vii. Plutarch. in Cæſar. Arrian. & Clem. Alexand. ſtrom. l. i. & al. (4) Vide Polyæn. ſtratag. l. vii. & vol. xv. p. 169---392. (5) See the laſt chapter, p. 485. (6) Hiſtor. l. iv. c. 61, 65. l. v. c. 22. & de mor. Germ. c. 8. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Suid. ſub. voc. Θεάδσια. (9) Vorm. itinerar. & Keyzler deſſertat. de mulier. facd. c. 56, & ſeq.

any difference between the Gauls and Germans in point of religion, it conſiſted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were not only more full and tenacious of their ſuperſtitious rites, but likewiſe more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the ſame expiatory human victims, and uſed them in their auguries, and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they. The Gauls, in ſome caſes, fattened them for one whole year with the fineſt dainties, put them to a quick death, and ſometimes ſtabbed them unexpectedly in the back: the Germans, on the contrary, made theirs undergo many grievous indignities and torments, before they diſpatched them, ſome inſtances of which we have given in the Gauliſh hiſtory [c], that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they likewiſe offered of domeſtic animals, and of theſe the horſe was reckoned the moſt acceptable. The fleſh of them was, it ſeems, to be boiled, ſtewed, or dreſſed in ſome other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the fleſh was ſerved to the votaries, by way of feaſt, and the blood was ſprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-ſtanders, by way of ablution: but though they did the ſame by that of human victims, it doth not appear, that they eat the fleſh of them. We have formerly obſerved, likewiſe, from Cæſar, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Athenæus, and other antient authors, that the Germans had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpoſe, or in woods, foreſts, and deſart places; tho' this latter ſeems to have been practiſed after their conqueſt, and to avoid the penalties of thoſe ſevere edicts which the Roman emperors had iſſued out againſt the druids, and their inhuman ſacrifices: however that be, temples were not introduced in Germany till long after the Gauls had ſhewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worſhip of Jupiter, Mars, &c. they dedicated ſtill oaks, groves, woods, and whole foreſts to them, and performed their ſuperſtitious rites in them a conſiderable while before they could be brought to erect temples to them.

The Germans had antiently no temples.

This is evident, from what Tacitus tells us of the goddeſs Hertha, one of their antient deities, whoſe idol was preſerved in a wood, or grove, Caſtum Nemus, upon a covered cart, and had but one prieſt to miniſter to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herſelf, or to take a view of mankind, that prieſt, who was her only confident, gave notice

The goddeſs Hertha.

[c] See before, p. 426.

tice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be ſeen but feaſting and jollity amongſt them, whilſt ſhe was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by the prieſt above-mentioned. His chief buſineſs was to obſerve when ſhe appeared ſatiated with rambling, and to convey her into her ſacred grove again [d]. He doth indeed mention a temple which he there calls the temple of Tanfana [e] (C), and which, he ſays, the Romans levelled to the ground: but

[d] Annal. l. v. c. 9. [e] Ibid. l. i. c. 51.

(C) It will be, in a great meaſure, labour loſt, to enquire who this Tanfana was, whether a German goddeſs, or the place where the temple was: if the former, her name is quite foreign, and no footſteps are left of her, or her worſhip, unleſs our author, or his copiers, miſtook Tanfana for Onfana, the name of Minerva among the Gauls.

There are ſome inſcriptions, one in particular, dug up in the neighbourhood of Lyons, in which theſe words are engraven on a marble ſtone: "Pro ſalute Dom. N. Imp. L. Sept Sever. Aug. to-" tiuſq; Domus ejus Aufanis Matronis & Matribus Pannoniorum &" Delmatarum. Ti. Cl. Pompeianus, &c." from which a modern antiquary (10) would conclude, that it ſhould be Tanfanis, inſtead of Aufanis, as bearing ſome relation to the goddeſs Tanfania, whoſe temple Tacitus here ſpeaks of. But ſince there are other inſcriptions which agree with this, and call theſe Matres Aufaniæ, his conjecture will hardly be allowed.

Who theſe Matronæ were, is as hard to gueſs; the author laſt quoted thinks them to have been campeſtrian deities, ſuch as preſided over woods, rivers, lakes, &c. and were, by this time, worſhipped both by the Gauls and Germans, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter: but why ſuch aereal beings ſhould be called Matres and Matrones, cannot well be conceived; and to us it ſeems more probable that they were thoſe famed druideſſes, or propheteſſes, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt note, and who, being deified after their death, were ſtill invoked by the living, and had altars, and other inſcriptions, reared to them by their votaries, as they were ſuppoſed to preſide ſtill on health, life, pregnancy, &c. whereas thoſe aereal beings, which were thought to live in, or preſide over fire, water, earth, woods, &c. and have been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the names of ſalamanders, ſylphs, nymphs, and gnomes, were ſuppoſed to have been created from the beginning, and to have had thoſe elements aſſigned them by the Supreme Being.

Hence

(10) Reineſ. ſynt. art. 175. Vide Keyzler ubi ſupra, c. 39.

but as in the foregoing instance of Hertha he first calls it a temple, though he says in general, that the Germans had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove, and a private lake; might not this of Tanfana be of the same kind? However, suppose it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that such a building should be erected by the Marsi, or, at least, in their country, and, perhaps, by the Romans, who had, by this time, subdued them [f]; for this was in Augustus's reign, about eighty years before the time in which Tacitus wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have been some others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience, to the conquering Romans, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very industrious to propagate their religion amongst those nations they subdued. For if, either through complaisance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the same motives, erect also temples to them?

We

[f] See before, vol. xii. p. 487. & vol, xiii. p. 527. & seq.

Hence we may see whence the Rosicrucian notion, so much in vogue still among the Germans, and other northern people, had its rise; and that it is no other than a relict of the old northern heathenism, improved by the enthusiastic help of a warm imagination: for, to this day, the same, and even much more preposterous superstitions, are still preserved, in several parts of Germany, among the vulgar, and much more so as you go farther northwards, especially among the Icelanders, Samojedes, Laplanders, &c. some of which can hardly be read without horror, and might be much better passed over in silence, were it not that they plainly shew to us how far unassisted reason may be depraved and warped, by education and custom; since all the pains that have hitherto been taken, especially since the reformation, have not been able to root it out.

Before we dismiss this subject of these Deæ Matres, or Matronæ, we beg leave to mention an inscription found upon an altar-stone at Lowther in Westmorland, with these words: Deabus Matribus Tramai Tramai Vex Cerma. P. V. R. D. Pro Salute, &c. in which a German antiquary has endeavoured to shew, that the word Tramai should be read Tarami, or Tarani; Taran being one of the Celtic names of Jupiter (11). But we think our learned Gale (12) hath much better corrected the lection, by reading it Bramæ, the name of a place in that country, mentioned in the Itinerarium Antonini, and from which these Matres might, in all likelihood, be denominated.

(11) Schedius de diis Germ. c. 8. (12) Comment. in itiner. Anton. p. 7.

Their deities. Jupiter.

We have already ſpoken of thoſe inferior ones introduced among the Gauls, ſuch as Jove, or Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, &c. The ſame, and very nearly under the ſame notion, were adopted by the Germans, though ſome of them under different names: we ſhall juſt mention ſome of thoſe names and attributes, as they were peculiarly given by the Germans to each of them. Jupiter was worſhipped under the name of Thor, Tharam, or Taran, i. e. the thunderer. This name we have already ſeen, in the laſt chapter, was given by the Gauls to Mars, alſo, on account of the clattering noiſe of the martial trade. The ſame was done by the Germans, who gave it to their Odin, or Woden, which was the ſame deity, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. As for the name of Jupiter, we have formerly ſhewn, that it was never adopted by the Gauls, nor doth it appear to have been ſo by the Germans: if theſe had any other names for him than thoſe we have mentioned, they have been ſince loſt, and are not worth ſeeking further after.

Mars, or Odin.

Mars, called by them Odin, Othin, and Woden (D), has ſometimes been confounded with Mercury by the Roman authors, and no wonder, when they were ſo unacquainted with their language, and could have ſo little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the Germans, as well as the Gauls, made it a conſtant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to ſtrangers; and hence may be aſſigned the reaſon why ſome of them have even more abſurdly imagined this

(D) This deity had ſeveral other names, according to the ſeveral offices they attributed to him; ſuch as Walfader, and Walladur, the father of ſlaughter, and of arms; Sigmundur, the giver of victory, and the like. This of Odin ſeems derived from the antient word Audun, which ſignifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The Gauls did, moſt likely, give him that of Ollodius, as has been found by an inſcription dug up near Aix in Provence, which runs thus: "Vi-" gilia Melia Maſſa filia Marti Olloudio," which laſt word is thought by ſome to be of Greek extract, as it was found ſo near Marſeilles, where Greek had been ſo long introduced; and may be either from ὀλλύω, or ὄλλυμι, to put to death, to deſtroy (13). Inthe ſame ſenſe he is called, by Homer, οὐλὸς, fatal, or murderer; as his chief buſineſs, according to the heathen theology, was, to ſupply hell continually with new-comers. Yet,

(13) Snorro de reg. Haquino. Vide & Keyzler. antiq. Septentr. f. 2. § 7.

this Odin to have been the same with Hesus, or Esus [g] the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they observed to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might easily lead those authors to mistake him for the latter. Mars, when his worship came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from antient monuments, represented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked sword [h]; whereas Hesus was only worshipped under the type of an oak, or even the bare stump of one. Mars was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose souls the survivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, "Odin receive "thee; mayest thou be with Odin" (E)! If you ask what they supposed was to be their employment in that place of bliss which was called by them Valhalla, and of which Odinus was the chief disposer; some of their antient poets will tell you, that one of them was to carouse with exquisite beer in human skulls, whilst Odinus alone is allowed to drink wine. They were, moreover, to be served by elegant virgins, whose business it was to furnish them with a constant supply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a Mohammed's paradise was no small spur to warlike actions, since every man's felicity there was to rise in proportion to the

The dispenser of future happiness.

[g] Lucan Pharsal. l. i. Lactant. l. i. c. 12. [h] See before, vol. v. p. 452.

Yet, after all, it may not improbably be derived from the old Celtic ohll, which signifies beer. For as neither Germans nor Gauls had vines till long after the Romans invaded them, as we have lately shewn, beer was not only their choicest liquor, but they believed, that Mars, or Odin, dispensed it in large quantities to his votaries in the next world, as we shall see by-and-by. So that he might be properly enough called Ollodinus, or Ollodius, from thence, that is, the god of strong beer.

(E) It seems from some sepulchral inscriptions, and funeral orations, still extant, that in some of the northern regions they bequeathed the souls of the deceased to Odin, in words to this effect: "Odin preserve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an ho-"nest servant," and the like, even after their embracing christianity: and the sending any one to Odin, was reckoned a very kind and good wish, though it is since looked upon, especially by the Suevi, as bad as sending one to the devil (14).

(14) See Relig. des Gaul. vol. ii. c. 4.

the number of enemies they had conquered or killed [i] (F). According to this notion, we need not wonder at their conſecrating

[i] Edda mythol. 34, & ſeq. Caemen in bodbrog. reg. ex verſ. Barthol. Vide Maſcov. & Lediard. Germ. l. xiv. c. 3. n. 1.

(F) We have properly no antient author to vouch for this their belief of a Turkiſh paradiſe; our authority for it is only taken from ſome of the oldeſt northern poets (15), who quoted it from more antient ſongs and verſes of the druids, who, as we have often obſerved, couched all their religion and hiſtory in ſuch kinds of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add, this collateral proof, from the general agreement of Greek and Roman authors, that the antient Celtes and Scythians made uſe of the ſkulls of their ſlain enemies to carouſe with, and that they were in general, but none more than the Germans, very fond of drinking to exceſs. So that it is very natural to ſuppoſe, the druids would carry this notion of happineſs beyond the grave, in order to inſpire the people with courage, and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king Lodbrog is introduced ſinging his own requiem, in theſe words, as tranſlated out of Edda, by Bartholine.

" Pugnavimus enſibus
" Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
" Quod Balderi (Odin) patris ſcamna
" Parata ſcio in aula
" Bibemus cereviſiam brevi
" Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
" Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
" Magnifici in Odidi domibus
" Non venio deſperabundis
" Verbis ad Odini aulam (16).

He concludes thus (17):

" Fert animus finire
" Invitant me deæ
" Quas ex Othini aula
" Othinus mihi miſit
" Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis (diis)
" In ſumma ſede bibam
" Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ
" Ridens moriar (18).

(15) Edda mythol. 30, & ſeq. Carm. in reg. Lodbrog. ſupra citat. & al. (16) Idem ibid. ſtroph. 25. (17) Stroph. 29. (18) Vide Vormii literat. Run. p. 222, & ſeq. & Keyzler. antiq. ſept. c. 2. § 13.

ing so great a share, and sometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often vowing their own lives to him; since they expected to be so amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with such a kind of happiness as best suited with their genius [k].

Is made a northern hero by their historians.

The German, and other old historians, have since transformed this deity into a northern hero, whom they bring from Asia into Scandinavia, where, after a long and bloody prowess, and a reign stuffed with the greatest wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, some of which we shall speak of in its proper place, that he might end as he begun, and inspire his people with the same contempt of death, he gave himself a slight wound with an arrow, because he would not go into the other world without one, and soon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corse was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames ascended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of those who die in battle [l]. This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe of the imputation of their having given into the Greek and Roman idolatry, and to shew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, some of whom they ranked in the same number as Hercules among the men, and Hertha and Fria, or Friga, among the women. Their mythologists, on the other hand, have split this Odin into two; the antientest of the two they suppose some to have been Mars, others the sun, and the youngest to have been one of their deified heroes; yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great resemblance between the antient Germans, Suevi, Æstii, &c. and other most distant nations; such, for instance, we may reckon the worship of the goddess Hertha, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of Magna deorum mater; or as Tacitus says of the latter [m], their worship of Fria, or Friga, under that denomination (G).

Their worship of other deities.

How

[k] Vide inter al. Bartholin de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12.
[l] Snorron. Yngliga saga, c. 8. [m] Germ. c. 9, & 45.

(G) That historian is, however, contradicted by some German authors, who pretend, that Fria Friga, or Frejun, was the sun (19). This they pretend to prove by what he adds, that they worş

(19) Vide Keyzler. ubi supra, § 15

How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the Romans, is not eaſy to ſay; and we ſhall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the hiſtory of the Gauls; but after that time, eſpecially after their being ſubdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and ſuperſtitions. However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the Romans and Greeks. The Germans, even according to the teſtimony of Roman writers, neither preſumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to repreſent them under any forms [n], nor admitted into that number any but ſuch they ſaw, and received aſſiſtance and benefit from; ſuch as the ſun, moon, and Vulcan [o], or the god of fire

[n] Idem ibid. c. 9. & 43.

[o] Cæſ. com. l. vi. c. 21.

wore the boar on their ſtandard, and which, theſe pretend, was owing to an acceptable ſacrifice, which Odinus had offered of this creature to that planet. But, if they worſhipped the ſun under the name of Frejun, or Friggon, might they not as well do the ſame by the moon, under the name of Frea, Fria, and Frigga? And might not the wild boar be as fit a ſacrifice to that huntreſs, as to the ſun?

Iſis, who was the ſame with the moon, ſince Cæſar calls the ſame deity Luna which Tacitus calls Iſis, was worſhipped by Germans and Gauls, and is affirmed, by the latter hiſtorian, to have been the chief deity of the Suevi. He doth, indeed, there ſay (20), that he could find no footſteps upon what account her worſhip was there introduced; but ſuppoſes, by the figure in which ſhe was repreſented, viz. that of a ſhip, or frigate, that it was brought thither from abroad; and it is ſomewhat ſtrange, ſince ſhe was worſhipped by the Romans under that type, as preſiding over the ſea, and navigation (21), and had a ſet feſtival in their faſta, that he ſhould conclude from thence, that the Suevi, who were of Celtic extract, and given to navigation, ſhould receive that deity from abroad, which was peculiar to all the Celtes. However, therefore, Fria and Freius, Iſis and Mithras, Sol and Luna, Apollo and Diana, may be found confounded in antient hiſtorians, on account of their joint influence on earthly things, and their common courſe in the heavens; yet there is no doubt to be made but they were ſeverally worſhipped by all the northern, as well as ſouthern nations; and why not more ſo than earth, water, rivers, lakes, woods, foreſts, trees, and plants?

(20). De mor. c. 45.

(21) Lactant. l. i. c. 11. Diod. Sicul. Apul. & al.

fire (H). Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their ſtrength and courage, victories and conqueſts [p]; whereas the Greeks and Romans not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even ſanctified their moſt monſtrous and unnatural vices [q].

Horrid ſuperſtitions.

THE Germans, as well as Gauls, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, viz. an over-ruling providence, and the immortality of the ſoul. The misfortune was, that theſe two noble ſprings of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager deſire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and ſuperſtitions; and ſome of them, as we have elſewhere hinted, were of the moſt inhuman and diabolical kind; ſo, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality, proved but too fatal a ſpur

[p] German. c. 2. [q] Lactant. Minut. Fel. Clem. Alex. & al.

(H) So, at leaſt, that author is underſtood by moſt writers. We are, indeed, told, by Plutarch (22), that Viridomarus, a king of the Gauls, who lived above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war againſt the Romans, made a vow to conſecrate all the arms he took from the enemy to Vulcan: ſo that if that author be right in the name, the worſhip of that deity muſt have been very antient among the Gauls and Germans. But the misfortune is, as a late writer obſerves (23), that the Roman writers either miſtook the names of thoſe heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of ſuch of their own gods as they imagined them to reſemble moſt; by which means, that part of German antiquity is become ſo intricate, that it can hardly be relied on.

Some inſcriptions ſhew, that they had a deity called Volian, or Volianus, according to the Roman termination. Hence ſome authors have concluded, that the two branches of the K were worn out, and that the name was originally Volkanus, which ſuppoſition is natural enough. But Volian being a Celtic word, which ſignifies either a furnace, or a fiery forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened ſince into Vulcan.

(22) Invit. Marcel. (23) See Maſcov. Germ. l. ii. c. 35.

a ſpur to raſhneſs, ambition, and cruelty, eſpecially after they came to imbibe that poiſonous notion hinted a little higher, that the ſureſt way to that happineſs was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to riſe according to the number of the enemies they had deſtroyed in this. For this not only inſpired them with a barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them leſs ſolicitous to enquire whether the motives of it were juſt or unjuſt. We have already given ſuch inſtances of theſe bloody ſuperſtitions, in the hiſtory of the antient Celtes and Scythians [r], and lately in that of the Gauls [s], that our readers, we hope, will eaſily ſpare us the trouble of repeating them here, ſeeing they are all of the ſame kind, and of ſuch a nature, that they can ſcarcely be read without horror. Only this we muſt be bound to add, that, whether the Germans received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in amongſt them by degrees, as they did almoſt every-where elſe, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of thoſe who received the goſpel (I). One piece of ſuperſtition, common to all the Germans and Gauls, was, never to fight, or undertake any material point, before the moon was full ſix days old, nor even then, if their ſoothſayers, who were moſtly women, did not like the auguries. Theſe were always conſulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druideſſes were in Gaul. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greateſt ſway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their auguries, without which they did not do any thing, but as being eſteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic ſpirit [t].

NEXT

[r] See vol. v. p. 408. [s] See before, p. 449, 454, & ſeq & 463, paſſ. [t] Tacit. Germ. c. 8. & alib. paſſ.

(I) Hence all that ſad trade of witchery and ſorceries ſtill in vogue among the more northern parts; the divining wand, to find out mines, thieves, and murderers, among the ſouthern; their notions of fairies, and other aereal beings, ſome of a benevolent, others of a malevolent nature; of apparitions, charms, inchantments, faſcination, magical and diabolical contracts, carnal commerce with demons, and a number of other heatheniſh forgeries, which cannot be rooted out from among the vulgar of both; all which plainly appear to be owing to their tenaciouſneſs, of, and fondneſs for, the old leaven of the antient Celtic ſuperſtition.

Their prieſts.

NEXT in authority to theſe pretended propheteſſes, were the druids, or rather prieſts. Cæſar ſays, indeed [u], that they had no druids, as the Celtes; but Tacitus, who was better acquainted with them, ſpeaks frequently of their prieſts, whoſe office and authority, according to him, being much the ſame with the Gauliſh druids, ſhews them to have been the ſame order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the ſame name. For theſe prieſts, he tells us [w], were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great ſway in both. For we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impoſe ſilence in thoſe meetings, to reprove or puniſh offenders, which exactly agrees with what Cæſar ſays of the Gauliſh druids, whoſe office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital puniſhment [x]. And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is ſtill in ſo much requeſt all over Germany, contrary to what we find it in all other chriſtian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of the people, or, when that fails, ſome noted delinquent is commonly condemned to it.

Their office.

As, therefore, one main part of the prieſts office among the antient Germans, conſiſted chiefly in ſtirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and ſlaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their ſacrifices and auguries, in condemning and executing criminals, in puniſhing leſſer offenders with milder puniſhments, and the like; we need not wonder if the external part of their religion was ſo void of the Greek and Roman pomp, and ſo full of every thing that could ſtrike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whoſe devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of Greek and Roman temples, and the pageantry of their ceremonies and dreſs.

Dreſs.

It is therefore no ſmall wonder, that ſuch men ſhould chuſe a garb ſo contrary to their butcherly trade, and to affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepeſt crimſon: and may not this contraſt be a kind of proof, that their office at firſt was of a quite different nature, and that from ſinging the praiſes of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, ſome few harmleſs creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirſt of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty?

[u] Comm. l. vi. c. 21.
[w] Tacit. ubi ſupra, l. vii.
[x] Idem ibid.

cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without ſome foundation, if we conſider, that they received their religion from the ſame foundation that the Perſes, Brachmans, and other Indian ſects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conſcientious adhering to their primitive inſtitution, have ever been juſtly famed for a character the moſt oppoſite to theirs.

As for their antient laws and government, we can only ſay, that they diſcover thoſe evident marks by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themſelves into ſocieties for their general good and preſervation; to have magiſtrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, conſidering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common ſtate, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, independent from the reſt, except, perhaps, that they had ſome laws in common, for the better union and preſervation of the whole body againſt foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance among themſelves, that one nation ſhould not grow too ſtrong for the reſt: in other things each canton held their national councils at leaſt once a year, that is, in the ſpring, and oftner, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magiſtrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the ſending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other ſuch points, according to their preſent exigence [y]. And theſe aſſemblies were ſo exactly obſerved, that, we are told, the laſt comer to them was ſure to loſe his life (K). It is very likely alſo, that all others matters relating to property, crimes, and ſuch-like, were here alſo finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be ſuppoſed to have had in theſe early

Their laws and government.

National councils.

[y] Idem ibid. & c. 11, & ſeq.

(K) This, we are told, they did in imitation of the cranes, to which they, as well as the Gauls, in their auguries, paid a ſingular regard: and as theſe birds are ſaid by naturaliſts to ſhift their habitations every year, and to appoint a general rendezvous, in order to take their flight, and to kill the laſt comer to the place; ſo they did the ſame by him who came laſt to the general aſſembly (24).

(24) See Voſ. de idololat. l. iii. c. 22.

early days. Liberty, being by them looked upon as the ſummum bonum [z], made them exceeding watchful againſt every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long law-ſuits, they rather choſe to have them decided at once by ſuch an aſſembly, and ſometimes by ſingle combat, rather than ſtay for their next meeting. Theſe aſſemblies were commonly accompanied with ſumptuous banquets, as they were judged to promote friendſhip and mutual confidence, to inſpire men with greater freedom of ſpeech, and open a door to wholeſome counſels [a]. In thoſe ſtates which were under a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in matters of ſmaller moment; but in thoſe which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council of it [b]: neither allowed they any other revenues to thoſe monarchs but a part of the fines, and ſuch free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cattle, and the fruits of the earth; ſo that they had little elſe to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary eſtates [c]. Their expence was, indeed, inconſiderable, becauſe all their ſubjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue; upon which account theſe had the free uſe of the prince's table, and were ſometimes preſented with a horſe, or ſome of his arms [d]. The ſubjects were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ranks, or claſſes, ſuch as nobles, free-born, freed-men, and bondſmen; in each of which claſſes thoſe were ſtill moſt eſteemed, who had ſignalized themſelves beſt, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable exploit [e]. As for their other laws, if any ſuch they had compiled in a body, they were rather preſerved by tradition and cuſtom, than kept upon record, ſince we have often obſerved they made it a conſtant maxim, not to commit any thing to writing. But that ſome ſuch laws they had, is apparent from this, that they ſtill retained many of them, even after thoſe of the Romans had been introduced amongſt them. Judges they likewiſe had of their own, and their office was held in ſuch eſteem, that men of the higheſt rank were promoted to it, as well as thoſe of the greateſt probity, years, and diſcretion: even their princes ſometimes took it upon them. Every judge had, it ſeems, a number of aſſeſſors,

Kings, and their revenue.

[z] Lucan. Pharſal. l. vii. v. 430. Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 37.
[a] Idem ibid. c. 22. [b] Ibid. c. 11. [c] Ibid. c. 15, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. c. 14, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. c. 11.

aſſeſſors, with whom he might conſult upon occaſion; whence, probably, the office of ſcabinus, or ſheriff, had its riſe [f].

THESE general aſſemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the Germans deſpiſed cities and fortreſſes, as monuments of ſervitude, rather than places of defence [g]; and were ſome of the lateſt of the Europeans that either built any for themſelves, or would take refuge in them: ſo that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always choſe to do it in the open field, and, when worſted, to retire into woods, marſhes, and inacceſſible places, where they could get proviſion for their cattle, and keep their purſuers at a diſtance; rather than to ſhelter themſelves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap. It was, moreover, a common ſaying among them, that even wild beaſts would loſe all their ſtrength and courage, if penned up [h]. And we are told, that this cuſtom ſubſiſted in Gaul till the eighth century, and much longer in Germany [i] (L). The whole nation being, moreover, naturally

Their ſtate of war. Had neither cities, nor fortreſſes.

[f] See Maſcov. German. l. ii. c. 3. 8. [g] Tacit. ann. l. iv. c. 64. [h] Cæſ. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29. [i] Vide Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. ſect. 4.

(L) We have formerly ſeen, that both antient Germans and Gauls lived in a kind of cantons, or villages, with their houſes and grounds about them, at a convenient diſtance from each other, that every family might have land enough for themſelves and their cattle (25); and that, as ſoon as they had gathered in their harveſt, they generally removed to new habitations. But when they came to be either conquered by the Romans, or enſlaved, perhaps, by ſome of their ambitious princes; either of theſe were forced to build caſtles, fortreſſes, and fenced cities, to keep them in awe, and deprive them of all poſſible means of regaining their liberty. And hence proceeded their averſion to all ſuch ſtrong places, as tending only to bring and hold them the faſter in ſlavery. But as neceſſity, in proceſs of time, obliged them to have their cities, caſtles, &c. for their own defence and preſervation, they fell into the ſame ſuperſtition with the Greeks and Romans, of dedicating them to certain deities, and even perſonifying and apotheoſing them, and to celebrate a kind of anniverſary of their foundation: which cuſtom laſted till long after their embracing chriſtianity, as appears from many antient inſcriptions, which the reader may find in Gruter's collection, and from ſundry

(25) See before, p. 403, note (H).

of a warlike genius, and esteeming cowardice as the greatest reproach and disgrace that could be thrown upon them, all such fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as so many shameful asyla for the weak and pusillanimous to flee to, and they, consequently, despised them, as unworthy a brave people, who always scorned to take any advantage of their enemy, whether of weapons, intrenchments, discipline, stratagems, or, indeed, of any other kind but those of strength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love of liberty. It was in these that they solely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts of gaining a superiority to those of their enemies to whom the want of these martial virtues rendered them more necessary. Accordingly, no nation could take more care than they did to inure them to all hardships (M), to inspire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life [i]. It was for this that the ambitious amongst them neglected agriculture, and despised all mercantile and mechanic employments [k], how necessary and advantageous soever, and obliged all who were able to bear arms to go

[i] Cæs. com. l. iv. c. 22, & seq. [k] Idem ibid. See also Essay on those countries, &c. which helped to pull down the Roman empire, p. 13--16.

sundry prohibitions of christian bishops against all future observances of them (26).

(M) We are even told, that those who lived nearest the Rhine, or any other rivers, used to dip their children, as soon as born, into them, in order to knit and harden their limbs (27). We have, indeed, formerly observed, from Julian the apostate (28), that the waters of that river were supposed to have some peculiar virtue above others, insomuch that they threw their children into it whenever they had any suspicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors mistook the design, or confounded the one with the other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any such custom they had, it was rather introduced on a persuasion, that such children who were not proof against the severity of such a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be swallowed up by the waves.

(26) Vide Relig. des Gaul. l. iv. c. 27. (27) Vide Aristot. de repub. l. vii. (28) See p. 401, note (I). & Claudian in Ruf. v. 109, & Nonn. ap. Ledard. Germ. l. ii. c. 37. n. 2.

go into the field. Hence it was that they were never at a loſs how to raiſe, in a very ſhort time, ſuch powerful and numerous armies either to repulſe an enemy, or to aſſiſt their friends and allies [l]: for whenever any country was diſengaged from a war, the ableſt ſoldiers were ſent into foreign ſervice, not ſingly, or according to their own option, but in conſiderable bodies, and under the command of ſuch officers as were ſet over them by the ſtate; by which means, the whole nation not only ſhared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewiſe furniſhed with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, viz. that when a canton or ſtate became too populous, they could draw out ſuch numbers as could be ſpared, to go and ſeek out new habitatations; and theſe, by being trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themſelves in thoſe countries which they had the good fortune to ſettle in [m].

Their cavalry and foot.

THEY had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in which they placed the main of their ſtrength; but what they had of the former was extremely well diſciplined, though their horſes were, it ſeems, inferior to thoſe of the Romans, either in bigneſs, ſwiftneſs, or dexterity, as well as in thoſe evolutions which were ſo artfully uſed by the latter [n]. As for ſaddles and ſtirrups, they were quite neglected, by both Gauls and Germans, who were accuſtomed to mount and diſmount by their own agility, and could, whenever occaſion required, fight as well on foot as on horſeback (N). In their order of battle, every canton and diſtrict were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or diſgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no ſmall ſpur to them to behave in ſuch a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in ſeveral diſtinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that ſome of them, eſpecially the Cimbri, formed their whole infantry into one ſquare battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as ſoon as

Way of fighting.

[l] Idem ibid. See Maſcov. l. ii. c. 37. [m] Tacit. ann. l. iv. c. 12. Cæſ. comm. l. vi. c. 23. [n] Tacit. Germ. c. 6.

(N) This plainly appears, by Cæſar's own confeſſion (29), who owns, moreover, that he had them in moſt of his wars; and often boaſts of the great ſervices he received from them (30).

(29) Comment. l. iv. c. 2. (30) Ibid. l. vii. c. 13. Vide Hirt. com. de bell. Alexandrin. c. 29.

every thing was ready for the onſet, the ſignal was given, which was anſwered by an univerſal ſhout, which was redoubled in a moſt dreadful manner, till they came to cloſe engagement. They uſed no art or ſtratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onſet on the enemy, and continuing it with a deſperate intrepidity, till they had either won or loſt the day; by which means, if they once met with a ſtout repulſe, or were put into diſorder, they ſeldom knew how to rally again, but became ſtupified and deſperate, and either fought till they died, or elſe betook themſelves to flight [o]; for it was reckoned ſo inglorious amongſt them to yield themſelves priſoners, that we read but of few inſtances of their doing ſo, in compariſon to thoſe in which they died with ſword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to truſt leſs to their own ſtrength and courage, and to ſtudy a little more the Roman diſcipline, and art of fighting. But they began too late: had they done ſo from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day.

Weapons. THEIR weapons were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to thoſe of the Romans; the cavalry had their ſhields and ſpears in common with the foot, but the latter had, beſides, their darts, bows and ſlings, and ſeldom had recourſe to their pikes and ſwords [p]. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally deſpiſed amongſt them; ſome of them did even affect to fight naked: ſo that if any ſuch armour was worn amongſt them, it was rather for diſtinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of ſome wild beaſts. Hence thoſe frightful figures which Plutarch obſerved among the Cimbrian cavalry [q], ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen upon the ſeals and arms of thoſe antient times. Their ſhelds, which they diſtinguiſhed only by different colours, or ſome particular emblem, were reckoned ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they looked upon it as the greateſt diſgrace to loſe them in fight; becauſe none durſt appear either at their religious ceremonies, public aſſemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their arms were eſteemed their favourite furniture,

[o] Tacit. & Cæſar, ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Mar. Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 6. See before, p. 510, & ſeq. [p] Tacit. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [q] Idem ibid.

(O) Tacitus adds, that they were forced to live in diſgrace all the remainder of their days, and excluded from the company of men: inſomuch that they choſe often to put an end to both by a voluntary

furniture, and chiefeſt ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was ſo earneſtly wiſhed for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them [r]. The ſword was ſo ſacred amongſt them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than thoſe they took upon a naked one [s]; neither did they appear in public, or aſſiſt at any ſolemn rite, without their ſword, ſhield, and ſpear [t]. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar viſits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they ſat down, they had their ſword by their ſide, and a ſervant behind, to hold their ſhield and ſpear; and when they roſe, every one took them up again [u]: in a word, they looked upon themſelves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extremeſt old age, they commonly cauſed them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died [w]. It was on account of this exceſſive regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their antient cuſtom of rearing a ſword, pike, or ſpear, at the head of their army, round about which they all gathered themſelves to perform their devotions, that they were ſuppoſed to worſhip them [x]; though it is plain, that they only worſhipped the Deity, or, at moſt, the god Mars, ſince adopted their grand patron and protector, under theſe types: but, upon the whole, it appears, that both Celtes and Scythians, and all their deſcendents, were accuſtomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundeſt peace, as in war; which was alſo practiſed by all the Greeks, Perſians, and other antient nations [y] (P). In

Exceſſive fondneſs for them.

[r] Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 13. [s] Am. Marcel. l. xvii. c. 12. [t] Nic. Damaſc. ap. Stob. ſerm. 164. Livy hiſt. l. xxi. c. 20. Cæſ. comm. l. vii. c. 21. [u] Tacit. Germ. c. 2, 15, 22. Annal. l. iv c. 64. Athen. ex Poſid. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Claudian, de bell. Get. v. 501. Comment. l. vi. c. 19. Tacit. Germ. c. 13, 27. [x] See vit. Dagobert. ap. du Cheſne, tom. i. c. 31. Adam Bremenſ. & al. [y] Ariſtot. politic. l. ii. c. 8. Thucydid. l. i. c. 6. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. c. 6.

voluntary death (31). He tells us farther, that the Suevi were the only people in all Germany where private men had not the liberty to wear their arms, or even to keep them at home; and the reaſon he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themſelves in their tyranny, ſtripped their ſubjects of them, and put them under the cuſtody of their favourite creatures (32).

(P) It is not unlikely, that not only the Perſians, but likewiſe

(31) Tacit. Germ. c. 6. (32) Ibid. c. 44.

Sieges.

In their ſieges of places they were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to the Greeks and Romans, whether in the offenſive or defenſive, being ſtrangers to thoſe deſtructive inſtruments which were uſed by the latter, ſuch as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and counter-mining; and, placing the ſtreſs of their confidence in their miſſile weapons, as darts and ſtones, and their vigorous aſſaults and ſcalings, or in a reſolute and intrepid reſiſtance, if theſe failed, as they too often did, eſpecially when they were engaged againſt the well-diſciplined and artful Romans, who, beſides that they uſed all theſe, and many other ſuch warlike engines, in the greateſt perfection, were likewiſe expert in a great variety of ſtratagems, with which the Germans were wholly unacquainted, they fell immediately into confuſion, and became an eaſy prey to them. Hence the native ſtrength and valour of the latter is the more conſpicuous, as they defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo bravely, againſt ſuch powerful and dexterous enemies, and at length conquered them by their own arts [z].

Valour

From what we have ſeen we may infer, that the Germans in general, though too long unacquainted with the art of war, did yet obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline with their ſoldiery; and that cowardice and neglect of duty were ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them: they were not, indeed, ſo ſtrict in other caſes, but adapted their puniſhments to the different purpoſes of the commonwealth; were ſevere againſt ſome offences, and remiſs towards others; inſomuch, that even murder was not eſteemed capital amongſt them [a], but was puniſhed by ſuch a fine, of great or ſmall cattle, as was deemed a ſufficient compenſation to the family for their loſs. In diſputes and accuſations, whenever the caſe appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by ſingle combat; for in either of theſe they looked upon Providence

Puniſhments.

[z] See Maſcov. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37. [a] Tacit. Germ. c. 12, & 21.

the antient Greeks and Romans, had this cuſtom from the old Celtes. However, the two laſt, when they came to form themſelves into more regular ſocieties, and under a wholſome ſet of laws, probably abrogated this cuſtom, and permitted the people to carry their arms, in time of peace, only at their public ſpectacles, games, &c. (33).

(33) Vide Lucian. de gymnoſoph. p. 803. Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 6.

vidence as the chief director, and therefore ſubmitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, Varus endeavoured to introduce the Roman laws among them, we are told, that they refuſed it; alledging, that it was their way to decide all their controverſies by the ſword [b]; and this cuſtom continued amongſt them ſeveral hundred years [c].

Sciences. SCIENCES they were altogether ſtrangers to, if we except thoſe who lived by the ſea-coaſts, and had made ſome conſiderable progreſs not only in navigation, and building of ſhips, but probably, alſo, in ſome branches of aſtronomy, as well by obſervation, as by their converſe with other more polite nations: the reſt were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the uſe of letters (Q). Their greateſt ſkill in phyſic conſiſted in the knowledge and uſe

[b] Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 188. [c] In vet. leg. Aleman. tit. 44. ap. Maſcov. l. ii. c. 38.

(Q) At leaſt Tacitus, who knew them beſt, and may be ſuppoſed to have been converſant with the politer ſort, tells us, that neither men nor women knew any thing of them (34); unleſs by literarum ſecreta be meant ſomething more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; ſince he tells us, in the ſame book, that both they and the Switzers made uſe of the Greek characters (35); which is alſo confirmed by Cæſar (36) and by ſome antient coins and inſcriptions written in that character. (37).

We have already taken notice, that the Gauls probably received that character from the Greek colony that ſettled at Marſeilles (38); from whence it might eaſily paſs into Switzerland, and thence into Germany, and have been adopted by theſe for the ſame reaſon that they were by the Gauls; and this is the only way to reconcile Tacitus with himſelf, and with Julius Cæſar.

With reſpect to the Germans being ignorant of the liberal ſciences, we muſt except what a later author ſays of the Goths (39), that a Grecian philoſopher, named Diceneus, finding in them a fit capacity for philoſophy, aſtronomy, &c. took the pains to inſtruct them in every branch of them: for if that be true, the Germans could not be long without them. But our author, who was a Goth, is too juſtly ſuſpected of partiality for his own nation, in many other particulars as well as this, to be relied on. As for the Germans, it plainly appears, that literature of any kind was not introduced amongſt them till even ſome centuries after him, as we have ſhewn in the laſt chapter (40).

(34) Germ. c. 18. (35) Ibid. c. 3. (36) Comment. l. i. (37) Vide Rom. ſubterran. ap. Mabillon. Bouteroue traité des monoyes, p. 157, & 379. Vide & Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 4 (38) See before, p. 518. (39) Jornand. de reb. Getar. c. 11. (40) See before, p. 521.

use of certain plants and roots found out by observation and experience, in which these pretenders intermixed a deal of superstitious trash; such as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which served only to amuse and raise the admiration of the vulgar. Music and poetry were much better cultivated amongst them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harsh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But besides that such foreign languages appear more so to us than to the natives, we may reasonably suppose, that both their music and poetry being adapted to the genius of the German nation and tongue, their harshness might be looked upon rather as a majestic beauty, than a defect: however that be, they had a set of men whose business it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to sing them to the people, upon proper occasions, as the Gauls did of theirs [d]. And as martial deeds were the common topic of these verses, and one part of the instrumental music, which accompanied it, was the clattering their swords against their shields, it is no wonder Julian the apostate, whose ears were accustomed to more gentle and harmonious strains, gives such a frightful account both of the German tongue, music, and poetry [e].

Music and poetry.

Games and exercises.

THEIR sports, games, and exercises, were all, likewise, of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, leaping, and the like. Some equestrian exercises were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horsemen; they were likewise fond of gaming, to such a degree, that, when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice [f]. Manufactures were not introduced very early amongst them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the first, if not the only one they cultivated, for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dress of their women, priests, and men of quality [g]. Their original dress, when they came first to cover themselves, were the skins of beasts (R); the Germans and

Trades.

[d] Vide Tacit. Germ. c. 2. & 3.
[e] Misopog. p. 336, & seq.
[f] Tacit. ubi supra, c. 24.
[g] Plin. nat. hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

(R) These were called by several names, according to those nations among which they were worn. In some parts of Germany

and Britons ſeem to have been ſome of the laſt who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool : theſe they did not wear long and full, as the Sarmatians, but ſhort and ſtrait, and fit to diſplay every limb of their body [h]. As they became more acquainted with the Romans, they not only improved in their dreſs, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering thoſe ſtuffs of which they were made [i], but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have ſince excelled other nations : for it was their contempt of ſuch trades, and not their want of a capacity for them, which made them be ſo long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they ſoon convinced the world, that their country ſeemed cut

[h] Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 17. [i] Idem ibid.

many they were called reno, which Cluverius thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whoſe ſkins they made their garments of (41). In others, maſtruga ; ſuppoſed to have been called ſo becauſe it made thoſe who wore them appear like monſters (42), or brutes in human ſhape. Tacitus adds, that the only diſtinction between men of quality and the vulgar conſiſted in the richneſs and fineneſs of thoſe furs (43).

And here it will not be amiſs to take notice of a merry jeſt which ſome Greeks, ſettled in Scythia, had endeavoured to impoſe upon Herodotus, as a ſerious truth ; viz. that the Nauri, a northern nation, were once a year changed into wolves, and after ſome time, reſumed their own ſhape (44). He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it ; but it is plain they only impoſed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in ſome others, particularly where they told him that on the other ſide the Danube the air was, at ſome ſeaſons, ſo full of feathers, meaning of ſnow, that a man could ſcarce ſee two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in ſuch quantities. and ſo dangerous, in all theſe northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced to deſtroy them as faſt as they could. Their ſkins they probably dreſſed, and made them into cloſe garments, to wear during the winter, and, when ſpring came on, they exchanged them for ſome lighter habit : and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation. Unleſs we will ſuppoſe, not without ſome probability, that thoſe Greeks had ſo far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in Scythia, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, underſtood them quite differently from what they meant.

(41) Germ. ant. p. 110.
(42) Iſidor. Orig. l. xix. c. 23.
(43) Tacit. Germ. c. 17.
(44) Herodot. l. iv. c. 105.

cut out to produce the beſt artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not ſo
Writing. ſoon give into the liberal arts, or even that of writing: we are told, that Charles the great cauſed ſome of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only ſung by heart, and contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their uſe, and to encourage them to learn to read [k]. The Saxons had ſuch a contempt for letters, that they refuſed to learn to read the goſpels till they were put into verſe, and ſet to ſuch tunes as they could eaſily ſing [l]. Even their laws were not, it ſeems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century [m]: which plainly ſhews that their runæ, or letters (T), are not of ſo antient a date as ſome moderns have imagined.

Before

[k] Eginhard in vit. Carol. mag. c. 29. [l] Vide Du Cheſnerer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 326. [m] See Schottel. de antiq. Germ. jur. p. 254. Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.

(S) Amongſt theſe, that of clocks, watches, and other ſuch kind of uſeful and curious machinery, they have been long ſince famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at Mentz, ſoon after the year 1440, by John Fuſt, or Fauſt, a citizen of that place, and improved by his ſon-in-law, Peter Shoeffer, and from thence propagated, by ſome of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of Europe, in leſs than half a century (45).

In ſpeaking of this noble and uſeful invention, we cannot paſs by a pathetic reply which a German made to a Frenchman, who allowed, indeed, that the Germans were generally good mechanics, but in other caſes, ſaid, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. To which the German gravely aſked the following queſtion. "Pray, Sir, which of the two nations "ſhewed the brighter genius; ours, which invented the art of "printing; or yours which condemned the inventor of it to the "flames for a conjurer?" For it plainly appears, that the parliament of Paris had condemned John Fauſt to be burnt for magic, and that he with great difficulty obtained his pardon, at the expence of diſcovering his new invention to the archbiſhop of Paris (46).

(T) The runæ, or antient characters, are ſuppoſed to have been called ſo ab incidendo, from cutting out, becauſe they were either

(45) See Palmer's hiſtory of printing, l. i. c. 2, & ſeq. l. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. (46) Vide Peliſſon. ap. eund.

Genius and character.

BEFORE we finiſh this ſection, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething concerning the character and genius of the antient Germans, which was pretty near the ſame through all that large country. They are generally deſcribed to us by Greek and Roman authors as reſembling one another, and differing from other nations by the largeneſs of their ſtature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and buſhy hair, haughty and threatening looks, ſtrong conſtitutions, and proof againſt hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardſhip [n]. Nothing could be more conducive to their bodily ſtrength than their coarſe diet, their living in huts rather than houſes, their conſtant and ſtrenuous exerciſes, and inuring themſelves betimes to all kinds of fatigue; to which Tacitus joins another thing, which is not, perhaps, quite ſo authentic, viz. their drinking of ſtrong liquors made of barley or wheat [o], and which they drank

Robuſtneſs.

[n] Tacit. Germ. c. 4. & 30. Horat. epod. xvi. v. 7. Juvenal. ſatir. xiii. Auſon. idyl. vii. Comment, l. i. c. 39. Apol. l. viii. c. 9, & al. [o] Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 23.

either cut out of wooden blocks, or cut into the bark of ſome trees (47), and in a very rude manner. The antienteſt author who appears to have made mention of thoſe runæ, is Venantius Fortunatus, who lived about the beginning of the 6th century; he ſpeaks of them as being uſed by the Franks, whoſe manner of writing, as well as of the Goths, was yet but coarſe and uncouth. He gives us their method of painting, or rather graving them upon wooden planks, which were called runæ. The Germans have retained the ſame etymon in their language, in calling their letters buchſtaben, which implies their being engraven on wood, and in ſtrait lines (48). It has been much diſputed whether thoſe letters were Latin or Greek, and much has been urged on both ſides; but a ſepulchral inſcription, dug up at Rome, and the only one, perhaps, that has been preſerved of that old character, ſhews them to have been moſtly Greek, with here and there a Roman one (49). Some old coins alſo confirm it, in ſome of which the legend is wholly Greek, and in others, partly that, and partly Latin (50). And this is, in all probability, the character which is, by Venantius above quoted, called the runic, and was, at that time, common to all the Europeans; only among the northern nations they were very coarſe and ill-ſhaped, in compariſon of the reſt.

(47) See Celſius's letter to Mr. Vignoles, ann. 1733. ap. Pellyutier, ubi ſupra, l. ii. c. 10. (48) Idem ibid. (49) Vide Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 4. (50) Bouteroue, ubi ſupra, p. 43, 62, & ſeq.

drank in large quantities. Cæsar adds, that their animal spirits not being exhausted in their youth by study, learning, or any troublesome occupations, nor enervated by early amours and gallantry, their bodies were more apt to grow large and robust [p]. Pliny attributes much of this to the temperateness of their climate [q]; but though it be true, that the perspiration is not so copious in such cold countries, yet it may be much doubted whether this doth so much contribute to the growth and strength of their inhabitants: on the contrary, experience shews, that there are very small people in some of the coldest climates, as in Lapland; and very gigantic ones in some of the warmest, as among some of the Ethiopians, as the same author justly observes. What may have farther contributed to the strength and stature of the Germans, was, their never or rarely intermarrying with other nations, nor adopting any of their soft customs; by which means, they transmitted these qualities to their children pure and uncorrupted [r].

Valour and fidelity.

THEIR native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their martial genius, and in their singular fidelity. The former of these they did indeed carry to such an excess, as came little short of downright ferocity; but as to the latter, they not only valued themselves highly upon it, but were greatly esteemed by other nations for it; insomuch that Augustus, and several of his successors, committed the guard of their persons to them, and almost all other nations either courted their friendship and alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries: though it must be owned, at the same time, that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppression, has often hurried them to treachery and murder, especially when they have thought themselves ill used by those who hired them: for, in all such cases, they were easily stirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other cases, Tacitus tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading those from whom they received no injury; rather chusing to employ their strength and valour defensively, than offensively; to preserve their own, than to ravage their neighbours [s].

Hospitality.

Their friendship and intercourse was rather a compound of honest bluntness and hospitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry.

[p] Comment. l. iv. c. 1. [q] Nat. hist. l. ii. c. 78.
[r] Tacit. ubi supra, c. 4. Conring. de habit. antiq. & nov. corp. Germ. causis. Malcov. Lediard Germ. l. ii. c. 32. [s] Tacit. Germ. c. 35.

lantry. All ſtrangers were ſure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmoſt of their ability; even thoſe who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a piece of duty to introduce them to thoſe who could; and nothing was looked upon as more ſcandalous and deteſtable, than to refuſe them either the one, or the other [t]. They do not ſeem, indeed, to have had a taſte for grand and elegant entertainments; they affected in every thing, in their houſes, furniture, diet, &c. rather plainneſs and ſimplicity, than ſumptuouſneſs and luxury. If they learned of the Romans and Gauls the uſe of money, it was rather becauſe they found it more convenient than their antient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they preferred thoſe antient coins which had been ſtamped during the times of the Roman liberty, eſpecially ſuch as were either milled or cut in the rims, becauſe they could not be ſo eaſily cheated in them, as in ſome others, which were frequently nothing but copper, or iron, plated over with ſilver. This laſt metal they likewiſe preferred before gold, not becauſe it made a greater ſhew, but becauſe it was more convenient for buying and ſelling [u]. And as they became, in time, more feared by, or more ufeful to, the Romans, ſo they learned how to draw enough of it from them to ſupply their whole country, beſides what flowed to them from other nations. Money.

As they deſpiſed ſuperfluities in other caſes, ſo they did alſo in the connubial way; every man was contented with one wife (U), and both were ſo faithful to each other, and chaſte, true, and diſintereſted, in their conjugal affections, that Tacitus prefers their manners, in this reſpect, to thoſe of the Romans. The men ſought not dowries from their wives, but beſtowed them upon them [w]. Their youth, in thoſe cold climes, did not begin ſo ſoon to feel the warmth of love, as they do in hotter ones; and it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and thoſe were moſt eſteemed, who continued longeſt in celibacy; becauſe they looked upon it as an effectual means to make them grow tall and ſtrong: and to marry, or be concerned with a woman, before they were Marriages.

full

[t] Ibid. c. 2. [u] Idem ibid. c. 5. [w] Ibid. c. 20.

(U) Our author, however, excepts ſome caſes, which yet were not frequent among them, as when any of their princes or noblemen allowed themſelves a plurality of wives, more, ſays he (50), out of grandeur and oſtentation, than wantonneſs.

(50) Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 18.

full twenty years old, was accounted shameful wantonness [x].

Unjustly charged with incestuous commerce.

They have been, indeed, unjustly taxed with permitting a promiscuous and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their sisters, and the like; but the only thing that seems to have given a colour to this pretended incestuous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and the whole family lying promiscuously in the straw, and stark-naked: which custom, though shocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to restrain such unnatural commerce, than give birth to it. But though they did lie thus together in the same hut, yet we can scarcely doubt but nature taught them to observe some decency; and that the husband and wife lay in some corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient distance from each other. We may add, that such a brutish intermixture is quite opposite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaste and unmarried, till after twenty; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are so justly admired. The women shared with their husbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardships of war. They attended them in the field, dressed their victuals for them, dressed their wounds, stirred them up to fight manfully against their enemies, and sometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it has been upon the point of being snatched from them. In a word, they looked upon such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, like the Roman dames, but as a duty, and an honour. We find, in most parts of Germany, especially where vassalage is still in use, some notable relics of this antient female submission; we have even lately seen some remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, shocking instances of it here, in those Palatines and Saltsburghers whom persecution and distress drove hither for shelter; young, hale, and lusty fellows, sauntring along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a staff under their arm, whilst their obsequious wives trudged and sweated after them under a load of their cloaths and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms (W). But what appears to have been still a harder fate upon

[x] Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(W) We have ourselves taken upon us to reprove their husbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it; but have been gravely answered by their passive dames, that it was the fashion in their country, and that it

upon the antient German dames was, that their great Odinus excluded all thoſe from his valhalla, or paradiſe, who did not, by ſome violent death, follow their deceaſed huſbands thither. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an obſervation, that, notwithſtanding their having been antiently in ſuch high repute for their wiſdom, and ſuppoſed ſpirit of prophecy, and their continuing ſuch faithful and tender helpmates to their huſbands, yet they ſunk, in time, ſo low in their eſteem, that, according to the old Saxon law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he ſhould have done, if he had hurt or killed a man [y].

THERE is ſcarcely any one thing in which the Germans, though ſo nearly allied in moſt of their other cuſtoms to the Gauls, were yet more oppoſite to them than in their funerals. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, with what pomp and profuſion the latter performed theirs; thoſe of the former were done with the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity which they affected in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with ſome peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceaſed, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man's armour, that is, his ſword, ſhield, and ſpear, were flung into it, and ſometimes his riding horſe [z]. The Danes did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince, gold, ſilver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guiſe, round the fire, exhorted the by-ſtanders to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceaſed [a]. They afterwards repoſited their aſhes in urns, like the Gauls, Romans, and other nations; as it plainly appears, from the vaſt numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the ſundry diſſertations which have been written upon them by ſeveral learned moderns of that nation, a liſt and account of

Their funerals.

[y] Specul. Sax. l. i. c. 45. [z] Vide Keyzler de mulier. fatidic. c. 2. [a] Saxo-Gram. l. viii. Keyzler ant. ſeptr. p. 115.

it would caſt a much greater diſgrace on their good men to help them off with any ſhare of the burden. And what appeared ſtill more ſurpriſing was, when theſe poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refreſh them, they have deſired it might be given to their husbands, for that themſelves could drink water; ſo great is the force of education and cuſtom.

of which the reader may ſee in the author laſt quoted [b]. One thing we may obſerve, in general, that, whatever ſacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever preſents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other ſuperſtitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in conſequence of thoſe excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the ſoul, and the bliſs or miſery of a future life [c].

Notions of the ſtate of ſouls after death.

It is impoſſible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the antient writers have given us any account of it, to gueſs how ſoon this belief of their great Odin, and his paradiſe, was received among them. It may, for aught we know, have been older than the times of Tacitus, and he have known nothing of it, by reaſon of their ſcrupulous care of concealing their religion from ſtrangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to poſterity by ſongs and poems, and moſt of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from thoſe very poems which were ſtill preſerved among them; we may, rightly enough, ſuppoſe, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly profeſſed by the generality of the nation, eſpecially ſince we find their antient practice ſo exactly conformable to it. Thus, ſince the ſureſt road to this paradiſe was, to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and ſince none were excluded from it but baſe cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the ſignal and exceſſive bravery of the Germans flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were ſo brave and faithful, as not only to ſhare with their huſbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to any thing elſe but a ſtrong perſuaſion of their being admitted to live with them in that place of bliſs. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old Celtes, or afterwards taught them by this, ſince deified, Odin, ſeems, from their general practice, to have been univerſally received by all the Germans, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X).

In

[b] P. 109, & ſeq. [c] Vide Diod Sicul. hiſt. l. v. Am. Marcel. l. xv. Cæſ. com. l. vi. c. 14. Strab. Mela, & al.

(X) What the bliſs of this paradiſe conſiſted in, we have already ſeen; but, beſides this, there are ſome notions attributed to them, by theſe writers lately mentioned, which do not ſeem to ſquare altogether

In general, they ſeem to have had a twofold notion of this future ſtate, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, ragna rockur, or the crepuſcule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the conſummation of all things by a general conflagration [d]. So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliſs and miſery, till the deſtruction of the world; and another which was to follow it preſently after, when a new ſun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endleſs happineſs for the good, and another of endleſs miſery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the chriſtians, did it not appear, from Seneca, to have been the doctrine of the ſtoics; unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that author had it rather from ſome of the apoſtles [e], or their diſciples, than from his own ſect (Y). However that be, ſome of the circumſtances, which theſe old Germans believed would attend this general conflagration, ſeem to us to have been taken from the apocalypſe, and adapted to their own antient notions and taſte: we ſhall

 give

[d] Eddæ mythol. 30, & 48. Eivind. Scaldaſpiler. & al. ap. Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p. 119, & ſeq. [e] Conf. 2 Pet. c. iii. v. 7, & ſeq. Senec. quæſt. nat. l. iii. & conſolat. ad Marcian. Ovid. metamorph. l. ii.

together with it (51): ſuch as that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which, if we may believe ſome antient chriſtian writers (52), Pythagoras received from them. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, that the Gauls were unjuſtly charged with adopting the ſame notion; and the ſame thing may, for aught appears, have been done with reſpect to the Germans. But if theſe had any ſuch belief amongſt them, it can only be reconciled with that of Odin's paradiſe, by ſuppoſing the latter to be reſerved for their brave and enterpriſing heroes; whilſt the reſt, who had no title to it, were left to tranſmigrate from body to body, more or leſs noble and happy, according to their merit or demerit, in a continual rotation, till the conſummation of all things.

(Y) It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occaſion to ſhew at the beginning of this work; but Seneca, in the place laſt quoted, ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner, as makes one believe he had converſed with ſome chriſtians, or, at leaſt, ſome Jewiſh

(51) See Keizler. ubi ſupra, p. 116, & ſeq. & auct. ab eo citat. (52) Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. vi. Euſeb. præp. l. x. c. 2.

give our readers some few instances of this in the margin (Z), they being scarcely worth mentioning any where else. We shall finish this section with observing, that the notion of a future happiness obtained by martial exploits, especially by dying sword in hand, made them bewail the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way to send them

Unnatural customs.

Jewish rabbies, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the stoics, till then, knew nothing of.

(Z) They tell you, among other things, the old earth being thus destroyed, a new one is to start up out of the sea, which will produce all things necessary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females which escape the general destruction are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful offspring: that on the south side of heaven there is a court vastly brighter than the sun itself, and which will be proof against the flames which are to destroy the rest of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preserved for that new and endless life. That the general destruction is to be preceded by the most severe seasons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, &c. after which, two monstrous wolves are to be let loose, who shall devour sun, moon, and stars. That the rainbow, by which the souls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down. That some of the asæ, or deified heroes, shall begin an unsuccessful war, and Odin himself be devoured by one of the wolves; after which, the universe is to be set on fire: that there is another court, as dismal as the other is glorious, whose gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venomous serpents, whose heads are all turned towards the inside of it, and cast continual streams of deadly poison, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade; and much more to the like purpose.

We shall not trouble ourselves further, to enquire whence those northern poets drew all this mythological rhapsody; but only observe, from the whole, that they plainly appear not to have had so high an opinion of their country, as some of a moderner date, who have taken a vast deal of pains to prove, that the earthly paradise was situate there, and that they, especially Suedland, afforded every thing that is useful and delightful to mankind (53); for if those old ones had entertained any such favourable opinion of these cold regions, they would hardly have made them the abode of miserable souls, and removed the seats of the blessed to the southern side of the universe (54).

(53) Rudbeck. Olai Atlantic. & al. ubi supra, p. 123.

(54) Vide Keyzler.

them packing into the other world, willing or not willing. And this cuſtom laſted ſeveral ages after their receiving chriſtianity, eſpecially among the Pruſſians and Venedi; the former of whom, it ſeems, diſpatched, by a quick death, not only their ſick children, ſervants, &c. but even their parents, and ſometimes themſelves [f]: and of the latter we have inſtances of this horrid parricide being practiſed even in the beginning of the 14th century [g]. All that need be added is, that, if thoſe perſons, thus ſuppoſed to have lived long enough, either deſired to be put to death, or, at leaſt, ſeemed chearfully to ſubmit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded with a feaſt, and their funeral with another; but if they endeavoured to ſhun it, as it ſometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepeſt mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance, and being admitted into bliſs; in the latter they bewailed their cowardly excluding themſelves from it. Much the ſame thing was done towards thoſe wives who betrayed a backwardneſs to follow their dead huſbands. We need not here obſerve, that, in theſe funerals, as well as in all their other feaſts, they were famed for drinking to exceſs; and one may ſay of them, above all the other deſcendents of the antient Celtes, that their hoſpitality, banquets, &c. conſiſted much more in the quantity of ſtrong liquors, than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and ſtrong mead, which were their natural drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, ſtrength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they made no ſcruple to indulge themſelves to the utmoſt in them, not only in their feaſts, and eſpecially before an engagement, but even in their common meals. Tacitus tells us, that they could bear neither heat nor thirſt; and that they thought it no diſgrace to ſpend whole days and nights in quaffing [h]: ſo that though they were in no caſe more invincible than in this, yet if you plied them with enough of it, you could not fail of overcoming them [i]. As for wine, though they at firſt betrayed an exceſſive fondneſs for it, yet they quickly found by experience, that it only tended to enervate and emaſculate the men, and obſtructed the fecundity of the women; for which reaſon ſome of them, eſpecially the Suevi, forbad the importation of it [k]. And it is thought, to this day, that the

Exceſſive love of ſtrong liquors.

[f] See Chriſtoph. Hartknoch. antiq. Pruſſia, diſſert. xiii. [g] Mareſcale annal. Herul. & Vandal. l. ii. c. 8. Krantz. Vandal. l. vii. Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p. 147, & ſeq. [h] Germ. c. 4, & 22. [i] Ibid. c. 23. Vide & Julian. miſopog. p. 352. [k] Cæſar. comment. l. iv. c. 2.

degeneracy of the modern Germans, in this respect, as well as that of the Gauls, Spaniards, and other nations, is, in a great measure, owing to their exchanging their old natural liquors for the foreign juice of the grape [1].

[1] Keyzler. ubi supra, c. 6. § 6.

SECT. III.

The history of the antient Germans.

The antient history of the Germans unknown.

WE have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most antient historians, both Greek and Roman, have so injudiciously confounded the whole German nation under the names of Scythians and Celtes, and that Tacitus himself, who had conversed so much amongst them, is, in some cases, so manifestly fabulous, and, in many others, so obscure and inconsistent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected, either with relation to their origin, or antient history, except we can strike out some light from better hands, and from some such concurring circumstances as may add weight to their testimony. This, we hope, we have done, in some measure, with relation to the first of these two points; but it is much more difficult to adjust the latter to any satisfaction, considering what a vast number of nations are comprehended in the general name of Germans, their constant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite swallowed up in the other; that many of them did, in time, come to differ widely from the rest, in their customs, government, laws, and politics; and others are scarcely known to us by any thing but their names; and especially, considering that none of them wrote any thing of their own affairs, and that both Romans and Greeks had but a very confused, if any knowledge of them, till the Romans did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more easy way to it (A). Upon these accounts, we must be contented to

(A) It is plain, that, before the Romans came over the Alps, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the Gauls, and called both nations by that name. The general one of Germans doth not, indeed, appear to have been of so early date as some have thought it, as we have shewn at the beginning of this chapter; so that each nation being distinguished by their peculiar names, unknown then to the Romans, it was natural for

to ſet down the epocha between the coming and ſettling of the former in the ſeveral parts of Germany, and the invaſion of the latter, for dark and uncertain, and as impenetrable as their famed Hercynian foreſt; except what we have been able to gather from thoſe authors concerning their names, ſituation, and ſome few other particulars, which we have already, or ſhall have occaſion to mention, in the ſequel of this ſection.

WHAT occaſioned the Romans breaking in upon Germany, as they did upon all other nations they could come at, we have already ſeen, in the courſe of the Roman hiſtory [a]; the Germans were then ſo far from being formed into one ſingle community, that they were divided into a vaſt number of ſmall kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, indeed, look upon themſelves, in general, as a nation deſcended originally from the ſame ſtock, and ſo have ſome laws in common to them all, either for the ſupporting of each other

[a] See vol. xii. p. 17, & ſeq.

for theſe to include them all under the name of Celtes, Gauls, and Galatæ, as they were ſo nearly allied in their origin, religion, cuſtoms, &c.

There is, indeed, one paſſage, in the faſti Capitolini (1), in which mention is made of that great victory ſo much cried up by Virgil and other writers (2), which Marcellus gained over Viridomarus and his Gauls, who are here joined with the Inſubri and Germans, and which, if this laſt name be not corrupted by the tranſcriber, will plainly ſhew it to have been longer in uſe than we ſuppoſe it. But a late writer hath ſhewed it very probable, at leaſt, both from the ſimilitude of the names, and other concurring circumſtances, that Germani is here tranſcribed, inſtead of Cenomani (3); for theſe were not only next neighbours to the Inſubri, and concerned with them in the ſame war againſt the Romans, but were defeated with them, not long after, by Cethegus, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the ſame time (4).

This Viridomarus is by ſome ſtyled a king, and by others a general of the Gauls (5); and his invaſion threw the Romans into ſuch a conſternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of ſuperſtition we have mentioned out of Plutarch, in a former volume (6).

(1) Sub an. U. C. 531. (2) Æneid. vi. v. 855, & ſeq. (3) Maſcov. Germ. l. i. c. 4. (4) Faſt. Capitol. ſub an. U. C. 556. (5) Plutarch. in Marcel. Polyb. l. ii. Flor. l. ii. c. 4, & al. (6) See before, vol. xiv. p. 598.

againſt foreign invaders, or for the preſervation of a due balance amongſt their vaſt variety of commonwealths; but, in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and intereſt. They were all of them bred up with an exceſſive love of liberty, and hatred to all kinds of invaſion; and could not, but with jealouſy and reſentment, behold the daily encroachments which the Romans continually made on all their neighbours, or, conſequently, without uniting themſelves more cloſely againſt them, and aſſiſting thoſe of their neighbours, who were likely to fall the next ſacrifice to their ambition; as we have ſeen they did, with reſpect to the Gauls, Helveti, and other neighbouring ſtates. Hence aroſe thoſe wars and conqueſts which ended in their total conqueſt; for the politic Romans ſoon took the advantage of their being divided into ſo many different republics; and by fomenting jealouſies among ſome of them, bribing and corrupting others, and by uſing all their force and art againſt the reſt, they found means to ſubdue them gradually, and by piece-meal: ſo that one ſtate after the other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a Roman province. This part, therefore, of their hiſtory, is not to be looked upon as a general one of a whole nation, but as a ſeparate one of ſuch a number of different ſtates ſubdued one after the other, and in a great meaſure independently one from the other, till we come to that period of time the Franks brought and united all the other Germans, who remained in thoſe countries, together with many other Roman provinces, under their dominion. For this reaſon, and becauſe a full and particular account has been given of all theſe conqueſts in the Roman hiſtory, we ſhall, to avoid all unneceſſary repetitions, content ourſelves with giving a chronological ſummary of the reduction of each of theſe nations, till we come to the grand epocha of the Franks above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the volume and page where each of them is more fully and ſeverally mentioned. For the Roman hiſtory being not only the moſt conſiderable one in this whole work, in all reſpects, but being, as it were, the baſis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations they ſubdued doth chiefly turn, we thought it would render it more complete, uſeful, and inſtructive, to give them all in one view, or ſeries, in that part of it, than if we had detached them from the main body, and branched then out into ſo many diſtinct parts of hiſtory; which could hardly have been done without either great confuſion, or endleſs repetitions. From the conqueſt of Germany by the Romans, our next point in view will

The deſign of this ſection.

will be, to ſhew by what means they regained their liberty, and made ſuch ample repriſals upon their conquerors under the Franks; and as the defection of theſe gave riſe to the German empire, which will make a conſiderable part in our modern hiſtory, which is to follow, we ſhall, to avoid confuſion, give the hiſtory of all thoſe ſeveral nations, and of thoſe kingdoms which they erected in other countries, in their ſeveral tranſmigrations, each in a diſtinct chapter, and confine ourſelves, in the latter part of this, to mentioning the moſt conſiderable of thoſe other countries which have been ſince conquered and poſſeſſed by the Germans who now inhabit the empire, at leaſt as far as will be neceſſary to open the way to the modern hiſtory of it.

Germany invaded by the Gauls.

BUT before we come to the Roman invaſion, it will be neceſſary to mention ſome tranſactions, relating to the antient Germans, which are previous to it, and have yet been but touched upon; the firſt of which is, the Gauliſh irruption into their territories, under the conduct of Sigoveſus, whilſt his brother, Belloveſus, made the like over the Alps. Theſe two valiant princes were ſons to the ſiſter of Ambigatus, a king of the Celtæ, or Gauls, about the time of Tarquinius Priſcus. That monarch, finding his ſubjects to encreaſe too faſt for the extent of his territory, reſolved to ſend two large colonies out of it, to ſettle ſomewhere elſe, under the conduct of his two nephews. Theſe being directed, as the Gauliſh manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former of theſe was directed over the Rhine, and ſettled in the Hercynian foreſt [b], whilſt the other went and penetrated into Italy, as we have ſeen in a former volume [c] (B). Whether the Germans had any hand in this latter expedition, doth not clearly

[b] Livy decad. I. v. c. 34. [c] Vol. xi. p. 576.

(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their ſettlement in Germany, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that it is of them which Julius Cæſar ſpeaks, when he informs us of a Gauliſh nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of Germany, along the Hercynian foreſt, and all the moſt fertile parts of that country between the Rhine and that famed wood, and had entirely conformed themſelves to the cuſtoms and manners of that country (7). Tacitus, likewiſe, by placing the Boii and Helvetii much about the very ſpot of ground, and making them both to be deſcended from the Gauls (8), doth, in all probability, mean the very ſame nation and colony with Cæſar and Livy.

(7) Comment. l. vi. c. 24. (8) German. c. 28.

clearly appear, for the reasons mentioned in the last note. Only if the regions lying at the foot of the Apennine hills were at that time inhabited by Germans, or semi-Germans, as Livy calls them [d], there is no question to be made but they might be hurried, by those Gaulish swarms, to follow them in those excursions, and share in those devastations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it doth not appear, that the rest of the German nation were at all concerned in them, since Tacitus gives them this peculiar character, that they rather studied how to preserve their own, than how to invade the territories of others [e]; and it is most likely, that they did not begin to act offensively against the Romans, at least, till they were alarmed at the greatness of their power, and the daily encroachments they made round about them. Swarms of colonies they must be supposed to have sent abroad, to prevent the want of elbow-room, as they multiplied so fast: but there was so much of that to spare towards the north parts of Europe, and so little on the south parts, where they were, moreover, sure to meet with a stout opposition, that they poured most of them towards the other way, at least till the Gauls did, in some measure, oblige them to make reprisals upon them.

The first of these we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later date than that of Segovesus into Germany, is that of the Belgæ, one of the fiercest, and most warlike nations of Germany; who, having passed the Rhine, and driven the Gauls out of a canton of it, seated themselves so firmly in it, that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever drive them out of it. Cæsar adds, that they were not a little proud of this their settlement, and that they assumed a high hand over all their neighbours [f]; and we have elsewhere observed, that they were, probably, called Belgæ, upon that account, that word, in the old Teutonic, signifying fierce and quarrelsome [g] (C). They afterwards peopled the coasts of Britain, and

[d] Decad. l. xxi. c. 28. [e] Germ. c. 35. [f] Comment. l. ii. c. 4. [g] See before, p. 393, note (A).

(C) And which is the character Cæsar gives them, and attributes this roughness of theirs to their living at a distance from the more civilized provinces of Gaul, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them such commodities as serve to effeminate mankind (9).

(9) Comment. l. i. c. 1.

and drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual wars with the Germans [h]. We have already given an account of theſe Belgæ, of their origin, wars with the Romans, and reduction to their yoke, in a former volume, to which we refer our readers [i]. From this irruption of the Belgæ into Gaul, which is the firſt the German nation made upon them, at leaſt that we read of, theſe two nations continued in a kind of alternate ſtate of hoſtility and friendſhip, as occaſion ſerved; ſometimes invading each other's territories, at other times aſſiſting each other againſt the Romans, as we have had frequent occaſion to hint in the laſt chapter, and ſhall again in this: but it is time that we ſhould ſpeak of thoſe wars and defeats which the ſeveral German nations waged againſt the Romans, the defeats they received from them, and by which they were ſubdued by them, in the ſuccinct method and order of time, as we have promiſed.

Cimbri invade Italy.

THE firſt we read of, who ventured to invade the Roman territories, were the Cimbri and Teutones: we have already ſpoken of their antient ſettlement, the former in the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, and the latter on the coaſts and iſles of the Baltic [k]; but whether, for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer clime, both theſe (D) marched,

[h] Comment. I. i. c. 1.
[i] See vol. xiii. p. 16, (X). p. 30.
[k] See before, p. 574.

(D) It doth not, indeed, appear, that theſe two nations began their firſt excurſions jointly, or at the ſame time, much leſs, that they all left their territories, for they left a much greater number behind; but only that ſome of the reſoluteſt of each reſolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely, that, upon the ſight of the vigorous oppoſition they were likely to meet with from the conſular armies, and under ſuch experienced generals, the Cimbri invited the Teutones, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did ſome others, both Germans and Gauls, through whoſe territories they paſſed; particularly the Tigurini and Ambrones, who are mentioned in the ſame invaſion (10). They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account doth not appear; but, inſtead of purſuing their Italic invaſion, marching toward the Pyrenees, and being there repulſed by the Celtiberi, they rejoined the Teutones again, and made ſad havock in Gaul, which was then in no condition to withſtand them. They moved, at length, towards Italy, by ſeveral ways, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition

(10) See vol. xii. p. 429, & 489.

marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged, Noricum and Illyricum, penetrated into Italy, defeated the Romans, at ſeveral pitched battles [l], and threw all Italy into the greateſt conſternation [m]. In the firſt of theſe actions they vanquiſhed the famed conſul, Papirius Carbo; in another, M. Junius Silanus, another conſul, who was ſoon after called to a ſevere account for it; and, in a third, L. Caſſius; and, in a fourth, the brave M. Aurelius Scaurus, whom they took priſoner, and put to death, by their king, Bolos (E), for ſpeaking too boldly in praiſe of the Romans: but, after ſeveral other ſucceſſes in Italy, they were totally defeated and deſtroyed by the policy of conſul Marius [n]. For this general took care to poſt himſelf ſo advantageouſly, on the day of battle, that the Cimbri had not only his army, but the ſun, wind, and duſt, to combat with, and were the more eaſily overthrown, by that ſubtle ſtratagem (F). How greatly the Romans

Defeated by Marius.

[l] Vol. xii. p. 429, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. p. 494---497, & ſeq.
[n] Ibid. 498, paſſ.

expedition to them all, particularly to the Teutones, who, after having inſulted the Roman army with the moſt biting taunts (11), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the ſame victorious conſul (12).

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the ſame whom Plutarch calls Boiorix, king of the Gauls (13), but Livy Bolos, king of the Cimbri (14). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave Scaurus, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occaſion of it (15); and there we followed the former of theſe authors, though, moſt likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the Greeks and Romans were to confound the Gauls and Germans; the Cimbri were, doubtleſs, antient Celtes, as their name imports, with reſpect to their origin; but Gauls they could not be, ſince they inhabited the moſt northern parts of Germany.

(F) This circumſtance we are beholden to Plutarch for (16), and need the leſs queſtion it, ſeeing that author had it out of Sylla's memoirs, who was himſelf in Marius's army, and had wrote a deſcription of this victory, beſides Catulus, who likewiſe left an account of his conſulſhip: and, perhaps, ſome other helps he might have had beſides. The deſcription which he and ſome others (17) give us of the order of battle of the Cimbrians, their accoutre-

(11) Ibid. p. 496. (12) In Mario. (13) Plutarch. ubi ſupra. (14) Epit. lxvii. (15) Vol. xii. p. 480, & ſeq. (16) In Mario. (17) Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 6. Vide & Artholin. de contempt. mort. ap. Danos.

Romans eſteemed this victory, may be ſeen by the triumph, and other ſingular honours which they decreed both to Marius, and to Catulus, as well as by the monuments which theſe cauſed to be reared in memory of it [o] (G). Thoſe Cimbri who eſcaped this dreadful ſlaughter, did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are ſaid to have ſent afterwards a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to Auguſtus [p]; and are likewiſe mentioned, by authors of later date, as the moſt warlike of all the northern Germans [q], down to Claudian's time, who calls the north ſea by their name [r]. But it is likely the Saxons, their neighbours, joining with them in their excurſions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the Cimbrian name was ſwallowed up in theirs [s].

Arioviſtus ſettles in Gaul, and forms a kingdom there.

THE next excurſion we find recorded of the Germans, is that which happened in Julius Cæſar's time, on occaſion of the jealouſy, which it is juſtly ſuppoſed that politic conqueror fomented between the Ædui and the Arverni, the then two moſt potent nations in Gaul; the former of whom being then in friendſhip with Rome, and the latter allied with the Sequani, theſe thought fit to call in the neighbouring Germans to their aſſiſtance. At firſt, only 15000 came over to them, but they

[o] See Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & vol. xiii. p. 498, & ſeq. [p] Strabo, l. vii. [q] Tacit. Germ. c. 37. Ptolem. l. ii. c. 11. [r] Conſul. Honor. p. 335, 450. [s] See Maſcov. in fin. l. i.

accoutrements, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the laſt, plainly ſhews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted ſome parts of the Roman diſcipline and policy to have made them, in all points, ſuperior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themſelves and their children, to a diſhonourable captivity (18): and Seneca adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which theſe heroines had loſt their lives for.

(G) Among theſe was the famed temple of Virtue, built by the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is ſaid to have taken from them, and cauſed to be perſerved in his own houſe (19). What this bull was, hath puzzled moſt antiquaries, becauſe it is not mentioned by any other author: ſome think, that the Cimbrians had it upon their ſtandards, as the Romans had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock's head (20); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

(18) Plutarch. ubi ſupra. (19) N. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 41. (20) See Maſcov. & Lediard. l. i. c. 13. n. 1, & ſeq.

they became so enamoured with this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they sent for fresh supplies from over the Rhine, insomuch that they amounted, at last, to 120000. The Sequani, by their assistance, soon subdued the Ædui, as we have formerly seen [t]; but their victory cost them dear, for they were forced by Arioviſtus, the German king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to settle his troops in. He soon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a setlement for 40000 Harudes, who crossed over to him, and, at the same time, did, by his address, induce Julius Cæsar, then consul, to allow him the title and honour of a king [u]. But it proved a short-lived kingdom, and Cæsar, who only caressed him for his own ends, soon found a specious pretence to dispossess him of it. The vast numbers of Germans which Arioviſtus had brought into Gaul, and the success which their bravery had gained them, could not but raise the Roman jealousy, and alarm not only the Sequani, but the greatest part of the Gauls, who thereupon applied to the consul with bitter complaints against the German devastations, and the danger they were in of being quickly swallowed up by them. Cæsar turned all this to his own advantage, and sent to desire an interview with the German prince, who found means to excuse himself from it, and to get six other nations, or cantons, to join with him, besides his own Suevi (H), and a fresh reinforcement of those which were hastening over to him; upon which, Cæsar made what haste he could towards him, to prevent their joining. A conference was, at length, agreed upon, in which Cæsar used some threats to him, and plainly told him, that the Romans would doubly resent his tyrannic use of their old friends the Ædui, after they had shewed him so much regard, and bestowed such honours upon him; and therefore insisted, that he should restore their hostages to them, send back part of his German troops, and forbear all future hostilities. To all this imperious stuff,

[t] See before, vol. xiii. p. 13.

[u] Dio, l. xxxviii.

(H) These were the Marcomans, Harudes, Tribochi, Vangiones, Nemetes, and Seduſii. We have given an account of these German nations, at the beginning of this chapter; besides these, the Treviri gave notice to Cæsar, that a fresh swarm of Suevi were got as far as the banks of the Rhine, under the command of Nasua and Cimberius, two brothers, who were just on the point to cross over into Gaul, and join the German army (21).

(21) Comment. l. i. c. 35, & seq.

ſtuff, Arioviſtus, in vain, pleaded the right of conqueſt, his being invited into Gaul, and his treaties with the Sequani, and even offered his ſervices and friendſhip to Cæſar himſelf: the conference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the Roman policy got the advantage of the German bravery (I), gave them a total overthrow [w], and forced

[w] Cæſ. comment. l. i. c. 52, & ſeq.

(I) Cæſar played a double ſtratagem againſt them; the firſt, by animating his Roman and Gauliſh allies, with the pretence, that Arioviſtus had been guilty of the blackeſt treachery againſt him (22); which notion, whether true, or falſe, would not fail exaſperating them, and diſheartening the Germans: the other, by obliging them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both Germans and Gauls carefully avoided, as ominous to them: and accordingly, Arioviſtus ſtrove all he could to ſhun it, till the Romans fell ſuddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he, and his men, did, with greater fury than diſcretion; and being once put into diſorder, betook themſelves to a haſty flight, in ſpite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and ſtopped not till they got ſafe over the Rhine.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account of theſe things but what Cæſar has been pleaſed to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himſelf. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we ſhould find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to diſcover ſuch inconſiſtencies as ſeem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he ſays of the Germans at this action, viz. that they formed themſelves into ſuch a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their ſhields ſo cloſe over their heads, that the Romans were forced to leap upon them, and tear them aſunder, and, ſinking down between them, kill thoſe who lurked under them, till they had opened a paſſage for their companions to come in upon them (23).

But Cæſar was not the only Roman writer who betrays ſuch fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which ſome of them give of the total overthrow of ſuch a vaſt army as that of the brave Cimbrians, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loſs of only 300 men on Marius's ſide (24), ſeems no leſs ſtretched beyond all probability, eſpecially conſidering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occaſion, and how much ſuperior they had proved in all former actions.

(22) See vol. xiii. p. 13. (23) Comment. ibid. c. 52.
(24) Vide Eutrop. & Flor. l. i. c. 14.

forced them over the Rhine, ſome by ſwimming, and others in boats, and, among the reſt, Arioviſtus himſelf, who, by what may be gueſſed by a paſſage in Cæſar, did not long outlive his diſgrace [x]. After this, the nations which fought under him diſperſed themſelves, the Marcomans into Boiohemum, under the conduct of Maroboduus; the Tribochi, Nemetes, and Vangiones, ſtayed in Gaul, or went over the Rhine, and ſubmitted, with the Ubii, to the Romans; for we find them ſtill ſeated along the banks of that river [y]. As for thoſe Suevi who were aſſembled on the ſame ſide, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the Ubii, who had been treated in a hoſtile manner by them [z]. And thus ended this ſecond expedition of the Germans into Gaul. On the very next year the Belgæ, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the Romans, formed a great alliance with the Celtes, Germans, and Gauls, in order to drive them farther from their neighbourhood. Cæſar, according to cuſtom, found means to ſow ſuch diviſions amongſt them, that many of thoſe allies ſubmitted to him; only the Nervii, Atrebates, and Veromandui, ſtood firm againſt him, and, though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the deareſt victories he had ever got: ſo that the whole Belgic nation was forced to ſubmit to the Roman yoke [a]. Comius, a faithful dependent on Cæſar, was by him made king of the Atrebates, and ſoon gained a conſiderable authority over all that country [b]; the Atuati, about the ſame time hearing of theſe ſwift conqueſts, came in one body to the ſuccour of the Atrebates, and entertained no ſmall contempt of the Romans, when they found them ſo far inferior in ſtature: they were, however, ſoon undeceived, to their coſt, when, being briſkly beſieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the Atrebates, and unable to obtain better terms than to ſurrender it at diſcretion, both their city, and all the garriſon of it, to the number of 53000, were ſold by the conqueror [c] (K).

The Belgæ ſubdued.

53000 Atuati ſold for ſlaves.

CÆSAR

[x] Ibid. l. v. c. 29. See vol. xiii. p. 13. [y] Tacit Germ. c. 28. [z] Comment. l. i. c. 54. [a] Ibid. l. ii. paſſ. See vol. xiii. p. 14---24. [b] Comment. l. iv. c. 21. [c] Ibid. c. 33, & ſeq.

(K) Cæſar, in his account of this action, ſeems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (24): for he ſays, that they

(24) Comment. l. ii. c. 29, & ſeq.

CÆSAR was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other German nations, viz. the Tencteri, and Usipetes (L): these, having been forced out of their own territories by the Suevi, the fiercest and most warlike of all the northern Germans, of whom we shall speak in the sequel of this volume, had passed into Gaul, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the Eburones and Condrusi. Cæsar was then at Rome, to obstruct the cabals of Lucius Domitius against him, but was obliged to hasten into Gaul, to prevent their joining with that nation against the Romans. Upon his arrival, they sent an embassy to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming into that country, and to beg, that he would allow them settlements there, promising him, if he did, to serve him upon all occasions; otherwise, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. Cæsar not only refused to grant them their request, but fell suddenly and furiously upon them, and made a terrible slaughter of them, together with their wives and children; and of those who escaped, the greatest part perished, with endeavouring to cross the Maese [d]; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the Rhine, and fled to the Sicambri, whose territories were sited between those two rivers. This, and the assistance which the Ubii about Cologn sent to beg of him against the threatening Suevi, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the Rhine, to the great surprise of all the Germans (M), but especially of the Sicambri, whose country they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had sheltered themselves in this capital, where those who escaped being killed in the siege, were all sold for slaves. But they are found, in process of time, to have made such powerful head against the Romans, as shews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got against those who fell under his hand.

Tencteri and Usipetes defeated.

A bridge built over the Rhine.

What this capital was, he doth not tell us: Cluverius thinks it to have been Namur; if so, it is strange that Cæsar, when he describes the strength of the place (25), should say nothing of the Maese, on which that place is situate, and which could not but add considerable strength to it.

(L) We have given an account of these two nations, and their country, in a former volume (26).

(M) The Ubii, indeed, offered to waft him over in their boats; but

[d] Ibid. c. 1, & seq. See vol. xiii. p. 21.

(25) Ibid. c. 24. (26) Vol xiii. p. 20, note

try he ravaged at an unmerciful rate, set fire to their houses, cut down their corn, and returned to the Ubii; whilst they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their forests, and exhorted the Tencteri and Usipetes to do the same[c]. This was the first time, in all likelihood, that the Romans set foot on the German territories, which became afterwards the scene of so much bloodshed on both sides, both under that conqueror, and his successors, and which ended in the almost total conquest of this brave nation. The Treviri were the first who gave an occasion to that general to invade their country, who doth not appear to have had any intention, upon his first entering Germany, to carry on a war against them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come to attack them in their own territories (N). However that be, the Treviri, grown jealous of the Romans, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh stirred up a general revolt in Gaul, which had groaned some time under the Roman yoke: this obliged Cæsar to send Labienus against them, whilst he went to the assistance of Cicero, who was, in some measure, besieged by the Nervii. We have given already a full account of all these transactions,

[c] Comment. ubi supra, c. 7, & seq.

but the politic general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the Romans to build a bridge over that river; which it seems was the first attempt of that kind, they being used before to cross it in floats, and other slight and flat vessels. What encreased their surprise, if his account can be credited, was, that he finished it in ten days, and set a strong guard on each side of it. The reader may see this famed fabric described by himself (27).

(N) Cæsar had two other views, the one to shew the Germans, by the example of the Sicambri, how dangerous it was to exasperate the Romans; and the other, by the timely assistance he gave the Ubii against the Suevi, though for his own ends, to induce them to set a high value upon Roman friendship.

(O) They had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the Germans (28), and having since passed the Rhine, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the Rhemi. They had, a little before, shook off the Roman yoke, and were even reported to have invited other Germans to come, and assist them, and the Gauls in defence of their liberty (29); which occasioned their being defeated by Labienus, as has been elsewhere hinted (30).

(27) Comment. l. iv. c. 17. (28) Tacit. Germ. c. 28.
(29) Comment. l. v. c. 2. (30) See vol. xiii p. 33.

actions, in a former volume; for which reason, we shall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted in the margin, to avoid needless repetitions [f].

For the same reason we shall content ourselves with just recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the desperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, upon all proper occasions, against several Roman emperors, and during several centuries; till they had accomplished their end, and subdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to those parts of the Roman history, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extensive nature. It is not, indeed, to be supposed, that their insuperable love of liberty could suffer them to be longer patient under the Roman yoke, than till an opportunity offered itself for shaking it off; and this, in spite of the Roman caresses, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, considering the continual distractions of that unwieldy empire: neither could the ill success, which too often attended these attempts, discourage them from fresh ones: so that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to particularize them all here again; especially considering that they were, in process of time, divided into many distinct nations, and appear, in history, under several names; such as those of Franks, Alemans, Gepidæ, Burgundians, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other considerable northern nations, such as the Hunns, Goths, Sueves, Dacians, Lombards, &c. we shall give a full history, in the subsequent chapters (P).

[f] See vol. xiii. p. 24, & seq. p. 29, 30, &c. p. 403, 404, &c.

(P) It will not, however, be amiss to advertise our readers here, that, as those nations branched out into a vast multitude of tribes, governments, and names, it will be impossible, in a work of this extent, to take notice of them all under separate articles, especially as many of them are known to us by little more than their names, or, at most, on account of some of their alliances with, or assisting other more considerable ones, and sharing with them either in some notable victory or defeat. Of such, we hope, it will be sufficient to speak occasionally, as we find them mentioned by antient authors, and to give the best account which can be found of them, in as few words as possible.

But of those who have made a greater figure in antient history, such as the Alemans, Gepidæ, Longobards, Vandals, Suevi, &c. among

WITH relation to the Germans in general, the moſt conſiderable tranſactions which remain to be taken notice of, are thoſe which follow, and which having been already ſpoken of in the preceding volumes, we ſhall here only recapitulate and refer our readers to the places quoted in the margin. In Auguſtus's reign, who, as we formerly took notice, had iſſued out ſome edicts againſt the inhuman ſuperſtitions of the druids [g], which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the Germans took that opportunity to paſs the Rhine, and to ravage thoſe countries which were ſubject to him. Againſt them Agrippa was ſent, whoſe arrival ſo intimidated them, that they quickly repaſſed that river [h]. But whilſt he was gone into Spain, they repaſſed it, and defeated a body of Roman horſe, and afterwards the Gallic proconſul M. Lollius, from whom they carried off a ſtandard: but he ſoon recovered his honour, and drove them back again [i], with conſiderable loſs. All this while the Gauls were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he ſent Druſus thither to quell them, which he had no ſooner done [k], but he paſſed the Rhine, drove all before him, and penetrated almoſt to the German ocean [l].

THE famed revolt which happened among the Roman legions left in Pannonia, and which was happily quelled, in part, by Druſus, and afterwards wholly by Germanicus [m], gave occaſion for a freſh invaſion, which the laſt-mentioned general carried on with great ſucceſs, and much greater havock and ſlaughter of the Germans for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe Tacitus, without the loſs, or even the wounding of one ſingle Roman [n]. This action, which may be more properly called a maſſacre than a conqueſt (Q), alarmed

[g] See before, p. 564. [h] See vol. xiii. p. 397. [i] Ibid. p. 403. [k] See the laſt chapter, p. 451, & vol. xiii. p. 417. [l] Ibid. [m] Vol. xiii. p. 504---522 [n] Annal. i. c. 49, & ſeq.

among the antient Germans, the Huns, Goths, eaſtern and weſtern, and other Scythian nations, together with their migrations, ſettlements, wars, conqueſts, &c. they will be beſt treated of, each under a ſeparate chapter, according to the beſt accounts we can get from antient authors, and in ſuch a manner as may beſt open the way to the modern hiſtory of the German empire.

(Q) That general was, it ſeems, informed, that the Germans were then celebrating ſome great feſtival; and as he knew it was their

alarmed ſome other German nations againſt them; but theſe, likewiſe, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have ſeen in the Roman hiſtory [o]. The Roman general had ſoon after a fairer field offered to him, on occaſion of the rupture between the two German chiefs, Arminius and Segeſtes, the former a ſworn enemy to the Romans, the latter a ſtaunch friend to them. What advantage Germanicus made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the Germans received ſeveral defeats, and Arminius himſelf, after ſome advantages gained over them, was totally routed [p]. All that we ſhall add concerning this war is, that though it coſt the Roman general very dear [q], yet he had received ſuch reinforcements of men and arms from Gaul and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all Germany; but his ſucceſs raiſed the jealouſy of Tiberius, and occaſioned his being recalled [r].

THEIR other moſt conſiderable wars with the Romans the reader will find in the places quoted in the margin [s]; in the reign of M. Aurelius [t], and afterwards under the following emperors, which we ſhall but juſt mention here, and refer to the places where they are ſpoken of in the Roman hiſtory, viz. againſt Alexander and Maximin [u], againſt Valerian [w] and Aurelian [x], Probus [y], Conſtantius [z], Julian [a], Valentinian, and

[o] Vol. xiii. p. 129, & ſeq. & notes. [p] Ibid. p. 535---542, 547, & ſeq. [q] See ibid. 545. [r] Ibid. p. 562. [s] vol. xiv. p. 432, & ſeq. [t] See vol. xv. p. 13, paſſ & ſeq. [u] Ibid. p. 169, p. 184. [w] Ibid. p. 226. [x] P. 255. [y] P. 279, & ſeq. [z] P. 469. [a] P. 483, & ſeq.

their cuſtom to drink very hard, and to carouſe it all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or faſt aſleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, croſſed the Caſian foreſt all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew any thing of his coming, or were recovered from their debauch. The confuſion that reigned among them upon ſuch a ſurprize, made them become an eaſy prey to him, and he failed not to make the beſt advantage of it; permitting his troops to put all to fire and ſword, ſparing neither age or ſex, or even their moſt ſacred groves; witneſs that famed one of Tanfana, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and levelled to the ground (28).

(28) See Tacitus's ann. c. 50, & ſeq, & vol v. p. 369, & (P).

and ſome of his ſucceſſors [b]: but theſe, and the ſequel of their hiſtory, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters, where we ſhall ſpeak of them under the names of Alemans, Gepidæ, Franks, &c. by which they were diſtinguiſhed, and better known, by that time.

But before we come to their ſeveral hiſtories, it will be neceſſary to paſs, according to our plan, over to the Britiſh iſles, whoſe firſt inhabitants being undoubtedly of antient Celtic extract, as we have, we hope, ſufficiently ſhewn in a former volume [c], as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; whereas thoſe northern people above-mentioned, ſo far as they appear, at leaſt, under thoſe new names, being not only of recenter date than the antient Britons, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be ſpoken of in the ſubſequent chapters, and each in its due order.

[b] P. 582, & ſeq. vol. v. p. 398, & ſeq.

CHAP. XIII.

The antient ſtate and hiſtory of Britain, to its deſertion by the Romans, and the invaſion of the Angles and Saxons.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Britain. The firſt inhabitants. The cuſtoms, religion, government, &c. of the antient Britons. The ſtate of Britain under the Romans.

Britain called, in more antient times, Albion.

THE iſland, which is now called Great Britain, and comprehends the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, with the principality of Wales, was, in more antient times, by way of diſtinction, ſtyled Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the iſlands, that lie round it. Hence, Agathemerus ſpeaking of the Britiſh iſlands, "They are many "in number," ſays he; "but the moſt conſiderable among "them are Hibernia and Albion [a]." And Ptolemy, to the chapter, wherein he deſcribes the iſland now called Great Britain,

[a] Agathem. l. xi. c. 4.

Britain, prefixes the following title; "The ſituation of Al-
"bion, a Britiſh iſland [b]." But, as this far excelled the o-
ther Britiſh iſlands, the name of Albion, in proceſs of time, was quite laid aſide, and that of Britain, by way of excellency, uſed in its room. By this name it was known in Pliny's time, and even in Cæſar's. "The iſland of Britain," ſays Pliny, "ſo much celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers,
"was formerly called Albion, the name of Britain being
"then common to all the iſlands round it [c]. And Cæſar,
"The other angle of Britain, ſhooting out to the weſt, lies
"over-againſt Spain; on which ſide is Hibernia, an iſland
"thought to be half as big as Britain, and about the ſame
"diſtance from Britain, as Britain is from Gaul [d]." Hence it is manifeſt, that the name of Britain, once common to all the iſlands in our ocean, was, in Cæſar's time, and Pliny's, become peculiar to the iſland, which is ſtill known by that name. Whence it had the name of Albion, is uncertain, ſome deriving it from the Greek word alphon, which, according to Feſtus, ſignifies white, the chalky cliffs, that, in ſeveral places, riſe on our coaſts, being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the ſon of Neptune, and mentioned by ſeveral antient writers. Some of our etymologiſts have recourſe to the Hebrew tongue, and ſome to the Phœnician; alben, in the former, ſignifying white; and alp, in the latter, high. The derivation from the Greek word alphon, or from the Hebrew alben, ſeems to be countenanced by the Britiſh poets, who ſtyle Britain Inis Wen, that is, the White Iſland [e]. The origin of the name Britain is no leſs uncertain, than that of Albion. Nennius, and ſome other Britiſh writers, derive it from Brutus, whom they likewiſe call Brito, the fifth in deſcent from the celebrated Æneas. Others bring it from the Britiſh words Pryd Cain, that is, a white form, ſoftened, by degrees, into Britannia. The learned Camden derives it from the words Brith, which, in the antient language of the iſland, ſignifies painted, and Tania, importing, in Greek, a region or country; ſo that the name Brithania, changed in proceſs of time into Britannia, expreſſes what the Britons really were, that is, painted. Somner, diſliking Camden's etymology, propoſes another, viz. that the name Britain comes from Brydio, ſignifying, in the Britiſh tongue, rage, and pointing out the violent motion of the ſea, that ſurrounds the iſland.

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

Whence ſtyled Britain.

Various etymologies of the word Britain.

[b] Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. [c] Plin. l. iv. c. 16. [d] Cæſ. l. v. c. 13.
[e] Vide Seld. annot, ad Polyb. alb. p. 20.

Of theſe four etymologies, the firſt is founded on a fable; and againſt the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanſwerable objection; which is, that the name of Britain was given to the iſland by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the Britiſh tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unaquainted. That the iſland received the name of Britain from foreigners, is evident, ſince the natives never ſtyled themſelves Britons, nor their country Britain, their true name being Cumri, or Cumbri; whence Cambria the name of Wales to this day among the Welſh. Beſides, the ſecond of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving Britain from Pryd Cain, ſeems too far fetched. As to Camden's etymology, Somner obſerves, that Cæſar, in telling us the Britains painted their bodies with woad, ſpeaks only of the inhabitants of Albion; whereas all the iſles in our ocean were called by one general name inſulæ Britannicæ, Britiſh iſlands. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the iſlands in our ocean, ſhould owe its origin to a cuſtom peculiar to one, though the moſt conſiderable among them? As for the rage and fury of the ſea, whence Somner derives the name of Britannia, it is not true, that the ſea rages more on the coaſt of Great Britain than elſewhere. The learned Bochart, ſpeaking of the colonies and language of the Phœnicians, offers a conjecture, which moſt of our modern writers have adopted as the moſt natural. The Phœnicians, according to that writer [f], called this iſland, and ſome others near it, Barat Anac, that is, "the land or country of tin or lead", and more contractedly Bratanac; which name, paſſing from the Phœnicians to the Greeks, and from theſe to the Romans, might have been ſoftened into that of Britannicæ and Britannia. That the Phœnicians firſt diſcovered thoſe iſles, which were afterwards by the Greeks called Caſſiterides, and are proved by Camden to be our Scilly iſlands, appears both from Strabo and Pliny, of whom the former tells us, that the Phœnicians firſt brought tin from the Caſſiterides, which they ſold to the Greeks; but kept the trade to themſelves, and the place private [g]: and the latter writers, that Mediocritus was the firſt, who brought lead from the Caſſiterides [h]; where Bochart ſhews, that we ought to read Melichartus, who is the Phœnician Hercules of Sanchoniathon, to whom the Phœnicians aſcribed their firſt weſtern diſcoveries [i]. But, notwithſtanding the care of the Phœnicians to conceal theſe iſlands, the Greeks at laſt diſcovered them, and gave them the

Bochart's opinion the moſt natural,

[f] Boch. l. i. c. 39. [g] Strab. l. ii. c. 2. [h] Plin. l. vii. c. 36. [i] Boch. ubi ſupra.

the name of Caſſiterides, which, in the Greek tongue, anſwers that of Barat Anac in the Phœnician. This name was at firſt given to the above-mentioned iſlands, but, by degrees, communicated to all the others lying in the ſame ſea. Thus Bochart. But, after all, his opinion, however plauſible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpoſe, as any of the reſt, the late inſtances of names given to new diſcovered countries teaching us, that the origin of ſuch names is not always owing to reaſon, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this iſland is of too antient a date to be traced with any certainty, we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject, and proceed to ſome more material account of the country.

Deſcription of the country.

BRITAIN lies over-againſt France and Germany, as Cæſar obſerved, in a triangular form, having three promonotries ſhooting out three different ways, viz. Belerium, the Land's-end towards the weſt, Cantium, the Kentiſh or North Foreland towards the eaſt, and Traviſium or Orcas, Cathneſs, towards the north. It is divided from Ireland, to the weſt, by the Verginian or Iriſh ſea; waſhed on the north by the northern ocean; on the eaſt, where it faces Germany, by the German ocean; and on the ſouth, towards France, by the Britiſh chanel, called by the Romans Fretum Britannicum. Some writers have thought, that, where the chanel is moſt contracted, the iſland was antiently joined by an iſthmus to the continent [k]; It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north latitude, extending from north to ſouth about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compaſs its three ſides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coaſt, about eighteen hundred miles. The ſouth ſide, extending from the North Foreland in Kent to the Land's-end in Cornwall, contains about three hundred miles; the weſt ſide, from the Land's-end to the moſt northern point of Scotland, about eight hundred; and the eaſt ſide about ſeven hundred. Were Great Britain to be conſidered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three ſides, put together, would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleaſantneſs of Britain gave occaſion to Iſaacius Tzetzes to imagine, that theſe were the fortunate iſlands, deſcribed by the poets, where the face of nature ſmiled with a perpetual ſpring.

[k] Vide Serv. in Virg. "Et penitustoto diviſos, &c." White hiſt. Brit. l. ii. not. 2. Burton. comment. in Anton. p. 18, 19. Twin. de reb. Albion. Sammes Brit. l. i. c. 4. Verſtegan. l. i. c. 4.

ſpring. It was, in former times, the granary of the weſtern empire; for hence was every year tranſported an immenſe quantity of corn for the ſupply of the armies on the frontiers of Germany. But the convenience of its ſituation, the fertility of its ſoil, and the innumerable bleſſings, with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, deſcribed by two antient panegyriſts, one of whom pronounced his ſpeech before Conſtantine, and the other before Conſtantius. To theſe we refer the reader, and paſs to the firſt inhabitants of this iſland.

Its firſt inhabitants.

THE ſouthern parts of Britain were peopled, according to Cæſar [l], by the Gauls. Tacitus is of the ſame opinion: "If "we conſider all circumſtances," ſays he, "it is probable, "that Gaul firſt peopled Britain, which lies ſo near it [m]." This opinion, which is followed by moſt of the antient, as well as the modern writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement obſerved by the Roman writers between the two nations in their cuſtoms, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, &c. Beſides, as the Gauls ſent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace, and Aſia, it is but reaſonable to conclude, that they did the ſame with reſpect to Britain, which lay ſo near them, that they could diſcern it from the continent, and was no leſs plentiful than the other countries, where they ſettled. As for the more northern inhabitants of Britain, Tacitus infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumſtances, that they came from Germany [n]; and Cæſar telling us, that they were Aborigines, ſeems to imply, that he diſcovered no affinity in their language, manners, cuſtoms, &c. with thoſe of Gaul, and the ſouthern parts of Britain.

The origin of the Picts.

As for the Picts, who held the eaſtern parts of Britain, which lay north of the Tine, the venerable Bede tells us, that they came out of Scythia in long ſhips, and landed firſt in the north of Ireland; but not being ſuffered to ſettle there by the Scots, who then poſſeſſed that iſland, they were adviſed to plant themſelves in the north part of Britain; which they did accordingly, with the aſſiſtance of the Scots, who moreover ſupplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, the Picts ſhould prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is obſerved among them, ſays Bede, to this day [o]. By Scythia Bede perhaps meant

[l] Cæſar, l. v. c. 16. [m] Tacit. vit. Agr. [n] Idem ibid.
[o] Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 1.

meant the northern parts of Germany; for that Scandinavia, now comprehending the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, was, by the beſt writers of the middle ages, ſtyled Scythia, is ſhewn by the learned Uſher [p], and Stillingfleet [q], of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of Hector Boetius, deriving the Picts from the Agathyrſi, who, from Sarmatia, came into Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, and from thence into Scotland [r]. As no Roman author makes mention of the Picts before Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about the end of the fourth century, ſome writers are of opinion, that the Picts were not a diſtinct people from the Britons, but ſuch of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the Romans, had retired into the northern parts of the iſland; where, continuing to paint their bodies, they were, by the Romans, called Picti, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe, who, ſubmitting to Rome, had laid aſide that cuſtom, and adopted the Roman manners. To confirm this opinion, they allege the authority of Cambden, who, in his introduction, endeavours to ſhew, that the names of places, formerly held by the Picts in the ſouth and weſt parts of Scotland, are Britiſh, and conſequently, that one and the ſame was the language of the Britons and Picts. But that theſe two nations ſpoke different languages, is manifeſt beyond diſpute from Bede, who tells us, that, in his time, God was ſerved in five ſeveral languages in Britain, viz. of the Angles, of the Britons, of the Scots, of the Picts, and of the Latins; which latter was commonly uſed in divine worſhip [s]. Now, this difference of language, which Bede, who lived ſo near a neighbour to the Picts, could not be ignorant of, weighs down, with us, all the arguments, that are alledged to prove, that the Britons and Picts were one and the ſame people. Beſides, it is certain, that the Picts were, for ſeveral ages, a ſeparate and diſtinct nation, differing both from Scots and Britons, not only in their language, but in their laws and cuſtoms. The contrary opinion is entirely built on the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word Picti; which is but a weak foundation, ſince ſome writers, and among the reſt Verſtegan, derive the name of the Picts from a word in their own language ſignifying warrior. The Scots called them Pehiti, which name, in the opinion of ſome antiquaries, anſwers that of Picts, from the Latin word Picti; but others think it highly improbable, that the Scots, who were late ſubdued by the Romans, and continued

Whether the Picts and Britons one and the ſame people.

[p] Uſſ. antiq. Brit. c. 15. [q] Stillingf. orig. Brit. c. 5.
[r] Idem ibid. [s] Bed. l. i. c. 1.

nued but a ſhort time under their dominion, ſhould give their neighbours a Roman name. Buchanan takes the name of Picts to be Roman; but at the ſame time pretends they came from certain Gauliſh colonies ſettled in Thrace, where they painted their bodies, as well as in Britain. The ſame author adds, that the Picts ſpoke the ſame language as the Britons and Scots. But herein he is contradicted, not only by Bede, whom we have quoted above, but by John Major, one of the moſt antient Scots hiſtorians, who tells us, that as yet, that is, in his time, "almoſt half Scotland ſpoke the Iriſh "tongue, which they had brought over with them from "Ireland."

The origin of the Scots.

As for the origin of the Scots, Bede tells us, that they came into this iſland out of Ireland: "In proceſs of time," ſays that writer [t], "Britain received a third nation, viz. the "Scots, beſides the Britons and Picts, who, coming out of "Ireland, under the conduct of one Reuda, poſſeſſed them-"ſelves of thoſe territories, which they ſtill hold among the "Picts." From this Reuda, adds our hiſtorian, they are called, to this day, Dalreudini, the word Dal, in their language, ſignifying ſhare or portion. But of this colony, and the time, in which it is ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the north part of Britain, called afterwards Scotland, we ſhall ſpeak more at length in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

The cuſtoms and manners of the antient Britons

To return to the Britons: their manners, cuſtoms, religion, form of government, &c. are deſcribed, not only by Cæſar in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the Romans were become maſters of the iſland. The country was, according to Cæſar, well peopled, and ſtocked with cattle. Their houſes were not unlike thoſe of the Gauls. They uſed copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain ſtandard, inſtead of money. If they bred domeſtic fouls, hens or geeſe, it was for their diverſion, being ſtrictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the Britons thoſe, who inhabited Cantium or Kent, were the moſt civilized, not differing much in their manners from the Gauls. The more inland people, for the moſt part, ſowed no corn, their uſual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well ſtored. The uſe of cloaths was ſcarce known in the iſland. Only the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt covered their nakedneſs with ſkins of wild beaſts, careleſsly thrown over them, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the ſtrangers,

[t] Idem ibid.

ſtrangers, who came to trade with them. All the Britons painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a ſky-colour, and wore long hair; but ſhaved the reſt of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One cuſtom prevailed among them, which ſeemed deteſtable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common [u]. This cuſtom continued among them ſome time after the Romans were maſters of the iſland; for Diodorus Siculus tells us, that a Britiſh lady, being upbraided with this uſage by Julia, wife to the emperor Severus, returned her this ſmart anſwer: "Surely the Roman ladies ought not to "reproach us on this account, ſince we do publicly with the "beſt of men no more than what they do privately with the "worſt of their freemen and ſlaves [x]." They abſtained from all manner of fiſh, though the ſeas, that ſurrounded their iſland, and their rivers, were plentifully ſtored with them [y]. Their towns, or rather villages, were a confuſed parcel of huts, placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and, generally ſpeaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with ſlight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground [z]. Strabo tells us, that they exceeded the Gauls in ſtature, but their bodies were not ſo well-ſet; that he ſaw, at Rome, ſome of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and diſtinct governments among them; that their woods ſerved them inſtead of cities; for having cut down trees, and incloſed with them a large, round ſpot of ground, there they built huts for themſelves, and folds for their cattle [a]. Diodorus Siculus ſpeaking of the manners and cuſtoms of the antient Britons. Their houſes, ſays he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they conſume in one day; they are ſimple and upright in their dealings, and ſtrangers to the craft and ſubtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are ſatisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their iſland abounds with men, who are ſubject to divers kings and princes. Thus Diodorus [b]. And Pomponius Mela: Britain is well peopled, and obeys ſeveral kings; but they are all rough and unpoliſhed, and the farther they live from the continent, the leſs they are acquainted

[u] Cæſ. comm. l. v. [x] Diod. Sic. l. lxxvi. [y] Cæſ. ubi ſup. Idem ibid Strab. l. iv. [b] Diod. Sic. l. iv.

ed with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for ſome other cauſe, is uncertain. Ambition of empire, and deſire of enlarging their dominions, prompt them to diſturb each other with frequent wars [c]. Tacitus writes, that the Britons, in their manners, reſembled the Gauls, which was owing either to the ſame original, or the like climate; that the Britons however, not yet ſoftened by a long peace, ſhewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in Agricola's time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. Tacitus adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the Romans againſt the moſt powerful among them, than their not conſulting one common intereſt, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight ſeparately, ſays that author, they are all alike overcome [d]. Dion Caſſius, as epitomized by Xiphilin, ſpeaking of the more northern Britons, ſays, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruits; that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority reſided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a ſhield, and a ſhort ſpear, to the lower end of which was faſtened a ball of braſs, in order to terrify the enemy with the noiſe, when they ſhook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardſhips, continues the ſame writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occaſions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirſt for a conſiderable time after [e]. Herodian and Solinus, in deſcribing the more northern nations of Britain, tell us, that they knew not the uſe of garments, but girt their waiſts and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being no leſs in requeſt among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep inciſions in their bodies in the ſhape of flowers, trees and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a ſky-colour, that never wore out [f]. They are a warlike nation, adds Herodian, and moſt greedy of ſlaughter. In war they uſe a narrow ſhield, a lance, and a ſword. As for breaſt-plates and helmets, they look upon them as an incumbrance [g]. Pliny obſerves, among their other cuſtoms, that

[c] Pomp. Mel. de ſitu orbis, l. iii. c. 2.
[d] Tacit. vit. Agric.
[e] Dio apud Xiphilin. l. lxiii. & Herodian. l. xi. & Solin. l. vii. c. 8.
[f] Herodian.
[g] Herod. ibid.

that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which muſt be underſtood of the more civilized Britons dwelling near the coaſt; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themſelves to agriculture.

As to their manner of fighting, Cæſar, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made uſe of chariots, driving furiouſly among the enemy's ranks, and diſcharging their darts, by which means they often put the Romans in diſorder. When they engaged the horſe, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themſelves ſo, that their maſters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an eaſy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, ſays Cæſar, both the ſpeed of the horſe, and the ſteadineſs of the foot, and were, by daily practice, ſo expert, that they could ſtop their horſes on a ſteep deſcent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compaſs, run along the pole, ſit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickneſs, return to their chariots. Thus Cæſar [h]. But why they choſe to engage the horſe rather on foot than in their chariots, is not eaſily conceived. Their manner of fighting.

THEIR trade was very inconſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenient ſituation of their iſland for carrying on an extenſive commerce. Their veſſels were very ſmall, with their keels and ribs made of ſlight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which ſhews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to ſea beyond the coaſts of Gaul. Their chief traffick was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, which happened, according to Sammes, before the Trojan war [i], yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they ſold to the Greeks, and other diſtant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the Phœnicians, with great care, concealed, for many ages, the fountain-head; but the Greeks diſcovered it at length, about an hundred and ſixty years before Julius Cæſar, as Sammes will have it [k], and traded to the ſame place, giving the iſlands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of Caſſiterides, anſwering, as we have obſerved above, the Phœnician name Barat-Anac. But this trade was only carried on in the Scilly iſlands, Their trade.

[h] Cæſ. comment. l. iv. ibid. [i] Sam. Brit. p. 47. [k] Idem

islands, where Camden tells us that some veins of lead were found even in his time.

Their religion.

THE religion of the antient Britons was, as Cæsar informs us [l], much the same with that of their neighbours the Gauls. They worshipped Jupiter under the name of Taramis, or Taran, signifying in the antient British language, as it does still in the Welsh, thunder. Maximus Tyrius writes, that they paid divine worship to the highest oak they could find, as the figure or representation of this god. Their other deities were Tutates, called by the Britons Duw Taith, the god of journeys, and supposed to be the same with Mercury; Hesus, called also Camulus, according to Camden, the god of war, or the Mars of the Britons; Beleus or Belinus, that is, as appears from a passage of Julius Capitolinus [m], Apollo, who is also supposed to have been called Belatucardus, this inscription, Deo Belatucardo, being found in several monuments of antiquity. As for their goddesses, they worshipped Diana under the name of Camma, and paid a very particular veneration to Andate, their goddess of victory, who had a temple at Camalodunum, now Maldon in Essex. To her they are said, by Dion Cassius, who calls her Andraste, to have sacrificed their prisoners of war [n]. The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the Britons as well as the Gauls, committed to the Druids, whose authority was great, not only in religious, but civil affairs. Their name seems to come from the British word Deru, or the Greek word Drus, both signifying an oak, not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistleto that grows on the oak, but likewise because their usual residence was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some branches or leaves of that tree [o]. They were held, both by the Britons and Gauls, in such veneration, that their authority was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing rewards, or inflicting punishments, the deciding controversies, let the difference be of what nature soever; and whoever refused to obey their decree, whether lord or vassal, was excluded from the sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that could be inflicted; for such as were thus, we may say, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as such, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a suit,

The Druids.

[l] Cæs. comment. l. iv. [m] Jul. Capit. in. vit. Maximin.
[n] Dio, l. lxiii. [o] Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

a ſuit, to diſcharge any public office, or to have the leaſt regard paid them. Theſe Druids had a ſuperintendant or pontiff, to whom they were all ſubject. Upon his deceaſe, the *moſt worthy* ſucceeded him; but, if there happened to be ſeveral condidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and ſometimes, as Cæſar tells us, by the ſword. Once a year, the Druids of Gaul had a general aſſembly in the midſt of the country, to which reſorted perſons from all quarters, who had any controverſies to decide, every one ſubmitting readily to their decrees [p]. The diſcipline of the Druids was thought, as Cæſar writes [q], to have been firſt inſtituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul; for, even in his time, thoſe who were deſirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this iſland to learn it. The Druids were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and impoſts, and met with ſuch encouragement, that many embraced that profeſſion. The youth, eſpecially the nobility, were educated by them. Thoſe who embraced the ſame profeſſion were, firſt of all, obliged to learn by heart a great number of verſes; which employed ſome, ſays Cæſar, for the ſpace of twenty years; for the Druids never committed any thing to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on all other occaſions, they made uſe of Greek characters, but in order to lock up, by that means, their myſterious learning from the vulgar, or to exerciſe the memory of their diſciples. Thus Cæſar. But from hence we muſt not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the Greek tongue, ſince Cæſar himſelf, when he wrote to Q. Cicero, beſieged among the Nervii, penned his letter in Greek, to prevent its giving, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy; which plainly ſhews, they were ſtrangers to that language. Selden thinks the word Græcis has crept into the text, the meaning of Cæſar being, that the Druids never committed their learning to writing, but, on all occaſions, made uſe of letters; which opinion does not appear to us ill grounded. One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the ſoul, and its tranſmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inſpire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They inſtructed their youth in ſeveral other traditions concerning the ſtars, and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal

[p] Cæſ. l. vi. Plin. ubi ſup. [q] Cæſ. ibid.

mortal gods[r]. There were women as well as men Druids; for a female Druid of Tungria, now the bishoprick of Liege, foretold to Diocletian, as we read in Vopiscus, when yet a private soldier, that he should one day be emperor. The sect and religion of the Druids spread as far as Italy; for Augustus published an edict, forbidding the Romans to celebrate their mysteries. Besides the Druids, there were, among the Britons and Gauls, priests of an inferior rank, called Bards, whose province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verses, which they sung to the harp. The Bards were still in Britain, after the Romans had entirely abandoned it.

The civil government of Britain.

THE same form of government prevailed in Britain, as in Gaul; that is, the whole country was divided into several small states, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of these heads or kings, Cæsar mentions four in the small compass of Kent. Whether these states were hereditary, or elective, we find no-where recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of these heads or kings was, in a general assembly, and by common consent, chosen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when Cæsar invaded the island, the chief command of all the British forces was conferred upon Cassibelanus; and when the Britons revolted in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, king of the Silures, was chosen general. As in other cases, the several states, into which Britain was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and contests among themselves. But of their affairs before Cæsar's invasion we have no account, but such as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the English historian, as Camden well observes, to begin his history.

Division of the country.

THAT part of Britain, which comprehends the present kingdom of England, and the principality of Wales, was in antient times divided into seventeen petty states, whereof the inhabitants were distinguished by the following names, viz. the Damnonii, the Durotriges, the Belgæ, the Attrebatii, the Regni, the Cantii, the Dobuni, the Catticuchlani, the Trinobantes, the Iceni, the Coritani, the Cornavii, the Silures, the Dimetæ, the Ordovices, the Brigantes, the Ottadini. That part of Britain, which extends a great way to the west, and is bounded on the north by the Severn sea, on the south by the British ocean, and on the west by St. George's

[r] Idem ibid.

George's chanel, was antiently inhabited by thoſe Britons, who are called by Solinus, Dunmonii, by Ptolemy, Domnonii, and, in the more correct copies, Danmonii. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninſula, now comprehending the counties of Cornwall and Devon, the following places are mentioned by Ptolemy [s], viz. the eſtuary Vexalla formed by the confluence of the two rivers Pedredus and Ivellus, now the Parret and the Ill; the promontory of Hercules, about half-way between that eſtuary and another promontory, called by Ptolemy, Bolerium, and by Diodorus Siculus [t], Belerium. The promontory Belerium, which is by Ptolemy called alſo Antiveſtæum, is the moſt weſtern point of Britain, now known by the name of the Land's-end. Not far from this ſhoots out to the ſouth the promontory Danmonium, or Ocrinum, now the Lizard. On the ſouth coaſt the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, viz. Voliba, now Falmouth; the mouth of the Tamara, now the Tamar or Tamer, on which ſtands the town of Plymouth; the mouth of the Iſca, now the Ex. The inland places mentioned by Ptolemy are, Iſca Danmoniorum, Exeter; Tamare, Taviſtock; Uxella; according to Camden, Leſtwithiel. The Danmonii.

Next to the Danmonii, eaſtward, were the Durotriges, inhabiting that tract, which is now called Dorſetſhire. In this country Ptolemy take notice of one place only, which he calls Dunium, and Antoninus, in his itinerary, Durnovaria. All critics agree, that, inſtead of Dunium, we ought to read in Ptolemy, Durnium; and that this was the antient name of Dorcheſter, the chief town of the county of Dorſet. Durotriges.

To the north and eaſt of the country of the Durotriges, were ſituated the Belgæ, who poſſeſſed Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Hampſhire. In this country Ptolemy and Antoninus mention on the coaſt Magnus Portus, Portſmouth; and Triſantonis Portus, Southampton, ſo called from the river Triſanto, now Hampton, on which it ſtands. Either Portus Triſantonis, or another place very near it, is called by Antoninus, Clauſentum. In the inland country ſtood Venta Belgarum, Wincheſter, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in Ptolemy and Antoninus; Aquæcalidæ, or, as Antoninus ſtyles it, Aquæſolis, ſo called from its hot waters, now Bath; Iſcalis or Iſchalis, Ilcheſter. On the Belgæ bordered the Attrebatii, the inhabitants of Berkſhire. The Attrebatii, as well as the Belgæ, came originally from Belgæ. Attrebatii.

[s] Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. [t] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 22.

Belgic Gaul, as we read in Cæſar [u], and ſettling in Britain, retained their antient names. The chief city of the Attrebatii was Calcua, as Ptolemy calls it, or Caleva, as it is named by Antoninus, now Wallingford. Antoninus mentions another place, viz. Spinæ, which, according to Camden, ſtill retains its antient name, being called Spene; but is now only a village near Newbury, which roſe out of its ruins.

Regni. On the country of the Attrebatii, bordered that of the Regni, comprehending Surry, Suſſex, and part of the ſea-coaſt of Hampſhire. In this country Ptolemy mentions but one city, viz. Noviomagus, which is alſo taken notice of by Marinus Tyrius, as appears from Ptolemy [x]. Some antiquaries take this to be the preſent town of Guilford; but Noviomagus was only ten miles diſtant from London, as we read in Antoninus's itinerary; whereas Guilford is thirty. Camden tells us, that, in his time, were ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a city, anſwering exactly the diſtance ſet down in the itinerary. Beſides Noviomagus, Antoninus mentions ſeveral other places in the country of the Regni, viz. Othona, where was, according to the Notitia, the ſtation of the Roman ſoldiers called Fortenſes. Camden takes Othona to have ſtood where Haſtings now ſtands. Portus Adurni, now the ſmall village of Ederington, and Regnum, now Ringwood, that is, the wood or foreſt of the Regni, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the Regni, namely at Ockham in Surry, where the Wey falls into the Thames, at a place to this day called Coway-ſtakes, from the ſtakes, with which the Britons had fenced the bank, Cæſar paſſed the Thames, and entered the territories of Caſſivelan. Cæſar croſſed the Thames eighty miles from the ſea; and this is the only place, at that diſtance, where the river is fordable. To the eaſt of the

Cantii. Belgæ and Attrebatii, lay the country of the Cantii, called by Ptolemy and Cæſar [y], Cantium, by Bede, Cantia [z], now Kent. The Cantii were, according to Cæſar, the moſt civilized of all the Britons, not differing much, in their cuſtoms and manners, from their neighbours the Gauls [a]. The places in Cantium, mentioned by the antients, are, Durovernum, Durobrivis, Durolenum, Portus Rutupiæ, Portus Dubris, Regulbium or Regulvium, and Portus Lemanis, now Canterbury, Rocheſter, Lenham, Dover, Reculver, and Lime. Whether Rutupiæ and Portus Rutupenſis, called by Tacitus Portus

[u] Cæſ. comm. l. v. c. 12. [x] Ptol. l. i. c. 15. [y] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Cæſ. comm. l. v. c. 14. [z] Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 26. & l. iii. c. 3. [a] Cæſ. ibid.

Portus Trutulenſis, were one and the ſame place, is queſtioned by our antiquaries. Somner thinks they were two places [b], contrary to the opinion of Leland, Lambard, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right; but it is not probable, ſays Camden, that Sandwich was the Portus Rutupenſis, it being evident, that Stonar was the road, where the ſhips lay, that came to Rutupiæ; and Somner himſelf allows Stonar to have been an antient port [c]. In the opinion of Camden therefore, Portus Rutupenſis was Stonar, and Rutupiæ the preſent village of Richborough, at ſome diſtance from the ſea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the Roman times, Geſſoriacum, now Bologne, and Rutupiæ or Portus Rutupenſis, were, for thoſe who from Gaul came into Britain, or from Britain croſſed over into Gaul, what in our times are Dover and Calais. Hence, frequent mention is made of Rutupiæ by the Latin writers [d]; nay the word Rutupinus was, by ſome of the poets, uſed inſtead of Britannus [e], ſo famous was Rutupiæ in the Roman times. Portus Dubris, now Dover, is firſt mentioned by Antoninus; but, before the Romans abandoned the iſland, it became no leſs famous than Rutupiæ itſelf. At Rutupiæ was quartered the ſecond legio Auguſta; at Portus Dubris the Tungricani; at Portus Lemanis, or Novus Portus, as Ptolemy calls it, the Turnacenſes; and at Regulbium or Regulvium, the firſt cohort of the Betaſii, as we read in the Notitia. Ptolemy reckons Londinium, London, among the cities of the Cantii; but he was therein certainly miſtaken. When the Roman government was eſtabliſhed in Britain, the ſea-coaſt of Kent, which they termed littus Saxonicum, or the Saxon ſhore, had, from the time of Dioclefian, a particular governor, called by Marcellinus, count of the ſea-coaſt, and by the Notitia, count of the Saxon ſhore, whoſe province it was to prevent the barbarians, eſpecially the Saxons, who began then to infeſt Britain, from plundering the country. In imitation of the Romans, our anceſtors ſet over this coaſt a governor or portreve, commonly called the warden of the cinque ports, from his preſiding over five ports. Cæſar landed, when he invaded Britain, in the country of the Cantii, and, as is commonly believed, at Deal, on the twenty-ſixth of

[b] Som. ports and forts, p. 3, 4. [c] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 244. [d] Vide Lucan. l. v. c. 67. Juven. ſatir. iv. ver. 140. Auſon, parental. xviii. & de clar. urb. Zoſ. l. iv. c. 25, 46. Ammian. Marcel. l. xx. c. 1. & l. xxvii. c. 18, Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 38. [e] Juven. & Auſon. ibid.

Auguſt, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Chriſt [f]. Cantium is parted from the continent by a narrow ſea, called by Solinus, Fretum Gallicum; by Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, Fretum Oceani, and Oceanus Fretalis. Thus far of that part of Britain, which is bounded by the ocean, the Severn ſea, and the river Thames.

Dobuni. ON the north ſide of the Thames, near its head, are placed by Ptolemy the Dobuni, the antient inhabitants of Gloceſterſhire and Oxforſhire. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely Corinium, called by Antoninus, ſo far as we can conjecture from the diſtances ſet down in his itinerary, Durocornovium, which ſtood in or near the place, where the preſent town of Cirenceſter ſtands. Two other places are taken notice of by Antoninus, viz. Altone, or Avone, and Clevum, or Glevum, built by the Romans, as a curb upon the Silures, now Alvington and Gloceſter. To the eaſt of the Dobuni lay the country of the Cattieuchlani, Calyeuchlani, Cattidudani, Cathicludani, as they are ſtyled in different copies of Ptolemy's works. Dion calls them Cattuellani, and alſo Caſſii. In their country, which comprehended Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Hertfordſhire, the following places are named by Antoninus; Lactodorum, Bedford; Magiovinium, Aſhwell; Durocobrivis or Durocobrivæ, Hertford; Pontes, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from London; and Verulamium, mentioned not only by Antoninus, but by Ptolemy, and all the Roman writers, who ſpeak of Britain. Camden conjectures Verulamium to have been the town of Caſſivelan, which was taken by Cæſar [g]. In Nero's time it was a municipium, as we read in Tacitus [h]; but being afterwards deſtroyed, as is ſuppoſed, in the Saxon war, the town of St. Albans roſe out of its ruins, which are ſtill called Verulam. In the country of the Cattieuchlani, Ptolemy mentions only Verulamium, which he calls Urolamium, and Salenæ, of which no footſteps are remaining. Before the arrival of Cæſar, the Cattieuchlani had reduced great part of the country belonging to the Dobuni, and were conſtantly at war with their neighbours.

Cattieuchlani.

Trinobantes. NEXT to the Cattieuchlani were the Trinobantes, as Cæſar calls them, or Trinonnantes, as they are ſtyled by Tacitus and Ptolemy. They inhabited the preſent countries of Middleſex and Eſſex. To them belonged the city of London, called by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Antoninus, Londinium; by Ammianus,

[f] Vide Halley philoſoph. tranſact. N° 193.

[g] Cæſ. comm. l. v. c. 21.

[h] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 33.

Ammianus, Lundinum; by Stephanus, Lindonion; and by Bede, Lundonia and civitas Lundonia [i]. There ſeems to have been no ſuch place as London in Cæſar's time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in Nero's, as appears from Tacitus [k]. It muſt therefore have been founded between the times of theſe two emperors, and, in all likelihood, as the learned biſhop of Worceſter thinks, about the time of Claudius. Tacitus calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourſe of merchants, though not diſtinguiſhed with the title of colony [l]. Whether in proceſs of time it attained this honour, may be queſtioned; for though Ammianus Marcellinus ſtyles it Auguſta, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a Roman colony, ſince antiquaries, of no mean character, are of opinion, that the emperors allowed ſome towns, that were not colonies, to aſſume that title [m]. Perhaps it took the name of Auguſta from Conſtantine the Great, who is ſaid to have ſurrounded it with a wall. Ptolemy, as we have obſerved above, and alſo Ravennas, place London in Cantium, on the ſouth ſide of the Thames. The other towns of the Trinobantes were, Durolitum, Cæſaromagus, Cononium, Camalodunum, and Colonia, now Leighton, Burghſtead, Cannonden, Maldon, and Colcheſter. Camalodunum, called by Ptolemy, Camudolanum, was the firſt Roman colony in Britain, granted by the emperor Claudius to the veterans, who, driving out the natives, ſettled there; but they were afterwards themſelves, in a general inſurrection, either driven out, or put to the ſword, the theatre, the temple of Claudius, and the ſeveral villa's in the neighbourhood, belonging to the Roman commanders, being utterly demoliſhed by the incenſed Britons, who looked upon the colony as the ſeat of ſlavery [n]. The country bordering on that of the Trinobantes, and comprehending the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, was inhabited by the Iceni, called by Ptolemy, Simeni, and by others, Tigeni. Camden is of opinion, that the Iceni were the people, whom Cæſar calls Cenomagni [o]. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by Ptolemy and Antoninus, Villa Fauſtini, Cambretonium, Sitomagus, Venta Icenorum, Garienis Oſtium, Iciani, Brannodium, and Durobrivæ, now St. Edmundsbury, Bretenham, Thetford, Caſtle, Yarmouth, Ichburrough, Brancaſter, Dornford. In the Roman times, Iceni.

[i] Bed. l ii. c. 4, 7, 3. [k] Tacit. ubi ſup. [l] Idem ibid.
[m] Vide Cell. geog. antiq. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 4. [n] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 31. & vit. Agricol. c. 16. [o] Camd. Brit. p. 434.

the commander of the horſe under the count of the Saxon ſhore was ſtationed at Oſtium Garienis, called alſo Oppidum Garianorum; and the Dalmatian horſe, as appears from the Notitia, at Brannodunum. To theſe we may add Camboritum, mentioned by Antoninus, though not by Ptolemy, and in the itinerary placed on the Cam, where the preſent city of Cambridge ſtands; which Camden ſuppoſes to have been built out of the ruins of Camboritum.

Coritani. On the Iceni bordered the Coritani, whoſe country comprehended Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire. Their chief places were, Lindum, Lincoln; Tripontium, Towceſter; Bennavenna or Beneventa, thought to be Northampton; Ratæ, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rage, according to Camden, Leiceſter; Verometum, Burrowhill; Margidunum, Margedoverton; Pontes, Panton; Crococolanum, and Agelocum, or, as Camden will have it, Adelocum, Idleton. Lindum, called by Bede, Lindocolina civitas, was, according to Ptolemy, the metropolis of the Coritani. In this country, between the ſprings of the Nen and the Avon, are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of antient fortifications and military fences, erected, as Camden believes, by Oſtorius governor of Britain, after he had fortified the banks of the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, in order to prevent the irruptions of thoſe who inhabited Wales, and the north parts of Britain. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eaſtward, and the other weſtward, were well defended, the only paſſage from the north into the hither part of Britain was between the ſprings of theſe two rivers; and this paſs was defended with ſtrong works, whereof the ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at Gildsborough and Dantry. Oſtorius, ſays Tacitus [p], after having diſarmed ſuch as were ſuſpected, by fortifying the banks of the Antona and Sabrina, reſtrained them from breaking into the province; where, inſtead of Antona, mentioned by no other writer, Camden reads Auſona, or Avona, which name was, according to him, common to the Nen and Avon [q]. To the weſt of the Coritani, were

Cornavii. ſituated the Cornavii, who, according to Ptolemy's deſcription of their country, ſeem to have poſſeſſed Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire. Their chief towns were, Branonium, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Branogenium, Worceſter; Præſidium on the Auſona or Avona, Warwick, where the prefect or commander of the Dalmatian

[p] Tacit. l. xii. c. 31. [q] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 404.

Dalmatian horſe was poſted by the appointment of the governor of Britain, as we read in the Notitia; Pennocrucium, Penkridge; Viroconinum or Uricomium, as Ptolemy calls it, the metropolis of the Cornavii, probably built by the Romans, when they fortified the banks of the Severn, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a ſmall village, called Wrockceſter. Out of its ruins roſe the preſent town of Shrewsbury. Deva, or Deuna, as Ptolemy calls it, on the river Deva, from whence the town borrowed its name, now Cheſter. It was antiently a Roman colony, and the ſtation of the twentieth legion, ſurnamed Victrix. Condate, Congleton; and Rutunium, now Routon.

THE principality of Wales, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the Severn, was, in the Roman times, inhabited by the Silures, the Demetæ, and Ordovices. To theſe belonged not only the twelve counties of Wales, but likewiſe the two others lying beyond the Severn, viz. Herefordſhire and Monmouthſhire, now reckoned among the Engliſh counties. The Silures and Demetæ, according to the deſcription Ptolemy gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of South Wales, and compriſes the following counties, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Glamorganſhire, with Herefordſhire and Monmouthſhire. As to the origin of the people, Tacitus is of opinion, that they came originally from Spain, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their ſituation over againſt that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and reſolution, utterly averſe to ſervitude, and great ſticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the Romans under Oſtorius, Veranius, and Julius Frontinus, who in the end ſubdued them. In Herefordſhire ſtood Bletium, now the Old Town on the Munow; and about three ſhort miles weſt of the preſent city of Hereford, near the village of Kencheſter, Ariconium, mentioned by Antoninus. In this country are to be ſeen the veſtiges of ſeveral Roman camps. In Brecknockſhire, towards the north, where it is divided from Radnorſhire by the Wye, ſome place Bullæum Silurum; but others think it ſtood in Glamorganſhire. Brecknock, the chief town of the country, was inhabited, in the Roman times, as appears from ſeveral Roman coins found there, from a Roman brick diſcovered with this inſcription, "Leg. II. Aug." and from a ſquare camp near this place, called by the natives Gaer, that is, fortification. In Monmouthſhire, about three miles from Chepſtow, which ſtands near the fall of the Wye into the Severn, Silures.

Severn, is placed by all our antiquaries Venta Silurum, called to this day Kaer-went, that is, the city Venta; but now only ſome ruins of it are to be ſeen. On the north-weſt border of the country ſtood Gobannium, mentioned by Antoninus, at the confluence of the Iſca, now Wyſk or Uſk, and the Govenni; whence it took the name of Gobannium, which, with a ſmall alteration, it retains to this day, being called Aber-Gavenni, that is, the confluence of the Gavenni or Gobannium. About twelve miles from Gobannium, Antoninus places Burrium, where the Birdhin or Birthin falls into the Uſk. This place is now known to the Welſh by the name of Brynbiga, and to the Engliſh by that of Uſk. On the other ſide the Uſk, twelve miles from Burrium, ſtood Iſca Silurum, where the ſecond legion was ſtationed; whence it is ſtyled by Antoninus, Legio Secunda, and by the Britons to this day Kaer-Lheion, or Kaer-Wyſk, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river Uſk. The Legio Secunda, called alſo Britannica Secunda, was raiſed by Auguſtus, and removed out of Germany into Britain by Claudius, under the conduct of Veſpaſian, to whom, upon his aſpiring to the empire, it ſecured the Britiſh legions. It was placed in garriſon at Iſca by Julius Frontinus againſt the Silures, and long after that, that is, in the reign of Valentinian, tranſlated from thence by count Theodoſius, the father of Theodoſius the Great, to Rutupiæ, as we read in the Notitia, and in Marcellinus[r]. At Iſca Silurum, many monuments of atiquity have been diſcovered, as the reader will find in Camden[s]. The moſt ſouthern country formerly belonging to the Silures, is Glamorganſhire, where, at a ſmall diſtance from the Remney, which divides it on the eaſt from Monmouthſhire, is to be ſeen Kaer-phily-caſtle, in the opinion of Camden, the moſt noble and antient piece of architecture remaining in Britain. That this caſtle was built by the Romans, ſeems highly probable, though we have no other reaſon to conclude it Roman, but the ſtatelineſs of its ſtructure, no Roman inſcriptions, ſtatues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been diſcovered there. Camden thinks it was the Bullæum Silurum, of which we have ſpoken above.

Demetæ. THE remaining part of South Wales, comprehending Caer-Mardhinſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire, was likewiſe inhabited, according to Pliny, by the Silures; but Ptolemy, to whom Britain was better known, placed another nation here, called by him Demetæ and Dimetæ. Beſides, both

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18.

[s] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 718, 728.

both Gildas and Nennius ſtyle this country Demetia; and the Britons to this day call it Dyved, changing M into V, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the Latin name Dimetia owes its origin to the Britiſh Dyved; for it was the cuſtom of the Romans, as Camden obſerves, to retain ſuch names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a Latin termination. In the country of the Demetæ, Ptolemy takes notice only of two places, Loventium or Luentium, at the mouth of the Tuerobis, now the Towy, and Maridunum, or, as Antoninus calls it, Muridunum, now Caer-Mardhin. The country now known by the name of North Wales, and comprehending Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvanſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire, was inhabited by the Ordovices, a brave and powerful nation, who held out firſt againſt the Romans, and afterwards againſt the Engliſh, after the other Britons were ſubdued; for by the Romans they were not reduced till the time of Domitian, nor by the Engliſh, till the reign of Henry I. In their country, namely in Montgomeryſhire, where the village of Meviod ſtands at preſent, ſtood formerly, according to the conjectures of the beſt antiquaries, the city of Mediolanum, celebrated both by Ptolemy and Antoninus. Beſides Mediolanum, Antoninus mentions other places in the country of the Ordovices; viz. Segontium, on the river Sejont, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; Conovium, now Conway; and Varis, of which the ruins were to be ſeen in Camden's time, near the village of Bodwar. In this country are the ruins of ſeveral antient forts raiſed by the Romans, to awe and keep in ſubjection the natives. Over-againſt Caernarvanſhire lies the iſland of Mona, now Angleſey, the antient ſeat of the Druids, firſt attempted by Paulinus Suetonius, and afterwards reduced by Agricola. It was called in the Britiſh tongue Môn, and, when conquered by the Engliſh, Angleſey, that is, the Engliſh iſland.

Ordovices.

The Brigantes, whom Stephanus calls Brigæ, a numerous and powerful people and much commended by the antient writers, poſſeſſed the following countries; viz. Yorkſhire and the biſhoprick of Durham towards the eaſt and the German ocean, and to the weſt Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland. In Yorkſhire, and in the weſt-riding, on the Dan, now the Don, ſtood the city of Danum, mentioned by Antoninus, and in the Notitia called the ſtation of the Criſpinian horſe. Nennius ſtyles it Caer-Dann; but it is now known by the name of Doncaſter. Olicana, mentioned by Ptolemy, is, from its ſituation with reſpect to Eboracum or York, thought by Camden

Brigantes.

Camden to have ſtood where Ilkly, on the Wharf, now ſtands. It was rebuilt in the reign of Severus by Virius Lupus, legate and proprætor of Britain, as appears from an antient inſcription dug up there [t]. The ſecond cohort of the Lingones was quartered here. Near the confluence of the Calder and the Are ſtands the ſmall village of Caſtleford, formerly, according to Camden, Lageolium, or as Antoninus ſtyles it, Lagetium. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its ſituation, by a Roman way, from ſeveral monuments of antiquity diſcovered there, and its diſtance from Danum and Eboracum. Colcaria, according to ſome Tadcaſter, according to others Aberford, is mentioned by Antoninus, but not by Ptolemy. Iſurium Brigantum is placed by both on the Ure; and by Camden thought to have ſtood where the preſent village of Aldborrow ſtands, at a ſmall diſtance from Burrowbridge. Eboracum or Eburacum, now York, on the Owſe, for the Ure takes that name at Aldburrow, where the Owſeburn, a ſmall brook, falls into it, was the metropolis of the Brigantes. It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the Romans; for it was both a Roman colony and a municipium, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [u]. The ſixth legion, called Victrix, ſent out of Germany into Britain, was quartered here in the time of the Antonines, and likewiſe the ninth in Galba's reign [x]. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died Septimius Severus, and Conſtantius Chlorus. Upon the death of the latter, his ſon Conſtantine, who afterwards acquired the ſurname of Great, was here firſt declared emperor. The reſcript of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, "de rei "vindicatione," is dated from this place. Upon the death of Severus, juſtice was, for ſome time, adminiſtered here by the great oracle of the law Æmilius Paulus. When the Romans abandoned Britain, Eboracum was, by the Scots and Picts, reduced to the ſhadow of what it had been. In the eaſt-riding, about ſeven miles from York, ſtood Derventio, now Auldby, a ſmall village on the Derwent, formerly Derventio. At the ſame diſtance from the Abus, now the Humber, where the ſmall town of Wigton ſtands, ſtood, in the Roman times, Delgovitia; and on the promontory called by Ptolemy, Ocellum, now Holderneſs, the city of Prætorium, now Patrington. The only places in Lancaſhire mentioned by Antoninus, are, Mancunium, now Mancheſter,

[t] Vide Camd. p. 867. [u] Vid. Camd. p. 878. Grut. p. 485. Gale in comment. ad Anton. it. Brit. p. 19. [x] Vide Camd. ibid.

Mancheſter, and Alone, called in the Notitia, Alione, now Lancaſter, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In Weſtmoreland, two ſhort miles from the Ituna, or Eden, ſtood Veteræ, now a village called Burgh. It is mentioned by Antoninus; and from the Notitia we learn, that upon the decline of the Roman empire, was quartered there a prefect, with a band of Directores. Not far from hence ſtood Aballaba, on the Ituna, the ſtation, as we read in the Notitia, of the Mauri Aureliani. It retains its antient name, being now called by contraction Apelby. At Whallop-caſtle appear vaſt ruins of an antient town, where Roman coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here ſtood, according to Camden, Gallagum, mentioned by Ptolemy, and called by Antoninus, Gallatum; which conjecture agrees with the diſtances in the itinerary. From this place, an old cawſway runs almoſt in a ſtrait line, for the ſpace of about twenty miles, to Caer-Vattan, near the Picts wall. Upon this cauſway, now commonly called the Maiden-way, Camden thinks, that the ſtations and manſions, mentioned by Antoninus in his ninth iter, were ſettled. At Brougham, according to Camden, the antient Brocovum and Brevoniacum of Antoninus, called in the Notitia, Brocaniacum, where a cohort of the Defenſores was quartered, ſeveral coins and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. In Cumberland, the ſea-coaſt was fortified by the Romans in ſuch places as were convenient for landing; whence the Scots, when from Ireland they invaded our iſland, met with the greateſt oppoſition. Many remains of antiquity are ſtill to be ſeen at Moreſby, perhaps, as the preſent name ſeems to imply, the Morbium of the antients, where, according to the Notitia, the equites catafracti were quartered. At the head of the Wize, a ſmall river, that falls into the Waver, are the ruins of an antient town, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, Old Carliſle; perhaps the Caſtra Exploratorum, placed ſomewhere hereabouts by Antoninus; for it is ſeated on a high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free proſpect round the country, was very convenient for ſpying an enemy. From ſeveral inſcriptions it appears, that the ala, named Auguſta, and Auguſta Gordiana, was quartered here in the time of the emperor Gordian. A little higher jetts out a ſmall promontory, below which is a large arm of the ſea, at preſent the boundary of England and Scotland, and formerly of the Roman province and the country of the Picts. On this promontory ſtood Blatobulgium, now Bulneſs, from which, as the moſt remote limit of the province of Britain, Antoninus begins his itinerary.

At

At Blatobulgium are frequently found Roman coins and inſcriptions. A mile beyond it, at low-water, are to be ſeen the foundations of the famous wall called the Picts wall, built by the Romans to reſtrain the barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a vaſt arm of the ſea comes up here about eight miles, called by Ptolemy, Itunæ æſtuarium, now Solway-frith, yet, at low-water the Scots and Picts found means to ford it. Upon the ſame frith ſtands Drumbugh-caſtle, formerly a Roman ſtation, and thought by Gale[y] to be the antient Blatobulgium. This frith is called by Ptolemy Itunæ æſtuarium, from the river Ituna, now Eden, which here falls into the bay. It is now called Solway-frith from the town of Solway in Scotland ſtanding upon it. At the preſent Burgh-upon-ſands was another Roman ſtation. At a ſmall diſtance from the confluence of the Eimot and the Loder ſtands Penreth, according to Gale, the Voreda of Antoninus. The city of Carliſle, having the Eden to the north, the Petervill to the eaſt, and the Caude to the weſt, was by the Romans called Luguvallum, Luguballum, and Lugubalia. The word vallum was, no doubt, derived from that famous vallum of the Romans, which ran cloſe to the city. As to the word Lugus, or Lucus, it ſignified among the Celtæ, who ſpoke the ſame language as the Britons, a tower; for what Antoninus calls Lugo-Auguſti, Pomponius Mela ſtyles turris Auguſti; ſo that Lugovallum ſignifies a tower on the vallum. This city was a place of great note in the Roman times, as appears from ſeveral monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the antient writers.

Ottadini

NEXT to the Brigantes, Ptolemy places the Ottadini, Ottadeni, or Ottalini, according to the various readings of the ſeveral copies. Camden reads Ottatinos, becauſe they dwelt ultra Tinam, beyond the Tine. Their country extended from the wall at leaſt to the Tweed, and was afterwards part of the province Valentia; for ſo count Theodoſius named it, after he had recovered it, by driving out the barbarians, who had ſeized it. It is now called Northumberland, as lying north of the Humber. In this country, near Caer-vorran, part of the wall was ſtill ſtanding in Camden's time, fifteen foot in height, and nine in breadth. Bede writes, that it was only twelve foot high, and his account is, generally ſpeaking, exact; for, where there has not been any extraordinary fortification, what was ſtill ſtanding in Camden's time came near

[y] Gale, p. 36.

near that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth which Bede allows it, viz, eight foot, is pretty exact; for every-where it ſtill exceeds ſeven. In this country have been diſcovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the reader will find an account in Camden [z]. Beyond the wall, and at the mouth of the Tina or Tine, ſtood Segedunum, now Seton, where reſided, according to the Notitia, the tribune of the ſixth cohort of the Lergi. At a ſmall diſtance from Segedunum, Antoninus places Corſtorpitum, or, as Camden reads it, Morſtorpitum, according to him, Morpeth. On the north ſide of the Alaunus, now the Aln, and not far from that river, ſtood antiently Bremenium, from which Antoninus begins his firſt journey in Britain. Some take Bremenium to be Rocheſter, near the head of the Rhead, others to be Brampton. At Gabroſentum, according to ſome, Newcaſtle, was quartered the ſecond cohort of the Thracians. The country of the Ottadini reached, according to ſome, to Edinburgh-frith; but the only places taken notice of by the antients between Bremenium and that frith, called by the Roman writers Bodotriæ æſtuarium, are Tæi or Tavi oſtium, the mouth of the Tweed, and Caſtra Alata, thought by all our antiquaries to be Edinburgh. On the weſt coaſt, between Solway and Dumbriton friths, are placed by Ptolemy the Selgovæ, and the towns Trimontium and Oxellum belonging to them. To the north of the Selgovæ were the Damnii, in whoſe country, extending to Dumbriton-frith, antiently Glotæ æſtuarium, ſtood the following towns mentioned by Ptolemy; Colania, Coria, Alauna, and Victoria. The Horeſti, mentioned by Tacitus, are placed by Camden between the Selgovæ and the Ottadini. Agricola entered their country, as we read in Tacitus; and, having received hoſtages, commanded his admiral to ſail round Britain. Hence Camden infers, that their country bordered on Solway-frith, and that the Roman fleet was then riding there. In this voyage were diſcovered the Orcades, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which Glotæ and Bodotriæ æſtuaria, that is, Dumbriton and Edinburgh friths, arms of different ſeas, are kept from joining, was fortified by Agricola with garriſons and caſtles; by which means all Britain, on this ſide, being poſſeſſed by the Romans, the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another iſland. Thoſe who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by Dion Caſſius comprehended under the two denominations of Mæatæ and Caledonii. The ſouth part of Britannia Barbara, as the

Selgovæ. Damnii. Horeſti. Mæatæ. Caledonii.

Romans

[z] Camd. Brit. p. 1071.

Romans ſtyled it, was poſſeſſed by the former; and the north part by the latter. From the Caledonii, Calidones, Deucaledonii, or Dicalidones, as they are ſtyled by different authors, the north part of Britain was called Caledonia; nay, Florus calls the woods adjoining to the Thames, Caledonian woods; for ſpeaking of Cæſar ſoon after he had paſſed that river, "Having followed the Britons," ſays he, "into the "Caledonian woods, he took one of their kings priſoner[a]." But herein he ſhews himſelf little acquainted with the country.

Picti. Of the Picts no mention is made either by Tacitus or Ptolemy; but under that denomination the Caledonians were comprehended in Conſtantine's time: "I do not mention," ſays Eumenius in his panegyric upon that prince, "the "woods and marſhes of the Caledonians and other Picts[b]." And Ammianus Marcellinus, writing of the time of Valentinian and Valens; "The Picts," ſays he, "under which "denomination are comprehended the Dicalidones and the

Attacotti. "Vecturiones, the Attacotti likewiſe, a warlike nation, and

Scotti. "the Scotti, roaming about, committed great devaſtations[c]." Hence it is manifeſt, that, in the reigns of thoſe two princes, the Attacotti, and the Scotti or Scots, were two different nations from the Caledonii and the Picts. But of Scotland, and its antient inhabitants, we ſhall ſpeak more at length hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of Britain, of their towns and territories, while the Romans were maſters of the iſland, in the deſcription of which we have followed Ptolemy, Antoninus, and our beſt modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to aſcertain the bounds of ſo many different nations ſubject to ſo many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon each other. Moſt of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the Romans had made themſelves maſters of the iſland; but that the Britons had no towns at all before their arrival, as Strabo ſeems to inſinuate[d], is what he can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of Gaul and Britain, he copied from Cæſar, who tells us indeed, that the Britons gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to reſtrain the incurſions of thoſe with whom they were at war[e]. But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they choſe for places of ſhelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had

[a] Flor. l. iii. c. 10. [b] Eumen. panegyr. Conſt. c. 7. [c] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18. Vales. c. 88. [d] Strabo, l. iv. p. 138. [e] Cæſ. l. v. c. 21.

had no other places, deſerving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehenſion of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which Veſpaſian reduced under the emperor Claudius, as we read in Suetonius [f], were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

We cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raiſed by the Roman emperors in this iſland, to ſecure the countries belonging to Rome againſt the incurſions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpoſe by three different emperors, is manifeſt from hiſtory. Of theſe the firſt and hithermoſt was, without all doubt, the work of Adrian; for Spartian tells us in expreſs terms, that he was the firſt, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the Romans and barbarians [g]. This wall is, by our beſt antiquaries, placed between Solway-frith and Tinmouth; and truly, conſidering its extent, it can be placed no-where elſe. This wall or rampart, (for ſome writers ſtyle it murus, and others vallum) was made, ſays Spartian, "in modum muralis ſepis," or ſepti, that is, "after the manner of a mural hedge," with large ſtakes fixed deep in the ground, and faſtened together. Upon it ſtood Pons Ælia, perhaps Pont-Eland in Northumberland, Claſſis Ælia, Cohors Ælia, and Ala Sabiniana, which took their names from Ælius Adrianus, and his wife Sabina. Adrian's wall.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the ſucceſſor of Adrian, the Brigantes revolted; but Lollius Urbicus, then governor of Britain, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, ſays Capitolinus in the life of Antoninus Pius [h]. As no antient writer mentions the place where this ſecond wall was built, it is impoſſible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our Roman hiſtory [i], place it between the frith of Forth and Clyde. But Camden and Brietius, upon the authority of a very antient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the Taus or Tweed, and was carried ſouthward to the head of the Eſk in Eſkdale, ſo as to ſecure the eaſt coaſt, and incloſe part of the country of the Ottadini. Upon ſecond thoughts, this opinion does not ſeem to us improbable, ſince Antoninus begins his itinerary from the mouth of the Tweed, as the moſt northern boundary, at that time, of the Roman Antoninus's wall.

empire

[f] Suet. in Claud. c. 4.
[g] Spartian. in Adrian. c. 11.
[h] Capitol. in Anton. Pio, c. 5.
[i] Vide Univer. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 668.

empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 123, the fourth of Adrian's reign, Glabrio and Torquatus being then consuls; and the other in 142, the third of Antoninus Pius, then consul with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [k]. That a third wall was built by the emperor Severus, is plain from Spartian, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured Britain with a wall carried on cross the island from sea to sea [l]. There is a great disagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. Camden maintains, that Severus's wall was raised in the same place, where Adrian had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help disagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, since Eutropius, in the life of Severus writes, that he built a wall thirty two miles in length, reaching from sea to sea; whereas Adrian's wall extended eighty, viz. from Solway-frith to Tinmouth. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Severus, after having overcome in several battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and been at an immense trouble and charge, not to mention the loss of fifty thousand men, in draining marshes, cutting down woods, and making highways, should have abandoned so extensive a country, which Agricola had formerly reduced, and Antoninus inclosed with a wall, and this at a time when the enemies of Rome were quite dispirited, and suing for peace. It must therefore be placed on the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde; and indeed, if it was but thirty-two miles in length, it could stand in no other part of the whole island, that was ever possessed by the Romans. But the hithermost wall, says Camden, is still called Gual Seuer, that is, Severus's wall. May not those, who call it so, be mistaken? Is it not well known, that many appellations, or, as we may style them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundless? Such is this, if we believe the Scots writers, who, as Camden himself observes, have always called the hithermost wall Adrian's wall. The neck of land between the two friths of Forth and Clyde is not above sixteen miles over. This tract Agricola secured with castles and forts placed at convenient distances, that the forces might easily draw together upon the first apprehension of danger. In building afterwards the wall, those who were employed in the work, took the most direct line; which must be the cause why some of the forts are at a distance from it. They began it where the rivers

Severus's wall.

[k] Vide Alford. annal. p. 108, & 116. [l] Spart. in vit. Sever. c. 18.

rivers are narrow, and carried it along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the Queen's-ferry and Abercorn, and, for the ſpace of thirty-ſix Scots miles, runs weſtward to Dumbriton, with a great ditch on the north ſide of the wall, and many ſquare fortifications in the form of a Roman camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country Graham's dyke. But of Severus's wall, we have ſpoken at length in our Roman hiſtory [m], to which we refer the reader. The hithermoſt was, as we have obſerved already, built by Adrian, not with ſtone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a ſtone wall was built in the ſame place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were ſtill to be ſeen in Camden's time. That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives us of it, it began at Blatobulgium, or Bulneſs, on the Iriſh ſea, kept along the ſide of Solway-frith by Burgh-upon-ſands to Lugovallum, now Carliſle, where it paſſed the Ituna or Eden. Thence it was carried on croſs the little river of Cambeck, where the ruins of a great caſtle were to be ſeen. Afterwards paſſing the rivers Irthing and Poltroſe, it entered Northumberland, and through thoſe mountains along the river South Tine, was continued by a bridge over North Tine, and ended at the German ocean. On the north ſide of the wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In ſome places it is ſix yards deep, hewn out of the ſolid rock. The wall itſelf was about eight foot thick, and in very few places built upon that of Adrian. Camden takes this to be the wall, that was built by the Romans about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the iſland. But one legion only was then ſent over, and that was ſoon after recalled: and could one legion, in a very ſhort time, and in great haſte to return, build, even with the aſſiſtance of the Britons, a ſtone wall eight foot in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us ſeems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this laſt wall was built upon that of Severus between Bodotria and Glota, where, in Buchanan's time, were diſcovered the remains of a ſtone wall [n]. This is the opinion of the learned Uſher, who maintains, that Bede was miſtaken in placing the laſt wall between the Eden and the Tine [o]. The laſt legion, ſent to the

[m] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 117. [n] Buchan. rer. Scot. l. iv. ſub rege 27. [o] Uſſ. rer. Brit. p. 1024, 1027.

assistance of the Britons, drove out the barbarians with great slaughter, and recovered the country they had seized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning such a vast tract to the enemy, they would have chosen to build a wall eighty miles in length, though in great haste to return to the continent, when they might have inclosed a much larger country with a wall not half so long?

Britannia Superior and Inferior.

THESE three walls were, in different times, the boundaries of the Roman empire, dividing Britannia Romana from Britannia Barbara, which last appellation they gave to that part of Britain, which was not subject to Rome. Britannia Romana was divided into Britannia Superior, and Britannia Inferior, or Upper and Lower Britain. The former reached from the Chanel at least as far as Chester, comprehending both England and Wales, as they are now styled; for, on one hand, we read in Dion Cassius, that the legio secunda Augusta was quartered in Upper Britain [p]; and on the other, in Ptolemy, that it had its station at Isca Silurum, now Caer Lheon, about four miles from the Severn in Monmouthshire [q]. The same Dion Cassius tells us, that the Legio vigesima, called likewise Valeriana and Victrix, was quartered in Upper Britain; and both Ptolemy and Antoninus determine the place, viz. Deva, now Chester, on the Deva, now the Dee. The Legio sexta Victrix is placed by Dion Cassius in Lower Britain; and by Antoninus, as well as by Ptolemy, at Eboracum or York, which, as it is plain from hence, stood in Lower Britain. Under this division was comprised only that part of Britain, which was subject to the Romans, the other more northern part being by them distinguished with the name of Britannia Barbara. This division owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor Severus, who, having settled the affairs of Britain, divided it, as we read in Herodian [r], into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any division of Britain; and Ptolemy, who divides Germany, Pannonia, and Mæsia into Upper and Lower, takes no notice of any such division in his description of Britain; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, this division was not yet introduced. If Severus was, as he seems to have been, the author of this division, Britannia Inferior extended to the isthmus between Glota and Bodotria, where he built a wall, parting Britannia Romana from Britannia Barbara.

BRITANNIA

[p] Dio Cass. l. lv. p. 564. [q] Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. [r] Herodian. l. iii. c. 8.

Britain divided into five governments.

BRITANNIA ROMANA, comprehending the Upper and Lower Britain, was first divided, probably by Constantine the Great, into four governments; viz. Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis, and Maxima Cæsariensis. Britannia Prima lay between the Chanel on one side, and the Thames and the Severn on the other; Britannia Secunda reached from the Severn to the Irish sea; Flavia Cæsariensis was inclosed by the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber; and Maxima Cæsariensis extended from the Humber to Adrian's wall. To these was added afterwards the province of Valentia, probably so called by the emperor Valentinian from his brother Valens; for, in the reign of Valentinian, this country, extending from Adrian's wall to the friths of Bodotria and Glota, was recovered by Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name. This division we have copied from the breviary, which Sextus Rufus wrote, and dedicated to the emperor Valentinian. Of this work, some imperfect copies leave out Flavia Cæsariensis; and one of these Camden has followed. Each of these provinces had its particular magistrate, some a consular, others only a præses or president. They were all, according to the Notitia, subject to the vicarius of Britain, as he was to the præfectus prætorio of Gaul, one of the four præfecti prætorio instituted by Constantine. The vicar of Britain had several officers under him for the better and more expeditious administration of civil affairs, viz. his princeps or lieutenant; a cornicularius, who published the sentences and decrees of the vicar and other magistrates, and was so called from cornu a horn, with the sounding of which he commanded silence in the court; two numerarii or accountants, whose province it was to set down the sums of the public revenues; a commentariensis or jailor, so called from the commentaria or kalendars of the prisoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called ab actis, that is, public notaries, who wrote testaments, contracts, and other instruments; secretaries called de cura, and de cura epistolarum, whose office it was to write and send letters and dispatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Besides a great number of petty officers, viz, informers, pursuivants, apparitors, &c. the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three presidents, and two consulars; for by presidents were governed Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæsariensis; and the other two, Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia, by consulars, as appears from the Notitia, and was agreeable to the custom of the Romans, who, on the decline

The form of the Roman government in Britain.

Their civil government.

of the empire, committed to conſulars the care of thoſe provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were moſt expoſed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reverſing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the ſame power was the præfectus prætorio of Gaul veſted, with reſpect to the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The enſigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five caſtles placed on the triangular form of the iſland, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces, which they repreſented [s].

Their military government.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government adminiſtered. As to the military, it was executed by three chief officers under the magiſter militum of the weſt; viz. the comes Britanniarum, the comes littoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum. No mention is made in the Notitia of the troops under the command of the count of Britain, nor of the places under his juriſdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coaſts, and in the northern parts of Britain, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from thence, that the inland and ſouth part of the iſland was ſubject to his command. The comes littoris Saxonici, or count of the Saxon ſhore, whoſe province it was to cover the eaſtern coaſt, lying over-againſt Germany, and prevent the Saxon pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight præpoſiti under his command, and one tribune; viz. the præpoſitus or commander of the numerus or cohort of the Fortenſes, quartered at Othona, thought to be Haſtings; the præpoſitus of the Tungricani at Dubris or Dover; the præpoſitus of the Turnacenſes at Lemanis or Lime; the præpoſitus of the Branodunenſes, who were Dalmatian horſe, at Branodunum or Brancaſter in Norfolk; the præpoſitus of the Stableſian horſe at Gariannonum or Caſtor, near Yarmouth; the præpoſitus of the ſecond legion, called Auguſta, quartered at Rutupiæ or Richborough; the præpoſitus of the Abulci at Anderida or Newenden; and the præpoſitus of the exploratores, whoſe office it was to diſcover the ſtate and motions of the enemy, at Portus Adurni, or Ederington in Suſſex. The tribune commanded under the præpoſitus of the legion. The dux Britanniarum had under him fourteen præpoſiti; viz. the præpoſitus of the ſixth legion quartered at York or Eboracum; the præpoſitus of the Dalmatian horſe at Præſidium, or Patrington in Holderneſs; the præpoſitus of the Criſpian horſe at Danum

[s] Vide Pancirol. in notit. imperii.

Danum or Doncaſter; the præpoſitus of the Catafractarian horſe at Morbium, perhaps Morſby in Cumberland; the præpoſitus of the Barcarii Tigritenſes at Arbeia or Jerby in the ſame county; the præpoſitus of the Nervii Dictenſes at Dictis or Diganwy in Caernarvanſhire; the præpoſitus of the Vigiles or ſcouts at Concangii or Kendal in Weſtmorland; the præpoſitus of the Exploratores at Lavatres or Bowes in Yorkſhire; the præpoſitus of the Directi at Veteræ or Burgh upon Stanmore in Weſtmorland; the præpoſitus of the Defenſores at Broconiocum or Bougham in the ſame county; the præpoſitus of the Solenſes at Magona, thought by Camden to be Machleneth in Montgomeryſhire; the præpoſitus of the Pacenſes at Magi or Old Radnor; the præpoſitus of the Longonicarii at Longonicus or Langcheſter, in the biſhoprick of Durham; and laſtly, the præpoſitus of the Derventionenſes, ſo called from Derventio, where they were quartered, a town upon the Derwent, ſeven miles from York, thought to be Auldby. All theſe præpoſiti are named in the Notitia, with the places where they were quartered.

BESIDES the above-mentioned forces, a ſtrong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the Notitia expreſſes it, along the line of the wall, per lineam valli. Here was poſted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lergi, at a place called Segodunum, now Seaton, on the ſea-coaſt of Northumberland. The tribune of the cohort of the Comonii had his ſtation at Pons Ælii or Pontland in Northumberland. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor Ælius Adrianus. The tribune of the ala of the Aſtores was quartered at Condercum or Cheſter-upon-the-ſtreet, in the biſhoprick of Durham. Next to him was ſtationed the tribune of the firſt cohort of the Frixagi at Vindobala, as we read in the Notitia, or Vindomora, as it is ſtyled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the Britiſh language, finis muri, and the latter finis valli; and hence the place is now called the Wall's-end, in Northumberland, the river Tine ſerving perhaps inſtead of a rampart from this place to the ſea. The prefect of the ala Saviniana was poſted at Hunnum, which Camden conjectures to be Sevenſhale in the ſame county. The prefect of the ſecond ala of the Aſtores lay at Cilurnum, which ſome take for Cillerford, and ſome for Scilicester-on-the-wall, likewiſe in Northumberland. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Batavi was ſtationed at Procolitia, according to ſome, Colcheſter upon the Tine. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Tungri was quartered at Borcovicus or Borwick in Northumberland. The tribune of

the fourth cohort of the Gauls at Vindolana or Wincheſter-on-the-wall. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Aſtores at Æſica, thought to be Netherly on the Eſk in Cumberland. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of the Dalmatæ at Magni, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not Raanor, called by the ſame name. The tribune of the firſt cohort Ælia at Amboglanna, according to ſome Willoford in Cumberland, according to Camden, Ambleſide in Weſtmorland. The prefect of the ala Petriana at Perith in Cumberland. The prefect of the Mauri Aureliani at Aballaba, or Apleby in Weſtmorland. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of the Largi at Congavata, or Roſe-caſtle near Carlile in Cumberland. The tribune of the cohort of the Hiſpani at Axelodunum, now Hexham in Northumberland. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of Thracians at Gabroſentum, Gateſhead, cloſe to Newcaſtle. The tribune of the firſt cohort, called Ælia Claſſica, at Tunnocellum or Tinmouth. This cohort, Camden thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thereunto by the ſurname of Claſſica given it in the Notitia. That the Romans kept ſome veſſels on the Tine, to hinder the Caledonians from making deſcents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this iſland, is manifeſt from a law ſtill extant in the pandects, wherein mention is made by Javolenus of one Seius Saturninus, archigubernus or admiral of the Britiſh fleet [t]. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Morini was ſtationed at Glannobanta, thought by Camden to have ſtood on the Wentſbeek in Cumberland. The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii at Alione, now Whitley-caſtle in Weſtmorland. The cuneus of the Armaturæ is placed by the Notitia at Brementuracum, a ſtation near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of Preſton in Lancaſhire, ſixty miles diſtant from the wall, as Camden would have it. The prefect of the firſt ala Herculea had his ſtation at Olenacum or Ellenborough in Cumberland, where many monuments of antiquity have been diſcovered. The tribune of the ſixth cohort of the Nervii is mentioned the laſt of all in the Notitia, and placed at Veroſidium, thought to be Werewich upon the Eden near Carlile. All theſe forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to ſecure the wall, under the command of the dux Britanniarum. Theſe three officers, viz. the comes Britanniarum, the comes littoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum, were equal in power, but ſubordinate to the vicar. The forces

[t] Pand. SC. ad Trebell.

forces maintained in Britain under the two latter officers, amounted, according to Pancirolus, to nineteen thouſand two hundred foot, and ſeventeen hundred horſe. Of the troops under the comes Britanniarum, we find no account in the Notitia; Pancirolus thinks, becauſe the greater part of the iſland was then in the power of the barbarians. But this reaſon might have ſerved againſt enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for at the very time the Notitia was compiled, the Britons were, by frequent embaſſies, ſoliciting the emperor, and his officers in Gaul, for aid; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, ſet down in the Notitia, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the Notitia, no mention is made of the comes Britanniarum, but only of the dux, and the comes tractus maritimi, called comes littoris Saxonici, when the Saxon pirates began to infeſt the coaſts. The firſt vicar of Britain we find mentioned in hiſtory, and probably the firſt who, with that title, governed here, is Pacatianus, to whom we find an edict directed in 319, enacting, that one decurio ſhould not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another [u]. The authority of the count of the Saxon ſhore was thought to have been confined within Britain, till it was by the learned Selden extended to the oppoſite coaſts of Cimbria, Batavia, Belgica, and Armorica [x]; for to them he finds the name of littus Saxonicum given by the writers of thoſe times, no doubt from their being infeſted by the Saxon pirates. The count of Britain had for his enſigns a book of mandates, and the iſland repreſented in a triangular form; the count of the Saxon ſhore a purple book, with nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine places where the præpoſiti and tribune, under his command, were quartered; and the dux likewiſe a purple book, with the fourteen places, where the prefects under him were ſtationed. Of theſe munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the firſt has only the word ſextæ, ſignifying, we ſuppoſe, the ſtation of the ſixth legion, which was quartered at York; whence that city is ſtyled by Antoninus, in his itinerary, Eboracum legio ſexta; and in a coin of Severus, Col. Eboracum Legio VI. Victrix. If the power and juriſdiction of the count of the Saxon ſhore had extended to the oppoſite coaſts of Gaul and Germany, as Selden maintains, mention would have been made in the Notitia

[u] Lib. ii. de extact. Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12. calend. Decemb. A. D. 319.

[x] Vide Seld. in Mari clauſo.

titia of the forces under his command in those places; but as the Notitia is quite silent upon that head, and, in the ensigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine British towns or garrisons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this island. His troops were quartered in several towns or stations along the coast from Kent to the most northern part of Norfolk. The more northern coasts, and that facing Ireland, with the inland countries in those parts, were under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum, for Danum, now Doncaster, seems to have been the most southern station of his troops. These stations, designed at first for camps, called in Latin castra, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almost all our great cities and towns, built either in the same places where the Roman camps were, or at a small distance from them. This observation holds especially in those, the names of which end in chester or cester, derived from the Latin word castra; for, to this day, the stations or forts near the Picts wall, the remains of which are to be seen in several places, are, by the common people, called Chesters [y].

The Roman highways.

To maintain a communication between one station and another, and for the convenience of the armies, when they marched, or of the governors, when they visited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed im making roads or causways, called viæ militares, consulares, prætoriæ, stratæ, publicæ, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen mansions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the Itinerary, and in the Notitia forty-six garrisons, viz. nine on the sea-coast, under the command of the comes littoris Saxonici, fourteen more inland, and twenty-three per lineam valli, or along the wall, under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum, many highways must have been made for passing, according to the Roman custom, from one place, however distant, to another. Our historians indeed mention only four of note; but, in a province so abounding with stations, camps, fortresses and cities, there must, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the Notitia given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the dux Britanniarum, as well as of the other two great officers, we should have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this island; for Bede tells us out of Gildas, who flourished about the time the Notitia was composed, that, in those days, there were twenty-eight most stately cities,

[y] Vide Burton. comment. in Antonin. itiner.

ties, besides innumerable castles, fortified with strong walls, towers and gates [z]: The four ways, or, as we call them, streets, mentioned by our historians, are, Watling-street, so called, as is coujectured, either from Vitellianus a Roman, perhaps employed in making it, or from a Saxon word signifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by some to have reached from Dover to Cardigan in Wales; by others to have extended from Dover to the coast over-against Anglesey, passing through London, Dunstable, Towcester, Allerston, and crossing the Severn near the Wrekin in Shropshire. The Foss-way, so called perhaps, because in some places it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from Totness in Cornwall to Lincoln, and from Lincoln to Cathness, the most northern point in Scotland. Ikenild-street, so called perhaps from Iceni. It led from Southampton to York, and from thence to Tinmouth. Ermine or Erminage-street, reaching from St. David's to Southampton [a]. Besides these, we find two others mentioned in history; viz. Julia Strata in Monmouthshire, made, as Camden conjectures, by Julius Frontinus, who subdued the Silures; and Strata Marcella, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as lying at a small distance from Julia Strata. The former is thought to have been the work of Ulpius Marcellus, proprætor of Britain in the reign of Commodus.

Several corps of Britons in the Roman armies.

THE forces, employed in the defence of Britain, were all foreigners, as the reader must have observed, the Romans not thinking it safe to trust the natives, who perhaps would have defended their country with more vigour and resolution against the barbarians, but might, when masters of all the strong places, have turned their arms against their masters, and shaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the Romans transplanted into other countries the numerous levies raised here. It appears from the Notitia, and several antient inscriptions, that bodies of British troops were dispersed almost over the whole empire; for we find the following corps mentioned; viz. Ala Britannica milliaria, Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto, Cohors prima Ælia Britonum, Cohors tertia Britonum, Cohors septima Britonum, Cohors vicesima sexta Britonum in Armorica, Britanniciani sub magistro peditum, Invicti juniores Britanniciani, Excubitores juniores Britanniciani, Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum, Invicti juniores

[z] Bed. hist. l. i. c. 1. [a] Vide Barton. comment. in itiner. Antonin.

ores Britones intra Hiſpaniam, Britones ſeniores in Illyrico. Theſe different corps were ſupplied from time to time out of this iſland. No wonder therefore, that Britain, exhauſted and deprived of its youth by ſo numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered here, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus deſcribed the ſtate of Britain before and after the arrival of the Romans, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of that part of it, which was ſubject to Rome, from the time of its being firſt invaded by Julius Cæſar, to its deſertion by the Romans in the reign of Valentinian III. containing the ſpace of about five hundred years.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Britain, from the firſt coming of Julius Cæſar, to its deſertion by the Romans.

Cæſar's firſt expedition into Britain.

BRITAIN was but little known to the Romans till the time of Julius Cæſar (A), who having carried his victorious arms to the oppoſite coaſt of Gaul, parted from Britain by a narrow chanel, there formed the deſign of bringing the Britons, as he had already done the moſt warlike nations of Gaul, under the dominion of Rome. Whatever was the

(A) We muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that we have no accounts, but ſuch as are evidently fabulous, of what paſſed in this iſland before the Romans were acquainted with it. Gildas, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the ſixth century, freely owns, that, as for the antient monuments of his country, they were no-where to be found in his time, being either deſtroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the baniſhed Britons. However, Annius of Viterbo, in his Beroſus, gives a long ſucceſſion of Celtic kings, whom he derives from Samothes, one of the ſons of Japhet, ſuppoſing him to have planted colonies firſt on the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and afterwards in this iſland, from him named Samothea. But Annius has been long ſince unmaſked, and the fables he vends in his counterfeit Beroſus univerſally exploded. What Geoffery of Monmouth writes of Brutus, and the kings deſcended from him, ſuppoſed to have reigned in this iſland, deſerves no more credit, than the fables of Annius, whether Geoffery was the author, or only the tranſlator of that pretended hiſtory; for in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an antient Britiſh hiſtory from Walter archdeacon of Oxon, which

the real motive that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition and thirſt of glory, as to us ſeems moſt likely, or the hopes of enriching himſelf with the Britiſh pearls, as we read in Suetonius [b], the pretence he alledged

[b] Suet. in Jul. c. 58.

which he faithfully tranſlated out of the Britiſh tongue into Latin. This hiſtory, or rather romance, he inſcribed to Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon to Henry I. But though it was at firſt received with uncommon applauſe by the Welſh, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in William Niobrigenſis, who flouriſhed not long after Geoffery, and writes of him thus: "In theſe our days a certain writer is riſen, who has de-"viſed many fooliſh fictions of the Britons. His name is Geoffery." And a little after: "With how little ſhame, with what great "confidence, doth he frame lyes!" However, as it would be unpardonable in us to paſs over in ſilence what all our hiſtorians have thought fit to take notice of, we ſhall here relate, in a few words, what we read in Geoffery's fabulous hiſtory of Brutus, and his ſucceſſors, ſaid to have reigned in this iſland many ages before the arrival of the Romans. According to that writer, Brutus, the great-grandſon of Æneas by his ſon Aſcanius, having accidentally killed with an arrow his father Sylvius, king of Alba, was forced to leave Italy; and flying into Greece, joined there the Trojans, who had ſettled in that country after the deſtruction of their city. With theſe he put to ſea, being ſupplied with a fleet by Pandraſus, king of the country, whoſe daughter he had married; and entring the Atlantic ſea, performed wonders in ſeveral places, particularly in Gaul, where he overcame Goffarius king of Aquitain, and drove him from his kingdom. But the baniſhed king having prevailed upon the other princes of Gaul to lend him powerful ſuccours, Brutus, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand ſo great a force, put to ſea again, and, after a few days ſail, arrived on the coaſt of Albion, and landed at the place in Devonſhire, where Totneſs now ſtands. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whoſe chief or king was Gogmagog. Theſe he overcame; and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the iſland, from his own name, Britain. Having got poſſeſſion of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he made the ſeat of his kingdom, calling it Troja Nova, a name afterwards changed into Troynovantum or Trinobantum. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three ſons. Locrinus, the eldeſt, had for his ſhare Logria, ſo called from him, now England. Camber, Brutus's ſecond ſon, had Cambria

ledged was, that, in all the wars of Gaul, the Britons had aſſiſted with conſiderable ſupplies the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to paſs over into Britain, and, by the conqueſt of this iſland, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in Gaul. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, and winter came on very early in theſe northern climates, he was ſenſible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finiſh the war. However, he thought, it would be no ſmall advantage to view the iſland, to learn the temper, cuſtoms, and manners of the inhabitants, and to get ſome knowledge of their ports and havens, then viſited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coaſt lying over-againſt Gaul, but ſeemed utter ſtrangers to the reſt of the country; for, being called together by Cæſar from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the iſland was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they underſtood the art of war; by what cuſtoms they were governed; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ſhips (B). In order therefore

bria, now Wales; and Albanactus, Albania, now Scotland. Having laid this foundation, the author purſues his hiſtory, giving us an account of the various revolutions, that happened in the iſland in the reigns of the kings, who ſucceeded each other, from Brutus to Caſſibelan, who, being appointed guardian to Androgeus and Tenuantius, his two nephews, the ſons of king Lud, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom upon himſelf. Lud is ſaid by Geoffery to have ſurrounded the city of London with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is ſtill called Ludgate. In the reign of Caſſibelan, Cæſar landed in Britain; and here it is, as Camden well obſerves, that the Engliſh hiſtorian ought to begin his hiſtory, whatever Geoffery or others have writ of the Britiſh affairs before this period being altogether groundleſs. As for Geoffery's hiſtory in particular, it ſufficiently confutes itſelf, bringing with it ſuch marks of forgery, as muſt evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of Geoffery himſelf, or of the author, whom he pretends to have coppied.

(B) Cæſar tells us elſewhere (1), that Divitiacus, one of the moſt powerful men in Gaul, was not only maſter of a conſiderable part of that country, but had ſome footing likewiſe in Britain; that ſeveral provinces of Britain were peopled by colonies from Gaul; that the Britons had aſſiſted the Gauls in moſt of their wars; and laſtly,

(1) Cæſar. comment. l. ii. c. 2.

therefore to discover what he could not learn of the merchants, he sent out C. Volusenus with a galley, enjoining him to return as soon as possible with what intelligence he could get. Suetonius tells us, that Cæsar went in person to view the coast; but Cæsar's own account shews that writer was mistaken [c]. In the mean time Cæsar marched all his forces into the country of the Morini, now the province of Picardy, whence was the shortest passage into Britain, ordering at the same time all the vessels, that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the Morini, to attend him. The Britons, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched embassadors to Cæsar, offering to submit to Rome, and deliver hostages for their fidelity. Cæsar received them with great kindness; and having encouraged them, with fair promises, to persist in their resolution, he sent them back to their own country, ordering Comius, whom, for his extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the Atrebates, to attend them into Britain, with instructions to visit as many states as he could, to persuade them to accept of an alliance with Rome, and to acquaint them with his design of landing in a short time in their country. In the mean time Volusenus, having made what discoveries he could from his ship, for he did not think it adviseable to venture ashore, returned after five days to Cæsar, and acquainted him with what he had observed. Hereupon Cæsar, having embarqued two legions on board eighty transports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embarque at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too slowly executed. Cæsar himself arrived in a few hours on the British coast; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay

The Britons send embassadors to Cæsar.

Cæsar embarques with two legions.

[c] Idem ibid. Cæs. comment. l. iv.

lastly, that such of the Gauls as were desirous to be perfect masters of the learning of the Druids, used to pass over into Britain to study it there. How could Britain therefore, at that time, be so utterly unknown in Gaul, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them so little, that being called together by Cæsar from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their customs, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?

lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for ſome of his ſhips, that were not yet come up, in order to look out for ſome other place, where he might land his troops with leſs danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he ſummoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from Voluſenus, and given them ſuch orders as he thought proper for the occaſion, he ſet ſail, and arriving at a plain and open ſhore about eight miles farther, he there came to an anchor. The Britons, appriſed of Cæſar's deſign, ſent their cavalry and chariots before, the reſt of the army haſtening after them, in order to oppoſe his landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeneſs of the ſhips, which required a conſiderable depth of water; ſo that the Roman ſoldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the ſea, and at the ſame time to ſtruggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands diſengaged, as they either ſtood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly caſt their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, as Cæſar himſelf owns, that they did not appear ſo chearful, nor ſo eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ſhips or galleys to advance with their broad ſides towards the ſhore, in order to force the Britons, with their ſlings, arrows and engines, to retire from the water-ſide. This had, in ſome degree, the deſired effect; for the Britons, ſurpriſed at the make of the galleys, a ſort of ſhipping they had never ſeen, and overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and arrows thence diſcharged upon them, began to give ground. But the Romans ſtill betraying great backwardneſs to throw themſelves into the water, the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the gods, cried out aloud, "Fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your colours, "and ſuffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the "enemy, follow me; for I am reſolved to diſcharge my "duty to the commonwealth and my general." Having thus ſpoken, he leaped into the ſea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the ſoldiers in the ſame ſhip, encouraging each other not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their enſign, followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt themſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight, which proved very ſharp on both ſides, and, for ſome time, noways favourable to the Romans; for not being able either to keep

The Britons oppoſe the landing of the Romans.

keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the Britons; who, being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in ſmall numbers out of their ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which Cæſar obſerving, he cauſed ſeveral boats to be manned, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe, whom he ſaw moſt diſtreſſed. By this means, the Romans, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy ſo briſkly, that they put them to flight; but could not purſue them for want of horſe, the cavalry not being yet arrived; which, Cæſar ſays, was the only thing wanting to complete his wonted ſucceſs[d].

The Romans land with great difficulty. Year before Chriſt 54.

UPON this defeat, the Britons immediately ſent embaſſadors, and with them Comius, whom they had committed to priſon, to ſue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuſe, by laying the blame on the multitude. Cæſar, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had ſent embaſſadors to him into Gaul, deſiring peace, promiſed to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hoſtages. Part of theſe they brought immediately, promiſing to return in a few days with the reſt, who lived at ſome diſtance. Peace being thus concluded four day after Cæſar's landing in Britain, the Britiſh princes, having diſbanded their men, and ſent them back into their ſeveral countries, came to ſubmit themſelves and their ſtates to Cæſar. In the mean time the eighteen tranſports, that were conveying over the Roman cavalry, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, were driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the ſame ſtorm, Cæſar's fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, ſeveral of them being daſhed to pieces, and others, by the loſs of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly uſeleſs; which cauſed a great conſternation in the army, for they wanted materials wherewithal to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and proviſions to ſupport them any conſiderable time in the iſland, Cæſar having all along intended to paſs the winter in Gaul. What added to the misfortune, the ſame night, it being then full moon, the tide roſe ſo high, that the galleys, which had been drawn aſhore, were filled with water. This cauſed a new panic, the Roman mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides. The Britiſh chiefs, who were aſſembled to perform their agreement with Cæſar, perceiving his want of horſe,

The Britons ſue for peace.

Cæſar's fleet greatly damaged by a ſtorm.

[d] Cæſ. comment. l. iv.

horse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smalness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves, that, if they could cut off the few Romans that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading Britain for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to steal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to list again their disbanded troops. Cæsar knew nothing of their design; but nevertheless, suspecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hostages after the loss of his shipping, resolved to prepare against all events. Accordingly he caused all the provisions, that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp, and gave orders, that those ships, which had been the least damaged by the storm, should be refitted with the materials of those, that had been shattered to pieces. He sent likewise to Gaul for what things were farther necessary; which were so well applied by the soldiers, who, on this occasion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that only twelve ships being lost, the rest were soon in a condition to put to sea again. In the mean time the seventh legion being sent out to forage, while part of the soldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehension of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the rest in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the Britons, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not questioning but the Romans would come and forage in that place, the harvest being brought in every-where else, fell upon them unexpectedly; and having killed some of them, drove the rest into a small compass, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots in such manner, that not a single man would have escaped, had not the advanced guards, observing a greater dust than usual rising from that quarter, acquainted Cæsar therewith; who, suspecting the Britons had begun hostilities anew, hastened to the assistance of the legion with the two cohorts, that were upon guard, ordering two others to supply their room, and all the rest to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the Britons gave over the attack, and the Romans resumed their courage. However, Cæsar, not thinking it advisable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued several days successively, kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from

The Britons break the peace;

And fall upon the seventh legion.

from attempting any thing againſt them. The latter however were not idle in the mean time; but having diſpatched meſſengers into all parts of the iſland, to inform their countrymen how ſmall an army the Romans had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themſelves for ever, by forcing the Roman camp, they drew together a great body of horſe and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman entrenchments. Upon their approach, Cæſar drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the Britons ſo warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. Cæſar purſued them with great ſlaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt ſeveral town and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The Britons, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent the ſame day embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which Cæſar readily granted, upon their promiſing to ſend him over into Gaul double the number of hoſtages he had required before. His want of horſe, and the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, if he ſtaid till the equinox, made him haſten his departure. The ſame night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived ſafe in Gaul, whence he immediately wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with his exploits in Britain; for which a ſupplication, or general thankſgiving, was decreed for twenty days [c].

They attack the Roman camp; but are repulſed with great ſlaughter.

Cæſar returns to Gaul.

The Britons, it ſeems, were not much awed by Cæſar's arms; for of all the ſtates, into which the iſland was then divided, two only ſent him hoſtages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he reſolved to make a new deſcent the following ſpring with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left Gaul to return to Italy, where he uſed to paſs part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ſhips, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with ſuch diligence, that, upon his return, he found ſix hundred ſhips, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his ſoldiers, and the ſupervifors, he commanded them to repair with the fleet to Portus Itius (C), while he marched with four legions, and eight hundred

Cæſar's ſecond expedition into Britain. Year before Chriſt 55.

[c] Cæſ. ibid.

(C) Cluverius, and Somner in his diſſertation de Portu Iccio, will have Bologne to be the Portus Itius mentioned by Cæſar; others look for the Portus Itius at Calais, or in that neighbourhood.

hundred horſe, into the county of Treves, to prevent a rebellion there; which he had no ſooner done, than he haſtened to the above-mentioned port, and leaving Labienus there with three legions, and two thouſand horſe, to ſecure it, to provide corn, and to ſend him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarqued with five legions, and two thouſand horſe, and weighing anchor about ſun-ſet, arrived with his whole fleet the next day by noon on the Britiſh coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place, which he had found ſo convenient the year before. The Britons had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners; but being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred and upwards, they had left the ſhore, and retired to the hills: Cæſar, being informed, after landing his troops, where the Britons were lodged, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe, to ſecure the fleet, and with the reſt marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found poſted on the other ſide of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (D). Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage; but, notwithſtanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the Roman cavalry, to quit their poſt, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified in ſome former war, they never ventured but in ſmall parties. But, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent the Romans from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion, having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight; but

He lands without oppoſition.

And defeats the Britons.

hood. Horſely obſerves, that Cæſar calls the paſſage from Portus Itius to Britain the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate ſurvey, the diſtance at Calais from land to land is twenty-ſix Engliſh miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman.

(D) This river is ſuppoſed to be the Stour, the Thames being too diſtant; ſo that the battle was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. Horſely is of opinion, that the ſtrong place, to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, muſt have been Durovernum, now Canterbury, diſtant twelve miles from the place where Cæſar landed (2).

(2) Horſely, p. 14.

but the day being far ſpent, Cæſar, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviſeable to return, and fortify his camp, than to purſue the fugitives[f].

EARLY next morning, Cæſar diſpatched both his horſe and foot, divided into three bodies, in purſuit of the enemy; but when he was already come in ſight of their rear, he was acquainted by ſome horſemen from Q. Atrius, that, by a dreadful ſtorm, which had happened the night before, moſt of his ſhips were daſhed to pieces, or driven aſhore. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened back to the ſea-ſide, where he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortune, which he had heard from the meſſengers; for forty ſhips were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged, that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having, without loſs of time, ſet all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, he ſent over to Gaul for others, ordering at the ſame time Labienus to build as many ſhips as he could with the legions that were there. To prevent the like misfortune for the future, he reſolved upon a very difficult undertaking, which was, to draw all his ſhips aſhore, and encloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work being completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermiſſion, and the camp being ſtrongly fortified, Cæſar, leaving the ſame guard as before to defend it, marched with the reſt of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from purſuing the enemy. Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly encreaſed, under the conduct of Caſſibelan, king of the Trinobantes, whoſe territories lay about eighty miles from the ſea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the Romans, they had all unanimouſly committed the whole management of the war to him, as the moſt proper perſon to head them at ſo important a conjuncture. While the Romans were on their march, they were attacked by the Britiſh horſe and chariots, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter, and drove into the woods; but purſuing them too eagerly, they loſt ſome of their own men. Not long after, the Britons made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the Romans were buſied in fortifying their camp. Cæſar immediately detached two cohorts to their aſſiſtance; but the enemy, while the Romans ſtood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loſs of a man. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain in

The Romans ſuſtain a great loſs by a ſtorm.

Caſſibelan falls upon the Romans; but is repulſed.

[f] Cæſ. comment. l. v.

this action; but some fresh cohorts coming to the relief of the Britons, the Romans were, in the end, put to flight. The next day they kept on the hills, at a considerable distance from the Roman camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by Cæsar, with all the cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, they betook themselves to flight; and being pursued by the Roman cavalry so close, that they had not time to rally, to make a stand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their custom, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, that had come from all parts, abandoning Cassibelan, returned to their respective countries; nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæsar with their united forces [g].

The Britons fall upon three Roman legions, but are defeated.

After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of Cassibelan; but when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though Cæsar had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). Cassibelan, now despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the

Cæsar passes the Thames.

[g] Idem ibid.

(E) Polyænus tells us, that Cæsar, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: he caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unusual sight struck such terror into the Britons, that they abandoned the opposite shore (3). The stakes are just above Walton in Surry; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low-water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, tho' they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton, they have several knife-handles made of them (4).

(3) Polyæn. strat. l. viii. (4) Tindal, in not. ad Rapin.

the motions of the Romans. With theſe he kept at ſome diſtance in the woods, or in ſuch places as were ſcarce acceſſible to the Romans, carrying off the cattle and corn from thoſe countries through which the Romans were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the Roman cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waſte, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great diſadvantage. This prevented the Romans from making excurſions, as they would have otherwiſe done, and obliged Cæſar not to ſuffer his horſe to go farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them. In the mean time the Trinobantes ſent embaſſadors to Cæſar, promiſing to ſubmit to him, and at the ſame time entreating him to protect Mandubratius againſt the oppreſſion of Caſſibelan, and ſend him to them for their king and governor. Mandubratius, called by Eutropius and Bede, Androgeus, was the ſon of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes; but, upon the death of his father, who was ſlain by Caſſibelan, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to Cæſar, who had granted him his protection. Cæſar readily complied with the requeſt of the Trinobantes, enjoining them to ſend him forty hoſtages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the Trinobantes, whoſe ſubmiſſion ſecured them from being plundered by the Roman ſoldiers, was ſoon followed by other ſtates; viz. the Cenomagni, Segontiaci, Anaclites, Bibroci, and Coſſi (F), who,

The Trinobantes ſubmit to Cæſar.

(F) Lipſius, inſtead of Cenomagni, reads Iceni, Cangi (5), the names of two nations mentioned elſewhere by Cæſar The Iceni inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire; and the Cangi the country lying on the Iriſh ſea; for when Oſtorius led his army againſt them, he approached the ſea, ſays Tacitus (6), that faces the iſland of Ireland. Camden agrees with Lipſius in changing the firſt part of Cenomagni into Iceni; but as for the latter, he reads Regni, who were the inhabitants of Suſſex and Surry, and conſequently more likely to follow the example of the Trinobantes, who inhabited Hertfordſhire, Eſſex, and Middleſex, than the Cangi, who lived at a greater diſtance. The Segontiaci are placed by ſome in Berkſhire, by others in Hampſhire (7). The city of Seguntium, mentioned by Antoninus, ſtood on the coaſt of North Wales, over-againſt the iſland of Angleſey, as appears from the itinerary; but we cannot think the

(5) Lipſ. in Tacit. l. xii. c. 32. (6) Idem ibid. (7) Thom. Savil. in epiſt. 13. ad Cam.

by their embaſſadors, ſubmitted to Cæſar. From theſe he had intelligence, that the town of Caſſibelan, ſuppoſed to be Verulamium, now St. Albans, well fortified with woods and marſhes, whither the country people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his legions; and though he found the place ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be ſtormed at two different places; which was done with ſuch reſolution, that the Britons, not able to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, ſurrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart. Many of the Britons were overtaken as they attempted to make their eſcape, and cut in pieces. Here Cæſar found great ſtore of cattle [h].

Who takes Caſſibelan's chief city.

To repair, in ſome degree, this loſs, and divert Cæſar from purſuing his conqueſts, Caſſibelan, by his meſſengers, perſuaded four petty princes of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, whom Cæſar ſtyles kings, to raiſe what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ſhips were laid up; but the Romans, having made a ſally, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, took Cingetorix priſoner, and returned, without any loſs, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, Caſſibelan, conſidering the many loſſes he had ſuſtained, how his country was laid waſte, and, above all, that ſeveral ſtates had already ſubmitted to the conqueror, reſolved to follow their example; and accordingly ſent embaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender, who were introduced by Comius of Attrebatum or Arras. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, Cæſar, who was determined to winter in Gaul, to prevent ſudden inſurrections there, readily hearkened to their propoſals; ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following conditions; viz. that the Britons ſhould pay an annual tribute to the people of Rome; that Caſſibelan ſhould leave Mandubratius in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, and not moleſt the Trinobantes; and that he ſhould deliver a certain

Four Kentiſh kings attack the Roman camp; but are repulſed.

Caſſibelan ſues for peace, and obtains it.

[h] Cæſar. comment. l. v. c. 21.

the inhabitants of that city to be the Seguntiaci mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they ſhould have ſubmitted by their embaſſadors to Cæſar, while he was ſtill at ſo great a diſtance from their country. The Anaclites and Bibroci are placed by moſt of our antiquaries in Berkſhire, the former about Henley, and the latter about Bray. The Coſſi are ſuppoſed to have inhabited ſome part of Hertfordſhire, perhaps the hundred of Caiſhow.

certain number of hoſtages. Theſe Cæſar no ſooner received, than he marched back to the ſea-ſide, where he cauſed his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and ſome of his ſhips had been loſt in the ſtorm, he reſolved to tranſport his army at two voyages. But moſt of thoſe veſſels, which were ſent back from Gaul after they had landed the ſoldiers, that were firſt carried over, and of the ſixty, that Labienus had taken care to build, being driven back by contrary winds, Cæſar, after having long expected them in vain, leſt the winter ſhould prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crouded his ſoldiers cloſer than he deſigned, and putting to ſea about the ſecond watch of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by break of day [i]. Cæſar returns to Gaul.

SUCH is the account Cæſar himſelf gives us of his two famous expeditions into Britain; but other authors have ſpoken more doubtfully of his victories here. Dion Caſſius writes, that the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry; but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry. Horace and Tibullus, in ſeveral places of their works, ſpeak of the Britons as a nation not yet conquered [k]. Tacitus tells us, that Cæſar rather ſhewed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in poſſeſſion of it [l]; and Lucan more plainly, that he turned his back to the Britons, and fled. Be that as it will, upon his return to Rome, he offered to Venus, as Pliny tells us, a breaſtplate enriched with Britiſh pearls, as a trophy of his conqueſts in this iſland.

AFTER the departure of Julius Cæſar, the Romans were diverted, for the ſpace of twenty years, by their domeſtic broils, and civil wars, from attempting any thing againſt Britain. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; ſo that the Britons continued no leſs free from the Roman yoke, than they had been before the arrival of Cæſar. But Auguſtus, having at length put an end to the civil wars, and firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the empire, reſolved to force the Britons, that is, thoſe who inhabited the moſt ſouthern part of the iſland, to perform the agreement they had made with his uncle Julius. With this view he advanced as far as Gaul; but was, by a revolt in Pannonia, diverted from putting his deſign in execution. About ſeven years after, he entered Gaul with the ſame reſolution; but the unſettled ſtate of that province made him readily

Auguſtus. State of Britain during his reign.

[i] Idem ibid. c. 23--25. [k] Horat. epod. viii. & odar. l. i. c. 35. Tibull. l. iv. [l] Tacit. vit. Agricol.

readily hearken to the propoſals of the embaſſadors ſent by the Britons to ſue for peace; which was granted them, no doubt, upon their promiſing to ſtand to their agreement with his predeceſſor Julius. But they neglected, it ſeems, to perform their promiſe; for the year enſuing Auguſtus reſumed the reſolution of paſſing over into Britain; but was a new prevented, by the revolt of the Cantabrians in Spain. However, ſome of the Britiſh princes took care to cultivate his friendſhip with preſents; which were laid up in the capitol [m]. Cunobeline, who is ſaid to have ſucceeded Tenuantius, the ſucceſſor of Caſſibelan, maintained a correſpondence with Rome, and even cauſed coins to be ſtamped, after the manner of the Romans, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and among the reſt one with the word Taſc on the reverſe, ſignifying, according to our antiquaries, tribute; whence they conclude, that this money was deſigned for the payment of the tribute; for tho' braſs and iron rings of a certain weight ſerved, as Cæſar informs us, for their current coin, yet the Romans exacted the tribute in gold or ſilver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here ſpeaking of (G). Thus Britain, by degrees, became well known to the Romans, even in Auguſtus's time. That prince however, ſatisfied with the ſmall tribute that was yearly ſent him from Britain, forbore any further attempts upon the iſland, either thinking the friendſhip or enmity of the Britons of no moment to the Romans, as Strabo inſinuates [n], or being, out of a ſtate maxim, reſolved to ſet bounds to the empire, leſt it ſhould grow too great and unwieldy [o].

Cunobeline maintains a correſpondence with Rome.

TIBERIUS,

[m] Strabo, l. iv. [n] Idem, l. ii. [o] Tacit. in vit. Agric. Julian. in Cæſ.

(G) On this medal is repreſented Apollo playing on the lyre, the name of Cunobeline being engraved round it. Alford obſerves, that the Gauls and Britons worſhipped Apollo, under the name of Belus or Belinus; and thence he derives the name of Cunobeline. On the reverſe is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words Taſcia and Novane. Taſcia ſignifies in the Britiſh tongue, according to Powel, a tribute-peny, probably from the Latin word taxatio, the letter X not being uſed by the Britons. By the woman is, in all likelihood, repreſentéd Britain; and as for the word Novane, Alford conjectures it to be the name of ſome town, perhaps the metropolis of the Novantes or Trinobantes (8).

(8) Alford, annal. ad ann. 1. Camden, numiſ. n. 7.

Tiberius suffers the Britons to enjoy their liberties.

TIBERIUS, who succeeded Augustus, being more inclined to contract than enlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of Augustus, and never entertained the least thought of conquering Britain; but, satisfied with the respect the British princes shewed him in sending back some of Germanicus's soldiers, who had been shipwrecked on their coasts [p], and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into Gaul, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the Roman officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the Britons, as Strabo tells us [q]. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, having passed the Alps with a design to plunder Gaul, as he had already done Italy, received there under his protection Adminius, called by our writers Guiderius, the son of Cunobeline, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting letters to Rome, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and to the very curia, and strictly enjoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of Mars, and in a full senate, as if the whole island had submitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the instigation of Adminius, he marched his forces to the seaside; but being informed there, that the Britons were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and, instead of pursuing his design, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets and laps with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by such marks of folly and madness, exposed himself to the derision both of the Gauls and Britons, he wrote to the senate, desiring them to decree him a triumph. But they being averse to comply with his demand, he resolved to cause them all to be murdered; but was murdered himself, before he could put his barbarous design in execution [r].

Caligula's mock expedition against the Britons.

THE Britons may be said to have continued hitherto free from the Roman yoke; but in the reign of Claudius, the successor of Caligula, great part of the island was brought under subjection to Rome, and the rest by degrees under the succeeding emperors. Dion Cassius gives us a distinct account of the invasion by Claudius, the occasion of which he thus relates: Cunobeline being dead, his two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, reigned; but whether jointly or separately, whether with equal or subordinate power, we are no where told. In their reign, one Bericus, (who he was, is not known)

Claudius.

What induced him to make war on the Britons.

[p] Tacit. annal. l. ii. [q] Strabo, l. iv. [r] Suet. in Calig. Dio. l. lix.

known) being driven out of the island for attempting to raise a sedition, fled, with those of his party, to Claudius; and being highly provoked against his countrymen, persuaded the emperor to invade Britain. On the other hand, the Britons, resenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refusing to deliver them up when demanded, forbad all commerce with the Romans. A war being therefore resolved on, Claudius ordered Plautius, then prætor in Gaul, to transport those legions he had with him into Britain, and begin the expedition. The soldiers, unwilling to make war, as they said, out of the compass of the world, refused to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length brought back to a sense of their duty, in the manner we have related elsewhere [s], they embarqued chearfully, and put to sea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly disheartened them; but resuming their courage upon the appearing of a meteor shooting from the east, and directing, as they imagined, their course, they put to sea again, and landed in Britain without opposition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the Roman army, and did not expect so sudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppose them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in small bodies behind their marshes, and in their woods, in order to spin out the time till winter; which they imagined Plautius, after the example of Julius Cæsar, would pass in Gaul. But the Roman general, having, with great difficulty, first found out Caractacus, and afterwards Togodumnus, and defeated them both, reduced part of the Dobuni, who were then subject to the Catieuchlani; and leaving a garrison to keep them in awe, he marched to a river, where the Britons lay carelessly encamped, imagining the Romans could not pass it without a bridge. But the German soldiers, accustomed to swim the strongest currents in their armour, having passed the river, and, pursuant to their orders, fallen only upon the horses that drew the chariots, in which the main strength of the Britons consisted, Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus, sent over with a body of troops to support them, easily put the enemy to flight, their chariots being rendered unserviceable, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. The Britons however, not yet disheartened, engaged the Romans the next day so vigorously, that the victory, for a considerable time, inclined to neither side; but at length the Romans, encouraged by the

Plautius sent into Britain with an army.

He lands without opposition.

And having defeated two British princes, reduces part of the Dobuni.

The Britons attack the Romans, but, notwithstanding their gallant behaviour, are put to flight.

[s] Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 122.

the example of Caius Sidius Geta, charged the Britons so briskly, that they were forced, after a most obstinate resistance, to betake themselves to flight. The conduct of Geta in this action was so remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been consul [t]. This battle is supposed to have been fought on the banks of the Severn. From hence the Britons retired to the mouth of the Thames, and, being acquainted with the flats and shallows, drew the Romans, who followed them, into great danger. But the Germans having crossed the river by swimming, and the others on a bridge somewhat higher, the Britons were surrounded on all sides, and great numbers of them put to the sword. Many of the Romans, pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes, and were lost. In one of these battles, Togodumnus was killed, whose death was so far from disheartening the Britons, that they betrayed greater eagerness than ever to oppose the Romans, and revenge it. Hereupon Plautius, not thinking it advisable to penetrate farther into the country, put garrisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him to do so, if any thing extraordinary should happen, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further pursuit of his conquests. Claudius, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, not being satisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, no sooner received this letter, than he set out from Rome; and embarking at Ostia, sailed to Marseilles, whence he pursued his journey by land to Gessoriacum, now Bologne, where he again embarqued, and, landing safe in Britain, joined his lieutenant Plautius, who lay encamped on the banks of the Thames. Upon his arrival, the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the Britons, gave them a total overthrow. After this victory, he advanced to Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, which he took, and, without any considerable opposition, reduced some of the neighbouring states. For these exploits, he was several times by his soldiers saluted imperator, contrary to the received custom of the Romans, which allowed no general to assume that title more than once in the same war [u]. Part of Britain being thus subdued, Claudius disarmed the inhabitants, and appointed Plautius to govern them, ordering him at the same time to subdue those, who remained yet unconquered. To such as had submitted, he generously forgave the confiscation of their estates; which obliged them to such a degree, that they erected

Claudius sets out from Rome, and lands in Britain. Year after Christ 44.

He defeats the Britons and takes Camalodunum.

[t] Dio, l. lx. p. 679---680. Suet. in Claud. c. 11.

[u] Dio, ibid. p. 680---681.

erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having ſtaid in Britain but ſixteen days, ſet out from thence on his return to Rome, having ſent thither his two ſons-in law, Pompeius and Silanus, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of Britannicus; which was given both to him and his ſon: the officers, who had attended him in this expedition, were diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments (H): annual ſports were decreed by the ſenate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at Rome, and the other at Geſſoriacum, whence he had paſſed over into Britain. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conqueſt of the Britiſh ocean. In ſhort, the ſame honours were decreed to Claudius, who had conquered but a very ſmall part of the iſland, as had been decreed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms [x] (I).

He returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of Britannicus.

PLAUTIUS

[x] Dio, & Suet. ibid.

(H) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable preſents, as appears from an antient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at Turin, wherein mention is made of the preſents, with which Claudius rewarded one C. Gavius, who, it ſeems, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Britiſh war. The inſcription is as follows:

" C. Gavio L. F.
" Stel. Silvano
" Primipilari Leg. VIII. Aug.
" Tribuno coho. II. vigilum
" Tribuno coh. XIII. Urban.
" Tribuno coh. XII. Prætor.
" Donis Donato A. D. Claudio
" Bello Britannico
" Torquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
" Corona Aurea
" Patrono Colon.

(I) And yet Suetonius writes, that he became maſter of part of Britain without bloodſhed; which is confirmed by the following antient inſcription, copied by Mr. Wright from the Barbarini palace at Rome, and lately publiſhed by him in his travels:

" Ti. Claudio Cæſ.
" Auguſto.
" Pontifici Max. Tr. P. IX.
" Coſ. V. Imp. XVI. P. P.
" Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
" Reges Britanniæ Abſq.
" Ula Jactura Domuerit
" Genteſque Barbaras
" Primus Indicio Subegerit.

PLAUTIUS, appointed by Claudius governor of Britain, purſued his conqueſts, after the emperor's departure, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, upon his return to Rome, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himſelf, who, at his ſolemn entry, gave him the right hand. In this war, Veſpaſian likewiſe, afterwards emperor, and his ſon Titus, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the Britons, ſubdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the iſle of Wight; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two ſacerdotal dignities, and the conſulſhip [y]. As for Titus, he no leſs ſignalized his piety, than his courage and valour; for ſeeing his father in a battle ſurrounded on all ſides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and having reſcued him, put the Britons to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter [z]. Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of Claudius's reign, as we gather from Tacitus [a], P. Oſtorius Scapula, being ſent into Britain, fell unexpectedly upon the Britons, who had broken into the Roman conqueſts; and having put great numbers of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt, to reſtrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the Romans, or their allies, he built ſeveral forts on the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of theſe rivers, to a Roman province, and, for a further ſecurity, made Camalodunum a military colony. This the Iceni could not brook, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raiſed a conſiderable army, and encamped in an advantageous poſt, in order to prevent the Romans from penetrating farther into the iſland. However, Oſtorius, advancing againſt them, after a moſt obſtinate conflict, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the Cangi, probably the preſent counties of Shropſhire and Cheſhire; but being informed, as he approached the Iriſh ſea, that the Brigantes were in arms, he marched with all ſpeed againſt them; and having cauſed the chief authors of the diſturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the reſt, he ſoon reſtored that country to its former tranquility. After this, Oſtorius made war upon the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales, headed by Caractacus, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheleſs

Veſpaſian and Titus diſtinguiſh themſelves in this war.

P. Oſtorius Scapula governor of Britain.

Camalodunum is made a Roman colony.

Oſtorius defeates the Iceni, and quells the rebellious Brigantes.

[y] Suet. in Veſp. c. 4. [z] Dio, l. lx. p. 679. [a] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 149. note (U).

nevertheleſs he defeated in a pitched battle, the particulars wherof we have related at length in our Roman hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [b]. Caractacus, upon his defeat, fled for protection to Cratiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, who dreading the Roman arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror; by whom he was ſent to Rome, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. Claudius, moved with the ſpeech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the conſtancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The Silures, notwithſtanding the loſs of their general, purſued the war with great vigour, and gained very conſiderable advantages over the Romans, related by us elſewhere [c]; which ſo affected Oſtorius, that he died with grief. He was ſucceeded by A. Didius, who reſtrained the Silures making frequent and wide incurſions into the Roman territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to reſtore Cratiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, and an ally of Rome, to her kingdom [d]. He defeated the Brigantes in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was ſtricken in years, he contented himſelf with acting only defenſively, and reſtraining the enemy by his lieutenants. Veranius, who ſucceeded him in the reign of Nero, died in leſs than a year after his arrival in Britain, without performing any thing worthy of notice. After him, Suetonius Paulinus governed Britain, who reduced the iſland of Angleſey, and defeated with great ſlaughter the Britons, who, under the conduct of queen Boudicea, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the Romans, and their allies, to the ſword, as we have related at length in our Roman hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [e]. Suetonius Paulinus was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Petronius Turpilianus, and he by Trebellius Maximus. During their government, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper, and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the Britons by any acts of hoſtility, giving to this cowardly inaction the ſpecious name of peace. In the mean time Nero dying, the Roman army was commanded, during the ſhort reigns of Galba and Otho, only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief ſway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the Britons any juſt cauſe of complaint, kept all things quiet

Caractacus defeated, and delivered up to the Romans.

Oſtorius dies, and is ſucceeded by Aulus Didius.

And he by Veranius.

Suetonius Paulinus ſucceeds Veranius, and reduces the iſland of Angleſey.

[b] Ibid. p. 552, 152. [c] Ibid. p. 155. [d] Ibid. p. 156.
[e] Ibid. p. 209, 210.

quiet in the iſland. Vitellius, upon his acceſſion to the empire, appointed Vectius Bolanus governor of Britain, who ruled with great gentleneſs, without either provoking the Britons, or being by them provoked. In the reign of Veſpaſian, who ſucceeded Vitellius, Petilius Cerealis was ſent into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army there. Petilius, upon his arrival, attacked the Brigantes, the moſt numerous and powerful of all the Britiſh nations; and having defeated them in ſeveral encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, he reduced great part of their country, and continued to ravage the reſt [f]. He was ſucceeded by Julius Frontinus, who not only maintained the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, but fought himſelf with great ſucceſs againſt the warlike nation of the Silures, whom he entirely reduced. Julius Frontinus being recalled, the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola was ſent to command in his room. But of the exploits of that renowned commander, we have ſpoken at length in our Roman hiſtory [g]; and therefore, to avoid tedious repetitions, ſhall only add here, that having, in ſeven campaigns, reduced the whole iſland, he abandoned the more northern parts, and by raiſing forts, and planting garriſons, on the iſthmus between the friths of Glota and Bodotria, now of Dunbriton and Edinburgh, he removed the Caledonians, as it were, into a ſeparate iſland. Thus Agricola gave the finiſhing blow to the liberty of Britain, and reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of the friths of Glota and Bodotria, to a Roman province. The loſs of their liberty was, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by the politeneſs, that was introduced among them by the conquerors; for, by degrees, they aſſumed the cuſtoms and manners of the Romans, and forgetting their ſavage ways, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the liberal arts and ſciences, which were no leſs eſteemed and cultivated in Britain, than in any other province of the empire. But to return to Agricola: Domitian, who had ſucceeded his brother Titus in the empire, envying his general the great reputation he had gained by his conqueſts, recalled him, on pretence of preferring him to the government of Syria. After his departure, we have but ſhort and broken accounts of what paſſed in this iſland, till the reign of the emperor Adrian. We do not even know who was Agricola's ſucceſſor in the government of Britain. We only

Petilius Cerealis reduces great part of the country of the Brigantes.

Julius Agricola governor of Britain. Year after Chriſt 78.

He reduces Britain to a Roman province.

[f] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 4---9.

[g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 476, 477, 618, &c.

only read in Suetonius [h], that Salluſtius Lucullus was legate of Britain in the reign of Domitian; and that he was put to death by that prince, for ſuffering his name to be given to a ſort of ſpears, which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian, and Trajan who ſucceeded Nerva, ſome commotions happened in the iſland; but all we know of them is, that they were ſoon appeaſed, and the country reſtored to its former tranquillity, by the Roman troops quartered there; which, according to Joſephus, amounted to four legions [i]. In the reign of Adrian, the ſucceſſor of Trajan, the Caledonians, having demoliſhed ſome of the forts built by Agricola between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the Roman province. Againſt them was diſpatched by Adrian, in the firſt year of his reign, Julius Severus, a commander of great renown; but he being ſuddenly recalled, and employed againſt the Jews, then in rebellion, Priſcus Licinius was ſent over in his room (K), and followed ſoon after by the emperor in perſon; whoſe arrival ſtruck the Caledonians with ſuch terror, that, abandoning the countries they had ſeized, they retired to the more northern parts of the iſland. Adrian, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet, relinquiſhed to them all the country between the Tine and the two friths; but at the ſame time, to reſtrain them from making incurſions into the Roman province, he cauſed a wall to be built, extending from the Eden in Cumberland to the Tine in Northumberland, eighty miles in length [k]. Having thus ſettled affairs in Britain, and reformed many abuſes there,

Adrian in Britain. Year after Chriſt 120.

His wall.

[h] Suet. in Domit. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 5.
[i] Joſeph. apud Camden in Roman.
[k] Idem in Hadrian. p. 6.

(K) It appears from an antient inſcription found near Adrian's wall, that Licinius Priſcus had been proprætor of Cappadocia before he was ſent into Britain, had commanded the fourth legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor Adrian in his Jewiſh expedition. The inſcription is as follows:

" M. F. Cl. Priſco
" . . icinio Italico Legato Auguſtorum
" PR. PR. Provinc. Cappadociæ
" PR. PR. Prov. Britanniæ
. . . . . .
" Leg. IIII Galliciæ Præf. Coh. III Lingonum
" Vexillo Mil. ornato A Divo Hadriano
" in Expeditione Judaica
" Q. Caſſius Domitius Palumbus.

there, he returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the title of Reſtorer of Britain; which was ſtamped on his coins (*L*).

To Adrian ſucceeded Antoninus Pius, in whoſe reign the Brigantes revolted; and the Caledonians, having in ſeveral places, broken down Adrian's rampart, began anew to ravage the Roman territories. Againſt them was ſent Lollius Urbicus, Licinius Priſcus, whom Adrian had appointed governor of Britain, being, in all likelihood, dead; for Antoninus, as Julius Capitolinus informs us [l], removed none of the governors whom Adrian had preferred. Lollius obliged the Brigantes to ſubmit anew to the Roman yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as Camden and Brietius conjecture, from Bremenium, now Brampton in Cumberland, to the river Eſk. For theſe atchievements, Antoninus received the ſurname of Britannicus, though he had never ſeen Britain himſelf [m] (M). In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the ſucceſſor of Antoninus Pius, new commo-

Lollius Urbicus builds a new wall. Year after Chriſt 138.

[l] Jul. Cap. in Antonin. c. 5.

[m] Idem ibid.

(L) Some of theſe have reached our times, and, among the reſt, one with the figure of Adrian, and three ſoldiers on the reverſe, repreſenting, as Camden conjectures, the three legions, of which the Roman army in Britain then conſiſted, viz, the legio ſecunda Auguſta, the quartadecima Victrix, and viceſima Victrix, called alſo Britannica. Under them is this inſcription, "Exer. "Britannicus." Other coins of the ſame prince bear this inſcription, "Reſtitutor Britanniæ."

(M) Lollius Urbicus was ſent into Britain, according to Alford, in the third year of Antoninus's reign, of the chriſtian æra 142, and the ſame year he reduced the rebellious Brigantes, and built the wall, which we have mentioned in the text. This Alford proves from two of Antoninus's medals, coined, by a decree of the ſenate, in that prince's third conſulſhip, that is, as Alford ſhews, in the third year of his reign. On theſe medals he is ſtyled Pater patriæ; and on the reverſe is repreſented Britain, on one ſitting on a globe, and on the other holding a ſpear, and reſting on a ſhield. As Antoninus is not, on either of theſe medals, ſtyled Britannicus, but on ſuch only as were coined five years after, Alford conjectures from thence, that ſome ſignal victory was gained, about that time, over the revolted Britons or Caledonians, which procured him the title of Britannicus (9).

(9) Vide Alford. annal. ad ann. 142 & 147.

tions were raised in Britain; which obliged the emperor to send thither Calpurnius Agricola, who, it seems, appeased them; for Fronto, the famous orator, as quoted by Eumenius, in a panegyric on the emperor Marcus Aurelius, says, among other things, that though, sitting in his palace at Rome, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot sitting at the stern, and guiding the helm, he deserved the honour of the whole expedition [n]. To Marcus Aurelius succeeded Commodus, in whose reign the Caledonians, having passed the wall, which parted them from the Romans, and cut in pieces the Roman general, and most of his army, committed every-where dreadful devastations without restraint, till Ulpius Marcellus was sent against them, who, as he was a commander of great experience, and a strict observer of the military discipline, drove back the Caledonians with great slaughter, and restored the island to its former tranquillity. The reputation he gained in this expedition was so great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipsed by that of his general, resolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government. For the great advantages gained by Ulpius in Britain, Commodus assumed the title of imperator the sixth time [o]. That brave commander no sooner left Britain, than the army there began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of Perennis, the emperor's favourite, who, governing with an absolute sway, sent only persons of the equestrian order to command the British army, whom the soldiers therefore refused to obey. The mutiny was carried so far, that the army sent deputies to Rome, fifteen hundred, says Dion Cassius, of their own body, to complain of Perennis. These the emperor met without the city; and being by them informed, that Perennis aspired at the empire, and had, with that view, cashiered the bravest officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traytor to the fury of the prætorian bands, which he then commanded, and must have no less disobliged than he had done the British army; for he was by them, after a thousand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his sister, and his two sons [p]. The downfal and death of this favourite are related by Herodian in a quite different manner, as we have observed in our Roman history [q]. In the mean time Helvius Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was sent into Britain, to bring back

Ulpius Marcellus drives the Caledonians out of the Roman province. Year after Christ 184.

The army in Britain mutinies on account of Perennis, who is delivered to them.

[n] Eumen. panegyr. x. [o] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 821. Camd. numm. 7. Spedius, fol. 133. [p] Dio, ibid, Lamp. in Commod. p. 48. [q] Hist. univers. vol. xv. p. 59. Herodian. l. i. p. 474.

back the mutinous army there to a ſenſe of their duty. Upon his arrival, the ſoldiery, not able to brook the tyrannical government of Commodus, offered him the ſovereignty, but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much ſeverity againſt the mutineers, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that one of the legions openly revolted, much blood was ſhed, and Pertinax himſelf left for dead among the ſlain. However, in ſpite of all obſtacles, he brought the army at laſt to ſubmit, and reſtored tranquillity to the province; but, as his ſeverity had drawn upon him the ill-will and hatred of the ſoldiery, he was, ſome time after, recalled at his own requeſt, Clodius Albinus being appointed governor of Britain in his room [r]. Albinus, having, in a ſpeech to the ſoldiery, upon a falſe report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the ſenate againſt that of the emperor, was commanded by Commodus to reſign the government of Britain to Junius Severus. But Commodus being ſoon after murdered, Pertinax, his ſucceſſor, ſent Albinus again into Britain, where he continued during the ſhort reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus. As he had, by his generoſity and largeſſes, gained the affections of the Britiſh army, he was, upon the death of Julianus, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title againſt Severus, who had received the ſame honour from the army in Pannonia, he paſſed over into Gaul with his Britiſh troops; but being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of Lyons, his army was defeated, and he himſelf ſlain, as we have related at length in our Roman hiſtory [s]. Severus, now maſter of the whole Roman empire, divided Britain into two governments, not thinking it perhaps adviſeable to truſt one man with ſo great a command. The hither, or ſouthern part of the iſland was given to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus (N), who was ſo harraſſed by the continual inroads of the Caledonians, that he was in the end obliged

A new mutiny in the army quelled by Pertinax.

Albinus governor of Britain, is ſaluted emperor.

Britain divided into two governments.

to

[r] Capitol. in Pertinace, c. 3.

[s] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. xv. p. 106.

(N) The Caledonians, according to Herodian, had promiſed to reſtrain the Mæatæ from making incurſions into the Roman territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, Virius Lupus was obliged to apply to the Mæatæ themſelves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an antient inſcription found at Ilkly in Yorkſhire, by Ptolemy called Olinaca, it appears, that Virius Lupus reſtored that place. The inſcription is as follows:

" Im-

to purchaſe a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of Severus's reign, when breaking anew into the Roman province, they committed every-where dreadful devaſtations. Virius Lupus, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unleſs powerful and timely ſupplies were ſent to make head againſt the barbarians. Hereupon Severus, reſolved to put an end to the daily incurſions of the enemy, by the entire conqueſt of the north, ſet out for Britain, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two ſons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. Theſe the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he marched into their country, and putting all to fire and ſword, advanced to the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland. Tho' no battle was fought in this expedition, yet what by the enemy's continual ambuſcades, what by the hardſhips and toils the ſoldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marſhes, &c. fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The Caledonians however were, in the end, obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the Romans part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the Caledonians, he returned to York, leaving to his ſon Caracalla the command of the army, and the finiſhing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion, which to us ſeems moſt probable, on the iſthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde. Of this wall we have ſpoken above, and more at length in our Roman hiſtory [t]. For this expedition, Severus was honoured by the ſenate with the title of Britannicus Maximus, and his two ſons with that of Britannicus [u]. The emperor being taken ill at York, the Caledonians were no ſooner informed of his indiſpoſition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked

Severus goes over into Britain. Year after Chriſt 207.

And penetrates into the moſt northern parts of the iſland.

He builds a new wall.

Severus

[t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 116, & ſeq.

[u] Spart. in Sever. Goltz. p. 88.

" Im. Severus
" Aug. et Antoninus
" Cæſ. Deſtinatus reſtituerunt
" Curante Virio Lupo Leg.
" eorum PR. PR.

Severus to such a degree, that he ordered his son Caracalla to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome [x]. Severus dies.

In the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, viz. Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Maximinus, Pupienus, Gordian, Philip, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, we are left almost quite in the dark as to the affairs of Britain; for all we know of them, while these princes ruled, is, that Britain still continued to be a Roman province; that, in the reign of Gordian III. it was governed by Nonnius Philippus (O); that, under Valerian and Gallienus, the Roman troops quartered in the north, to restrain the Caledonians, were commanded by one Desidienus Ælianus (P); that Britain,

[x] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882.

(O) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, from an antient inscription found at a place, by the Romans called Castra Exploratorum, and by us Old Carlisle. It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, set up by the Roman horse quartered in Britain, under the command of Æmilius Crispinus, a native of Tuidrum in Africa. The words of the inscription are as follows:

" I. O. M.
" Pro Salute Imperatoris
" M. Antoni. Gordiani P. F.
" Invicti Aug. et Sabinæ Tur
" iæ Tranquilæ conjugi ejus To-
" taque Domu Divin eorum Ala
" Augg. Gordia ob Virtutem
" Appellata posuit: cui praeest
" Aemilius Crispinus Praef.
" Eqq. natus in Pro. Africa De
" Tuidro sub cur. Nonnii Phi-
" lippi Leg. Aug. Propreto
" Attico et Pretextato
" Coss.

In two other inscriptions found at Lancheſter in the county of Durham, mention is made of Mæcilius Fuscus, and Cneius Lucillianus both proprætors of Britain in the reign of the same emperor Gordian III.

(P) This appears from the following inscription found in Northumberland:

" Pro

tain, revolting from Gallienus, declared for Posthumus, who had usurped the sovereignty in Gaul; that of the thirty usurpers, or, as they are styled, tyrants, besides Posthumus, the following were acknowledged in Britain, viz. Lollianus, Victorianus, and Tetricus, of whom the last being overcome by the emperor Aurelian, Britain submitted to the conqueror,

Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, sent into Britain.

who sent hither Constantius, the father of "Constantine the Great," to establish his authority in the island [y]. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, and he, after a short reign of about six months, by Probus, in whose time Bonosus, descended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain, usurped the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in Gaul and Spain; but being, after several battles, reduced by Probus to great straights, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror, as we have related at length elsewhere [z]. Zosimus [a] and Zonaras [b] tell us, that a governor, sent hither by Probus, assumed the imperial purple; but was soon after killed by Victorinus, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this island [c]. Probus was, according to Vopiscus [d], the first that allowed the Britons, Spaniards and Gauls, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the Rhine with the Burgundians and Vandals, taken their king Igillus prisoner, with many others of these two nations, he transplanted them into Britain [e].

Burgundians and Vandals transplanted into Britain.

Carausius and Allectus usurp the sovereignty of Britain.

In the beginning of Diocletian's reign, Carausius, a native of Gaul, passing over into Britain, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and Maximian, whom Diocletian had taken for his partner in the empire, Britain was given up to Carausius, who governed it with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years; but

[y] Eumen. panegyr, ix, & x. Trebell. Poll. in 30 tyran. [z] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 284. [a] Zos. l. i. p. 663 [b] Zonar. p. 246. [c] Vide Univers. hist. ibid. [d] Vopise. in Prob. c. 18. [e] Zos. l. i. p. 865. & Univers. hist. ibid.

"Pro Salute
"Desidieni Æliani Præ . . .
"et Sua S.
"Posuit Vot.
". . ao. Solvit Libe-
"ns Tusco et Bas-
"so Coss.

but was in the end killed by Allectus, as was Allectus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, in a pitched battle with Asclepiodotus, one of Constantius's officers. Upon his death, Britain was re-united to the empire, after it had been held about seven years by Carausius, and three by Allectus. Of these transactions the reader will find a particular and distinct account in our Roman history [f]. The two emperors Diocletian and Maximian having resigned the empire to Galerius and Constantius, the latter, to whose share fell the western provinces, soon after his accession to the empire, passed over into Britain, to make war, says Eumenius [g], on the Caledonians and Picts, whom he overcame; but not long after, died at York [h], where he had the satisfaction to see his son Constantine before he expired, and to appoint him his successor; so that Constantine began his reign in Britain, and, some time after, returned to this island, as we read in Eusebius [i], probably to put a stop to the daily incursions of the Caledonians. Of the new form of government, both civil and military, which he introduced here, we have spoken above. He likewise altered the division of Britain, which, by Severus, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, viz. Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæsariensis, which last was afterwards subdivided into two parts, viz. Maxima Cæsariensis, and Flavia Cæsariensis. The removal of the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople, which happened in the reign of Constantine, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the Roman province, the emperor having carried with him, first into Gaul, and afterwards into the east, not only most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain, but likewise the flower of the British youth; whence he is censured by Zosimus, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this side [k]. Constantine divided the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, of whom the latter, being in a short time possessed of the whole, sent into Britain the famous notary and informer Paulus, surnamed Catena, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had sided with Magnentius. But of the enormous oppressions, extortions, and cruelties, practised on this occasion by that merciless man, we have spoken at length elsewhere [l]. Constantius, about

Constantine begins his reign in Britain.

The famous informer Paulus surnamed Catena, in Britain.

[f] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 296, 301, & seq. [g] Eumen. panegyr. ix. p. 194 [h] Hier. Chron. Aur. Vict. p. 526. Eutrop. p. 587. [i] Euseb. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25. [k] Zos. l. ii. [l] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 458.

about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the western provinces to Julian, afterwards called the apostate, who, being informed, while he was in winter-quarters at Paris, that the Picts and Scots, about this time first distinguished in history by that name (Q), had broken into the Roman province, and committed every-where dreadful ravages, dispatched his lieutenant Lupicinus, with some troops, against them. Lupicinus, embarquing at Bologne in the depth of winter, reached London in a few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled [m], the northern nations having perhaps appeased Julian by their submission. During the short reigns of Julian and Jovian, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of Britain. But, under Valentinian I. the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Saxons, and other northern nations, invaded the Roman province at one and the same time; and having killed Nectaridus, count of the maritime tract, and Fullofaudes, who is distinguished with the title of dux or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition. News of this invasion being brought to Valentinian, while he was on his journey from Amiens to Treves, he immediately dispatched into Britain Severus, his comes domesticorum; but soon after recalled him, and sent Jovinus in his room; who having

The Roman province ravaged by the Scots and Picts.

[m] Ammian. l. xx. p. 154.

(Q) Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the Scots. But St. Jerom, in his epistle against Ctesiphon the Pelagian, has given us a much more antient passage, which he translated out of Porphyry the Greek philosopher, who wrote an age before Ammianus. The passage is as follows: "Neither Britain, "a province fertile in tyrants, nor the Scotish nations, nor the "barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever "acknowledge Moses and the prophets." Scaliger, in his notes upon Propertius, and his animadversions on Eusebius, corrects the common editions of Seneca's satire upon Claudius, by reading, instead of the words Scuta Brigantes, Scoto Brigantes; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuscript copies; and besides, it is certain, that Claudius never made war upon the Scots, but kept in the southern parts of Britain. As for Dempster's reading Scoticas pruinas, instead of Scythicas, in the verses of the poet Florus to the emperor Adrian, that correction is generally looked upon as altogether groundless (10).

(10) Vide Usser. antiq. Brit. c. 16.

having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name, was thereupon chosen for this province, and trusted with the whole management of so troublesome a war. Theodosius the elder sent into Britain.

Theodosius, upon his arrival in Britain, divided his forces into several parties; which, advancing against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and prisoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulsed, Theodosius entered Lundonium, or London, in a kind of triumph, and restored that, as well as several other cities, which had suffered greatly by the late invasions, to their former splendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the friths of Glota and Bodotria, he built several castles on the isthmus between the two seas, in order to restrain them from breaking anew into the province. By this means, all the country between Adrian's wall and the two friths, which had been, for some time, held by the Picts, was recovered. Of this tract Theodosius made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name Valentia, perhaps from his brother Valens. Theodosius, before he left the island, crushed, in its very beginning, the revolt of one Valentine, or Valentinian, who, being banished into Britain, had prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but Theodosius, having got the usurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magistrates [n]. And now Britain being restored to its former tranquillity, Theodosius returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. In the joint reign of the succeeding princes Valentinian II. and Gratian, Maximus, who commanded in Britain, hearing, that Gratian had taken Theodosius the younger for his collegue in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a person, in his opinion, so much beneath him in merit, resolved to assume the imperial purple, and put himself upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the Roman legions quartered in Britain, he carried them, with the flower of the British youth, into Gaul. As these never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or settling elsewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its strength, became afterwards an easy prey to the Picts and Scots.

He beats back the barbarians.

And makes a fifth province.

Maximus usurps the sovereignty in Britain.

Year after Christ 367.

[n] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368.

Scots. Over these two nations Maximus is said to have gained great advantages before his usurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the island; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers, as we have observed elsewhere [o]. In the reign of Theodosius, the Scots and Picts were, it seems, kept in awe by Chrysantius, the son of Marcian, bishop of Constantinople, who, being appointed governor of Britain, acquitted himself in that office with great reputation [p]. Theodosius was succeeded by his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, the former ruling in the east, and the latter in the west. As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilicho, who had been appointed by Theodosius regent of the western empire during the minority of his son, is supposed to have sent over a legion into Britain, to defend it against the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons [q]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he secured Britain against the antient enemies; for Claudian, in enumerating the great things performed by Stilicho before his first consulship, tells us, that he succoured Britain attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the Scots; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the Picts; and that he secured the British coasts against the descents of the Saxons [r]. He adds elsewhere, that the Saxons being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the Picts having lost their strength, Britain was delivered from her fears [s]. About this time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonici (R). But, not

Stilicho secures Britain against the incursions of Scots, Picts, &c.

[o] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 49. [p] Socrat. l. vii. [q] Uss. eccles. Brit. antiq. p. 595. [r] Claudian. de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. [s] Idem ibid. p. 139.

(R) The learned Usher ascribes to Stilicho the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons (11). This Claudius seems to insinuate, where he introduces Britain thus speaking in praise of that great general and minister:

" Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
" Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
" Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
" Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
" Scotica,

(11) Usser. antiq. Brit. p. 595.

not long after, the empire being over-run by the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians, moſt of the Roman troops quartered in Britain were recalled, and the iſland left almoſt quite open to the attacks of the Scots and Picts. Hereupon the natives, expecting no aſſiſtance from Honorius, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly inveſted with that dignity one Mark, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room [t]. Gratian, after a ſhort reign of four months, underwent the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by Conſtantine, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, common to him with Conſtantine the Great. The new prince obliged the Scots and Picts to quit the Roman province, and retire beyond the two friths; which ſucceſs inſpiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole empire. With this view he paſſed over into Gaul, taking with him the few Roman forces that had been left here, and ſuch of the Britons as were able to bear arms. Of the ſucceſs that attended him at firſt in Gaul and Spain, and of his unhappy end, we have ſpoken at length in our Roman hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [u]. The unhappy Britons, thus left to themſelves after the departure of the Romans, and the flower of their youth, were more haraſſed than ever by the Scots, the Picts, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no oppoſition, broke into their country, and putting all to fire and ſword, ſoon reduced them to a moſt miſerable condition. In this ſtate they continued from the year 407, when the uſurper Conſtantine paſſed over into Gaul, to 410, when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's aſſiſtance, they withdrew their obedience to Rome, ſays Zoſimus [x], and, being reſolved to defend themſelves with their own ſtrength, would

The Britons chuſe an emperor.

Marcus and Gratian choſen, and ſlain.

Conſtantine choſen. Year after Chriſt 407.

The Britons withdrew their obedience to Rome. Year after Chriſt 410.

[t] Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. [u] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 163, & ſeq. 185, & ſeq. [x] Zoſ. l. vi. p. 827.

" Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, nec littore toto
" Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona velis.

As Stilicho is ſuppoſed to have appointed troops to guard the coaſts of Britain, and prevent the Saxons from making deſcents, ſo he may be likewiſe ſaid to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of "the count of the Saxon "ſhore."

would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor Honorius ſeemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even adviſed, them to provide for their own ſafety [y]; which was an implicit reſigning the ſovereignty of the iſland, and releaſing the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to Bede, a little after the taking of Rome by Alaric, in the year of the city 1164 [z], or rather 1163, for it is certain, that Rome was taken in 410. The Britons, now again a free people, ſeem to have at firſt fought with ſucceſs againſt their antient and irreconcilable enemies the Scots and the Picts; for Zoſimus writes, that they delivered their cities from the inſults of an haughty enemy [a]. But being in the end overpowered, they had recourſe to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promiſing an entire and perpetual obedience to Rome, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their mercileſs enemies. Honorius, touched with compaſſion, ſent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in Britain, cut in pieces great numbers of the Scots and Picts; and having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of Edinburgh and Dunbriton, they adviſed the natives to build a wall on the iſthmus from ſea to ſea, and then returned to the continent, where their aſſiſtance was wanted to repulſe the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The Britons, without loſs of time, applied themſelves to the building of the wall; but as it was done only with turf, the barbarians broke it down in ſeveral places, and pouring in upon the territories of the Britons like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword [b]. This happened, according to the learned Uſher [c], in 422, but, according to Alford [d], in 421 (S). The unhappy Britons, after many miſeries and calamities, ſent

Honorius ſends them a legion.

They build a new wall.

[y] Idem ibid. p. 830. [z] Bed. hiſt. c. 11. [a] Zoſ. l. vi. p. 827. [b] Gild. excid. Britan. c. 12, 13. p. 117. [c] Uſſ. p. 1096. [d] Alford. annal. ad ann. 421.

(S) Alford produces a medal of the emperor Honorius, with this legend on the reverſe, "Victoria Auggg." and thence concludes, that the ſlaughter of the Scots and Picts by the legion, which Honorius ſent over, happened in the year of the chriſtian æra 421, the twenty-ſeventh of Honorius's reign. The word Auggg. denotes, as he rightly obſerves, three emperors reigning at the ſame time. Theſe were Honorius, Theodoſius, and Conſtantius,

ſent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and duſt on their heads, prevailed upon him to ſend new forces to their relief. Theſe, haſtening into Britain, fell upon the barbarians, not in the leaſt appriſed of their arrival, and made a dreadful havock of them, while they were roving up and down the iſland in queſt of booty [e]. This ſlaughter of the northern nations is placed by Uſher in 426 [f], wherein he diſagrees with Bede, who ſuppoſes it to have happened before the year 423, in which Honorius died [g]. The Scots and Picts being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the Romans, who had no ambitious view in aſſiſting the diſtreſſed Britons, but were come over merely out of compaſſion and good nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further aſſiſtance from the emperor; that the troops he had now ſent were ordered back to the continent, to make head againſt the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their laſt farewel of Britain, and entirely abandon the iſland. After this declaration, Gallio of Ravenna, commander of the Roman troops, exhorted the Britons to defend themſelves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itſelf, their liberty, againſt an enemy no ſtronger than themſelves, provided they would but lay aſide their fears, and exert their antient courage and reſolution. Not ſatisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withſtand the attacks of the enemy, he adviſed them to build a wall, not of turf, but of ſtone, offering them the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the Britons, jointly with the Romans, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with ſuch diligence, that, tho' eight foot in breadth, and twelve in height, it was ſoon finiſhed. This wall ſtood, ſays Bede [h], in the ſame place where Severus had built his, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, as we have obſerved above,

Another legion ſent to their relief.

The Britons build another wall.

on

[e] Gild. ibid. c. 14. p. 118. [f] Uſſ. ubi ſup. [g] Bed. chron. p. 114. [h] Bed. hiſt. c. 12. p. 156.

ſtantius. Now, as Conſtantius was made emperor and died in the ſame year 421, the victory aſcribed to the three emperors muſt neceſſarily have been gained in that year (12).

(12) Vide Alford. annal. ad ann. 421.

on the isthmus between the two friths of Glota and Bodotria. They likewise built towers at convenient distances on the east coast against the Saxons, and other barbarians, who, coming from Germany, made frequent descents on that side. The Roman commander, having thus secured the nation, employed the rest of the time he continued in the island, in instructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make; after many encouraging exhortations, he, with his Romans, took his last farewel of Britain, and telling the Britons, that they must expect their return no more, he crossed over to the continent [i]. From this last departure of the Romans we may date the total desertion of Britain by them, and the final period of the Roman empire in this island. As to the year, in which Britain was thus finally abandoned, there is a great disagreement among chronologers, some placing the retreat of the Romans in 426, some in 435, or 437. According to Alford, Gallio returned to Gaul in 422, the twenty-eighth of Honorius's reign [k]. Bede, in his history, speaks of the departure of the Romans as happening in 431 [l], but, in his chronicle, he seems to suppose it to have happened even before the year 423, and hence Alford places it in 422. The Britons fought, as we have seen, for many years against the Romans, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodshed that they submitted to the yoke. But being in the end pleased with their servitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the space of four hundred years and upwards, they were no less unwilling to part with them, than they had been at first to receive them. This appears from the last message they sent to Aetius; but since it happened after the Romans had entirely abandoned the island, we shall refer the further relation of it to the following section.

The Romans take their last farewel of Britain.

[i] Gild. c. 24. p. 118. Bed. hist. c. 12. p. 156. [k] Alford. annal. ad hunc ann. [l] Bed. hist. l. i. c. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.

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